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THE

LETTERS AND MEMORIALS

OF

WILLIAM

CARDINAL ALLEN.

(1532—1594).

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EDITED BY

FATHERS OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE LONDON ORATORY.

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WITH AN

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

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PRIEST OF THE SAME CONGREGATION.

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PREFACE.

THE Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen now published consist of 284 documents, of which 225 are printed for the first time, three have been in part printed before, and the remaining 56 are already in print. Thirteen of the 56 have been collated anew with the original MSS., and will be found to be more accurately rendered than the copies which exist in books. Besides these documents the foot-notes not unfrequently contain in illustration of the text extracts from unedited MSS. or rare books.

The chief sources from which the MS. documents have been derived are the archives of the see of Westminster, the State papers and the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London, the Spanish archives at Simancas, the British Museum, the archives of the kingdom of Belgium at Brussels, the archives of the English College at Rome, the archives of Stonyhurst College, and the MS. collections belonging to the old Brotherhood of the English Clergy, formerly known as the English Chapter.

The documents, whether MS. or printed, are in English, Latin, Spanish, Italian, or French. Many however of those in Italian and almost all the Spanish ones have been translated into English and incorporated into the "Historical Introduction."

The Table of Contents has been drawn up in chronological order: an arrangement which it was unfortunately impossible to follow so far as the documents themselves were concerned.

The Index has been compiled by the Rev. Father Keogh, who has carefully gone over the proof sheets of the whole work and collated them in many cases with the originals.

With regard to future volumes of these Records all that can be said is that valuable materials abound in the archives of the see of Westminster; but two things are necessary in order to turn these to account, first, competent labourers, and secondly sufficient interest on the part of the public in this kind of publication to secure their labours from resulting in pecuniary loss.

In conclusion the Editors desire to express their gratitude to the Very Reverend Dr. O'Callaghan, rector of the English College at Rome, to the Very Rev. Provost Hunt and the Old Brotherhood of the English Secular Clergy, to the Very Reverend Father William Eyre, S.J., rector of Stonyhurst College, to Monsieur Gachard, archiviste-général du royaume de Belgique, to Don Pascual Gayangos and to other friends mentioned in the course of the work, for the many important papers which they have either allowed them to copy or of which they have procured for them transcripts.

THE ORATORY, LONDON, S.W.,
Feast of St. Agnes, 1882.

The Rev. Father Knox sank under a heart disease of long standing on the 20th March, whilst the last sheets of his "Historical Introduction" were passing through the press. The work of preserving and making known the remaining memorials of the martyrs and confessors of England had long been to him a labour of love. There are unfortunately but few whose tastes and opportunities lead them in this direction, and whatever may be done hereafter in continuation of this series of publications, his special qualifications for the work will be sorely missed. The preparation of the present volume occupied much of his time during the last four or five years of his life, and he did not entirely cease working at it until within a few days of his death.

He was one who worked from high motives and for an eternal recompense, but among lesser rewards it would have been grateful to him to know that his memory would be associated, as it is not too much to hope it will be, with the Life of Cardinal Allen—that great-hearted and apostolic man whose character he so much admired and whom he has done so much to rescue from unmerited forgetfulness.

EDWARD S. KEOGH,
Priest of the Oratory.

THE ORATORY, LONDON
Easter, 1882.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

A COLLECTION of original documents illustrating the life and labours of Cardinal Allen has long been a desideratum in English historical literature. But interesting as must always have been every memorial of a man to whom unquestionably the preservation of the catholic religion in England was primarily due, the formation of such a collection seemed until lately more desirable than possible. It is only sixty years ago that Mr. Charles Butler, after remarking that "a good life of Cardinal Allen would be an important acquisition to the history of England during the reign of Elizabeth," added that "the loss both of the manuscript and printed documents, which existed nowhere but in the establishments of the English catholics on the Continent and which perished in the French revolution, would probably render the execution of such a work very difficult."[1] The wholesale destruction of English catholic documents by the revolutionists in France[2] is certainly an irreparable misfortune, nor is it easy to exaggerate the injury thence accruing to historical studies; still many valuable papers have survived the wreck and may still be met with, if carefully sought for, in England and abroad. Moreover the increased interest felt of late years in the study of historical sources has led to the official publication of catalogues and abstracts of many manuscript documents hitherto unknown or almost inaccessible, as well as to the removal of the jealous restrictions by which the contents of state-archives were formerly secured from public inspection. Hence it has now at length become possible to gather together and print a large number of documents bearing on Cardinal Allen's life. They form, as might be expected, a very miscellaneous collection.

A collection of Cardinal Allen's memorials long a desideratum.

Now possible.

Many are letters written by Allen or addressed to him; others are despatches of ambassadors to their sovereigns relating to the work on which he was engaged. They come from various archives. They are in different languages. But they all serve, each in its measure, to throw light upon the character, motives and many-sided activity of the man to whom they refer, while at the same time they indicate the way in which he was appreciated by his contemporaries, not only by the multitude at large, but by those whom long experience had taught to estimate men,—Popes, princes and statesmen.

Though the number of documents here printed is considerable, and none have been omitted which it was possible to procure through personal search or the kind co-operation of friends, there must be much still left to reward further investigations. The archives of the Vatican, of Simancas and perhaps of the kingdom of Belgium promise, if examined more closely, a richer yield. The general archives of the Society of Jesus, with whose members Allen was in such

May be increased by further research.

[1] Butler's *Historical Memoirs of English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics since the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 318, note

[2] *First and Second Douay Diaries*, p. iv.

intimate relations during many years of his life, can hardly fail to contain additional matter of value, which under more prosperous external circumstances would doubtless be rendered more accessible to the collector than is now possible. But besides all this, the mere fact of the extent, variety and continuousness of Allen's correspondence, to which the present collection bears testimony, would alone make it probable that other letters of his may yet lie hid in the archives and libraries of the continent, especially in those of Spain, with which country, as a Cardinal who owed his promotion to Philip II. and was devoted to the Spanish Crown, he would naturally have kept up frequent epistolary relations.

Object of this Introduction.

A short narrative of Allen's life and works would naturally be prefixed to this collection of documents as a connecting thread for the better understanding of their nature and value. This however has been already done, at least to a certain extent, in the Historical Introduction to the First and Second Douay Diaries. After a description in outline of the cruel persecution by which the English catholics were ground down during the forty-four years of Elizabeth's reign, the main facts of Allen's life are there related, especially with reference to the work of his predilection, the college of Douay, which he founded, and which proved the chief means of preventing the catholic religion from dying out in England. This part of Allen's activity was treated at some length and with considerable fulness, as was suitable in an introduction to the college diaries. But another very important portion of Allen's labours was left almost untouched, the part namely which he played in the political movements of his day. This was done because in the first place these two spheres of missionary and political action seemed, as a matter of fact, in Allen's case to lie quite outside each other and so to admit of separate treatment; and secondly because the materials relating to Allen's political labours had to be sought for and printed, before it was possible to describe with any attempt at completeness this branch of his labours. It will be the principal object of the present Introduction to supply what was omitted in the former one, so that the two taken together will give a sufficient account of Cardinal Allen's life and works. But before passing on to the consideration of the Cardinal's political life, the following preliminary observations will not, it is hoped, be found superfluous.

Men should not be isolated from their age.

If we would form a true estimate of men who have lived in a different age from our own, we must study attentively the social and political organizations of which they were members, and reproduce to ourselves the principles, maxims and modes of thought, in the midst of which, as in an all-pervading atmosphere, they and their contemporaries lived and worked.[1] To isolate them from their age, and then to imagine them as actuated by the spirit of our own day would be to substitute a travesty for the reality. Any judgment of their character and actions based on such considerations and arrived at by contemplating them from such a point of view would be necessarily distorted and misleading. This truism, as it may be called, though it is one more readily admitted than practically remem-

[1] Niebuhr, in his *Roman History*, thus expresses the same thought:—"He who calls departed ages back again into being enjoys a bliss like that of creating. It were a great thing if I could scatter the mist that lies upon this most interesting portion of ancient story, and could spread a clear light over it, so that the Romans shall stand before the eyes of my readers distinct, intelligible, familiar as cotemporaries with their institutions and the vicissitudes of their destiny living and moving."

bered, is my excuse for prefacing the account of Cardinal Allen's political life with a few remarks concerning certain principles which were held as axioms in his day, though now they are either denied or are relegated at least by the non-catholic world to the realm of simple speculation.

God the source of all legitimate authority.

The first of these principles relates to the all-important question: What is the ultimate source of all legitimate authority among men? The answer to this question is the foundation on which the whole fabric of political science is built, and it practically shapes and regulates the relations between the governed and the governors from first to last. In Allen's day all men with one voice would have affirmed as an indubitable truth that the sole source of all authority either in the spiritual or in the natural order is Almighty God. None but the representative of man's Creator, they would have said, can justly claim the obedience of his fellows. It is only to God's delegate that men are bound to submit their wills. The channels indeed through which authority may descend upon the ruler are various, but the source from which it flows is the same. The mode of communication may be natural or supernatural, mediate or immediate. Authority may be imparted to an individual, to a few, to the whole body; it may come by treaty, conquest or inheritance. But in every case, if legitimate, it is from God; and the ruler has no title to govern except as God's representative, and with power derived from Him. Hence while he has a strict right to the obedience of his subjects, the very nature of the right reminds him and them that his decrees are without force if they are manifestly in contradiction with God's laws, and that as he rules not slaves but God's free men, his end in ruling must be not his own private advantage but the common weal.

Practical effect of this principle.

These principles could not have failed to become operative in the hearts of those who held them, and they must have exercised a powerful influence in drawing together the governed and their governors, and consecrating in a certain sense their relations to each other as an earthly similitude of those which exist between God our Father in heaven and His children here below. Hence flowed the enthusiastic loyalty, deep reverence and personal devotion, which sovereigns excited in their subjects. Such feelings indeed and the ways in which they were formerly manifested would be unreal and childish in those who, as at the present day, place the source of authority elsewhere than in God. The slave is not enthusiastic about his overseer: the hired servant is not revered as such by his hirer. But in an age gone by they were the natural outcome and expression of the principles then dominant. For the same reason treason and rebellion wore a different aspect in those days from what they do now. Then they were regarded as crimes of the deepest dye and worthy of the heaviest punishment: now under the title of political offences they are scarcely reckoned among the lowest class of venial sins. The spirit of his age breathes in Shakespere's well known lines:—

> "And shall the figure of God's majesty,
> His captain, steward, deputy elect,
> Anointed, crowned, planted many years,
> Be judged by subject and inferior breath,
> And he himself not present?"[1]

The sentiment was a reality then: it is poetry and only poetry now.

[1] Richard II., act IV. sc 1

Church and State: their relations.

From God as the ultimate ground and source of all human authority we may pass on to consider the aspect under which the two great organizations of religious and social life, the catholic church and the states of Christendom, presented themselves to Allen's contemporaries. Looking as they did upon the authority which actuated these bodies as derived from the same fountain head, Almighty God, it was natural that they should regard them as having been intended by their divine author to work together in harmony and unity. It was undeniable that each as a sovereign power was sovereign within its own domain; but since these domains overlapped and intersected each other at many points, unity of action required that where the two powers came into contact one or other should give way; while at the same time the fact that the end of the one, being temporal, was essentially subordinate to the end of the other, which was eternal, clearly indicated that the temporal power should yield to the spiritual and the natural to the supernatural. Hence though recognizing the full sovereignty of the temporal prince they maintained that an indirect authority over temporals belonged of right to the spiritual ruler. Furthermore all Christians were looked upon as members of both organizations. Birth made men subjects of a state; baptism, or the new birth, of the church. As man could not fulfil his earthly destiny except in the social state, so neither could he work out his eternal salvation except in the church. Hence no one who had become a member of either body had the right to stand aloof from it: death alone could free him from the duty of obedience to the church and to the state. To rebel against either power was to offend against God and the social good. It was to refuse obedience to the legitimate authority by which society is held together and to substitute anarchy for order. Now heresy or the obstinate rejection of a dogma revealed by God and propounded by the church, was regarded as rebellion against the church and high treason against God. Hence the horror it excited in the ages of faith and the severity with which it was everywhere punished. The heretic struck a deadly blow at the whole fabric of society; directly at the spiritual organization, for the church was a mere "*magni nominis umbra*" if there were not one faith, and indirectly at the state, since rebellion against the spiritual power must needs pave the way to revolt against temporal authority, both powers having the same ultimate ground, the ordinance of God. Princes then in the interest of their people, no less than as the official executors of the church's sentence, were bound to root out heresy from their dominions. Again it was everywhere held that sovereigns, being as Christians members of the church, were as fully subject to her jurisdiction as the meanest of their subjects, and this not only as private individuals but in the exercise of their supreme power as sovereigns; for they might sin in either capacity, and as sinners they fell at once necessarily under the church's judgment and punishments. They could only have withdrawn themselves from the pastoral crook of Christ's vicar by proving that they had never been of the number of Christ's sheep; a plea impossible to a Christian. Accordingly the Popes have again and again forced sovereigns to respect the marriage tie and to cease from oppressing their people. But much more was the church bound to intervene when a prince fell into heresy. The monstrosity of a heretical sovereign ruling over a Christian people was something utterly repugnant to the common feeling and the common law of Christendom. No one doubted that it was the Pope's duty and right to depose a

heretical monarch from his throne, to free his subjects from their obligation of obedience, and to transfer his territories to another king or even family. The deposing power was looked upon by all as an appanage of the Sovereign Pontificate; and no sovereign felt aggrieved, or thought that his own authority was impaired by the punishment inflicted on his guilty brother. The very majesty which environed kings as God's anointed delegates made every Christian feel the impossibility of tolerating a heretical prince in the commonwealth of Christendom. We have revolutions now instead of Papal depositions of unworthy sovereigns; the uprisings of rebellious subjects against their legitimate rulers instead of a judicial act of the common father and judge of Christians. Whether society has thereby gained in stability may be justly questioned. Be this however as it may, our only concern at present is to call attention to some of the principles or prejudices (*præjudicia*), if that term be preferred, which underlay the thoughts and judgments of Allen's contemporaries, lest by neglecting these and ascribing to him those of our own time we render a true estimate of his character and actions impossible to us.

The principles of the ages of faith still living in the sixteenth century.

But it may perhaps seem inaccurate to speak of the sixteenth century as still dominated by the principles which prevailed in the centuries immediately preceding it. For this age was unquestionably a period of transition as regards the outward forms of society and religion; and therefore necessarily a change was going on in men's minds in respect to the principles of which these outward forms were the expression. At the opening of the sixteenth century and during the first twenty years of its course the religious and political order in Europe was still unchanged, and all things in church and state looked externally as they had done throughout the middle ages. Christendom whether regarded from the side of the church or of the state was as yet an unbroken unity. Heresy met with toleration nowhere. The Pope's supremacy, direct in spirituals and indirect in temporals, was not denied in principle by any one, however much the exercise of it might be contested or evaded in practice. But before the first quarter of the century was past Luther had begun his revolt, which already gave promise of surpassing in durability the heretical movements of former times. Calvin and Zuingle soon followed in Luther's train, each with his newly-invented doctrine and his adherents. Several of the German princes also supported the reformation. Norway, Sweden and Denmark abandoned the ancient faith. The new gospel penetrated into England, Scotland, France and the Low Countries, carrying division everywhere. Thus the century which had opened on a Christendom one in church and state closed with the spectacle of a Christendom one no longer, but broken up into hostile camps, each animated by principles which rendered the reunion of the fragments well nigh impossible. The catholic church alone was still as ever unchanged and unchangeable in faith and organization, but she was weakened by the apostasy of so many of her children, while her social and political influence was passing away with the disruption of the commonwealth of Christian states. This is a true picture of the vast changes which were going on during the sixteenth century; and yet for all this, while making every allowance for particular cases, it seems to me not incorrect to say that the principles dominant in the middle ages were still alive and influential in the minds of most of those who had reached mature age before this century closed. Of the catholics this can hardly be doubted, especially in the case of those who had seen

with their own eyes or had heard from their fathers how things were formerly in church and state and who sighed more or less hopefully for their restoration. But even with regard to the protestants, the principles which they had imbibed in their childhood and youth must still have largely affected their general views and made them feel the force of arguments which would leave unmoved the men of a future generation, even though these principles were logically at variance with the new doctrines to which they had subsequently given their adherence. It was with them as with the materialist, who no longer believing in the existence of God, the moral law and a future state, yet acts and reasons for the most part as if the dogmas he has intellectually rejected were true. It is time however to turn from these general considerations to the examination of the particular part which Cardinal Allen took in the politics of his day.

Appearance of England ecclesiastically during Allen's boyhood.

William Cardinal Allen was born in 1532, the year in which Cranmer, under the authority of a Papal bull was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Two years later (1534) the realm of England by act of Parliament consummated the schism for which it had been preparing and formally separated itself from the unity of Christendom. Then followed the destruction of the monasteries and the plunder of church property, together with the martyrdoms of laymen, monks and ecclesiastics, who preferred to die as so-called traitors rather than acknowledge the king to be supreme spiritual head of the English church. Allen was fifteen when he went up to Oxford, and it was at the beginning of this year, 28th January, 1547, that Henry VIII. died. Allen's childhood and youth were thus cast in troubled times, when the hearts of many must have been heavy within them in anxious expectation of what further evils might be coming upon the land. It should however be borne in mind that so long as Henry VIII. lived there was very little external change visible in the aspect of religion in England. The bishops still pontificated, confirmed and ordained with precisely the same rites as formerly. Mass was daily said or sung in every parish church and chapel with the same ritual and in the same vestments that had been used for centuries. The churches wore their accustomed decorations. Crucifixes and holy images excited the devotion of the faithful, save only where the king's greed of gold had robbed the ancient shrines and pilgrimage-places of the offerings which once adorned them. Fast and festival still varied as of old the year's monotony. No change was visible when infants were baptised, and marriages solemnized. The viaticum was carried to the dying, extreme unction was administered, and the grave closed over the earthly remains of the departed with the same ancient forms as hitherto. Even the doctrines preached from the pulpit were on the whole unchanged. For jealous as the king was of his pretended supremacy, he did not add it to the creed or force the clergy to teach it to their flocks. On the contrary he used it to forbid all other novelties in doctrine, and he was ready to burn as heretics those who dared to depart one degree further than he himself had done from the catholic faith. Hence the England of Allen's first impressions was still in outward seeming and to his youthful apprehension the catholic England of earlier times. No spectacle of a heretical worship battling with or hindering the full manifestation of the catholic faith marred for him the majestic beauty or weakened the attractive power of the one catholic and apostolic church. Moreover he belonged to a family whose attachment to the faith and freedom from all taint of heresy

were proved by many subsequent trials. Even the part of Lancashire in which he was born was remarkable for its steadfastness in the faith. Fifty years later he wrote with evident satisfaction that it was still wholly catholic, though some of the common people might now and then go to the protestant church to escape the pains and penalties of recusancy.[1]

Allen at Oxford.

Allen continued his studies at Oxford as an undergraduate and then as a bachelor of arts during the short reign of Edward VI, under whose fostering care protestantism was making steady progress in the country. He took his M.A. degree in 1554, the year in which the realm was solemnly absolved from heresy and schism by the Papal legate, Cardinal Pole, and restored to catholic unity; an event which must have ever after stood out sharp and clear in Allen's recollections. The offices of proctor and principal of St. Mary's Hall which he filled in the university show the esteem in which he was already held and must have given him opportunities of co-operating to some extent in the restoration of the ancient religion under Mary. Allen was twenty-six years old when Elizabeth ascended the throne and undid for ever her predecessor's work. A professed catholic at her accession, communicated and crowned according to the ancient rite by a catholic prelate, six months did not pass before she reassumed with the assent of parliament the spiritual headship of the English church, and like her father and brother challenged as a right inherent in her imperial crown the same fulness of jurisdiction which Christ's vicar, the Roman Pontiff, till then exercised in England. Elizabeth had the whole temporal power of the crown wherewith to back up her pretended spiritual jurisdiction, and she used it freely to abrogate all exercise whatever of the catholic worship throughout the realm, and to enforce instead of it under heavy penalties the weekly presence of all her subjects at the new rites and preaching which she had sanctioned. Thenceforth in England, now catholic no longer, bishops so called ruled their flocks with power derived not from Christ's Vicar but the Queen. The Book of Common Prayer, read by ministers, replaced the mass and the mass-priests, as they were termed derisively. Bread and wine administered at communion tables supplanted in every church our Lord's Body and the altars on which it was once consecrated. The sacrament of confession was done away with. The dying passed into eternity unhouseled and unaneled. No prayers or sacrifices might be offered to hasten the entry of the faithful departed into bliss. The images of Christ, His blessed Mother and the saints were torn down with contumely. The bare walls of the neglected and defaced churches preached indifference to the mysteries of the unseen world, while the pulpits rang with ignorant blasphemies against the time-honoured faith of Christendom. This transformation of the whole external religious life of England was wrought on one day by act of parliament and imposed under the heaviest penalties upon a generally reluctant people. The feast of St. John the Baptist's Nativity, 1559, when by statute the old worship ceased and the new began,[2] must have ever after lived in Allen's memory as a sorrowful pendant to St. Andrew's day, 1554, when by the absolution of the Papal legate England had become catholic again. Though Allen had

[1] Allen to Agazzari, 14 March, 1583, infra, p. 181.

[2] On the other hand Stow says: "on the 8th of May, being Whitsunday, the service in churches began according to the book of common prayer set forth and established by this last parliament correspondent to that of K. Edward's time." Stow, *Chronicle*, p. 639.

resigned the office of principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford was not a place where his undisguised zeal for the catholic faith would suffer him long to remain in safety. Like many other learned men of both universities, who preferred exile with the loss of benefices and prospects to the oath of supremacy and external conformity to the new religion, he withdrew to the Low Countries in 1561, still a layman, or at most a tonsured clerk, if it be true that he had been appointed to a canonry in York Cathedral in 1558,[1] for we have his own testimony that he received all the orders, priesthood included, at Malines.[2]

Why Allen laboured for the conversion of the realm as such.

It is needless to retrace here the details of Allen's subsequent life, for they will be found in the Introduction to the Douay Diaries already mentioned; nor is it worth while to prove that the one end for which he lived and toiled was to bring back his countrymen to catholic unity, since the letters and memorials which follow show this abundantly. My purpose in the brief summary of his early years just given is simply to point out how the circumstances of his boyhood and youth, taken in connection with the dominant principles of his century, explain and, if need be, justify the special point of view under which the object of his lifelong labours, England's conversion, presented itself to him. This was, as it seems to me, nothing less than the reconciliation of the realm as such with the catholic church and the restoration of the state of things ecclesiastical and civil which existed at the time when Henry VIII. began the schism. In his boyhood he had seen England, in outward appearance at least, still catholic. He had beheld her putting on the garb of protestantism under Edward VI. Seven years passed and the realm was ruled by a catholic sovereign and was once again in full communion with the Apostolic See. True, the restoration was short-lived It died with Mary, and a new queen had replunged the kingdom in a deeper abyss of heresy and schism than before. But what had been might be again. Elizabeth might find it necessary to change her policy; death might remove her; or Providence interfere in other ways, and a catholic successor bring back the catholic past. These hopes did not seem chimerical to Allen and his contemporaries, nor were they so in themselves, for it was impossible to reckon upon or foresee the forty-four years that Elizabeth's reign lasted. That such were Allen's hopes or rather his unshaken expectation is plain from all his acts and writings. Thus in his letter from Rome to the catholics and priests in England, 12th December, 1592, when the prospect was black enough, he says: "Doubt ye not, my most sweet and faithful coadjutors and true confessors, that our adversaries' iniquities are now in God's sight near accomplished and at the height: on the contrary side the numbers of our brethren that are to suffer for His truth are near made up, and shortly to receive not only in the next, but in this world, the worthy fruits of their happy labours. God all mighty and all merciful will not suffer long the rod of the wicked to lay so heavy upon the lot of the just, neither let us be tempted more than by His grace we shall be able to bear, but will shorten those days of affliction for the elect's sake."[3] Again upon his deathbed he asked the Duke of Sesa to entreat Philip II. not to abandon the good catholics of England, for that he was dying in full confidence that through the crown of his majesty the realm would one day be restored to the obedience of the Holy See.[4]

[1] Wood's *Athenæ*, I., 616.
[2] Allen to the Chapter of St. Rombaut at Malines, 1 Feb., 1590, infra, p. 317.
[3] Infra, p. 344. [4] Duke of Sesa to Philip II., 24 October, 1594, infra, p. 363.

It would be easy to multiply passages like these. They are quoted less as proof than in illustration. Once more the aims and hopes of Allen come out more clearly when we contrast them with those of the most fervent catholics in the following century. The undisputed accession and untroubled reign of James I. made it evident that the long-continued and crushing tyranny of the penal laws had proved effective not indeed in destroying catholicism, but in establishing protestantism as the ruling power in England. Thenceforth no one however sanguine hoped or laboured to bring back the kingdom, as a kingdom, to the catholic church. All that catholics now sought was some degree of toleration for themselves and to win individuals here and there to the old religion. In reading the letters which they have left behind and studying their aims and policy we seem to breathe a different air, and to have come among different men from those of Allen's day, so great is the change in circumstances and sentiments that half a century had worked. This should be borne in mind, lest we fall into the error of judging Allen's aims and actions by the standards of another century quite unlike his own.

Allen's missionary labours. Douay College.

Allen's aim was to make England catholic again, and to attain this end he left no means unused which Providence placed within his reach. A dangerous illness was the occasion of his return to his native country in 1562, and he remained there until 1565, occupied unceasingly in converting heretics, rekindling the zeal of catholics and exhorting all to abstain from attending the schismatical worship by law established. This he did by frequent conversations and instructions full of eloquence and learning, to which his marvellous power of personal influence added fresh persuasiveness.[1] Once more he was forced to leave England, and this time for ever: but he continued his apostolate in Flanders by writing and printing various books of controversy in the vernacular suited to his country's needs. Ere long he began at Douay the college of which he wrote twenty-six years later to a priest in England a few months only before his death: "Another thing there is which I pray both yourself and the fathers of the Company, and all other my godly friends, priests or laymen, that they extend their hands and hearts of compassion towards the maintenance of the seminary of Douay, which is as dear to me as my own life, and which hath next to God been the beginning and ground of all the good and salvation which is wrought in England; which must needs be dissolved in very short time except it be abundantly one way or other relieved. The decay whereof as it would rejoice the enemy much, so certainly it would be the fall of all other colleges erected for our nation abroad in the world. You know the case, my friend, and how much it importeth your good and honour of the catholic cause."[2] There is no exaggeration in the good which Allen here attributes to the college at Douay, as the documents now published will amply testify: but of this I have written at large elsewhere in the Introduction to the Douay Diaries.

Two ways of converting England.

The special end of the college and of the various spiritual works which grew up under its fostering care was the maintenance and propagation of the catholic religion in England. Few now-a-days, even of those who have no sympathy with catholicism, will deny that the end was legitimate and that the moral

[1] Infra, p. 56.

[2] Allen to Mush, 16 March, 1594, infra, p. 357. Cf. Allen to Vendeville, 16 Sept., 1578, infra, p. 52, and Allen to the Cardinal of Como, 16 Jan., 1585, infra, p. 244.

means of instruction, persuasion and patience under persecutions, by which the priests trained at Douay strove to convert men to the faith, were no less unexceptionable. But there was another way of bringing back England to the catholic church which though quite in harmony with the principles of the sixteenth century does not commend itself to men of the present day, or rather needs only to be stated to be condemned by them. This is the employment of political action and external force. As Allen held the one means to be as lawful as the other, and used both as the occasion served, it is necessary for the right understanding of his life to examine how a man so sincere and single-minded as he undoubtedly was justified to himself the political action by which he sought to bring about the return of his country to the faith.

Allen's appeal to force defensible on modern principles.

It would be easy indeed to defend him on principles very generally assumed as true at the present time. Subjects, it is said, have an indefeasible right to rebel against their sovereign, whenever they judge his rule to be oppressive, and they may call in foreign powers to aid them in their attempt. The right of revolution has now become part of the common code of modern Europe. Now what treasure is there dearer and more precious to a true catholic than the faith? A sovereign then who like Elizabeth made the exercise of the catholic religion in England impossible has thereby lost all claim to the obedience of her subjects, and they may justly depose her by themselves or with the help of foreign princes. I do not see what answer can be given to such a defence of Allen on modern principles, except to deny that the catholic faith is a treasure the loss of which would justify rebellion. But surely on these same principles it is for the person concerned, not the bystander, to determine the nature and degree of the oppression which warrants him to revolt. He is judge and executor of the judgment in his own cause. This answer would be sufficient *ad hominem* in a controversial dispute. The subject however must be examined more closely in serious history; for though there is a certain amount of truth, or rather of truth perverted, in these modern principles, it would be unfair to Allen to rest on them his justification. We have to discover the grounds on which he himself acted. The validity of the grounds is a further matter, which may be left to the appreciation of the reader.

To understand Allen's position two questions must be examined: 1. Are there any circumstances under which a temporal sovereign can be rightfully deprived of his sovereignty, and if so, how and when? 2. Were these conditions fulfilled when Allen took part in the endeavour to dispossess Elizabeth of the English throne?

Can a sovereign be lawfully dethroned? When and how?

To begin with the first question: according to the teaching of the church and the principles which prevailed during the sixteenth century the sovereign's title to govern his subjects comes in ultimate analysis from God. No one therefore but God has the right to take away from the sovereign that authority which no one but God has given to him. Has then God provided any means for the withdrawal of this authority, or given any indication when it is His will that it may be lawfully withdrawn? The right of the sovereign to rule does not come from any positive law of God. It flows from the natural law, that is, from God's unspoken law, written by Him on man's nature and promulgated to him through his reason. God has so constituted man that to be a member of a state is a necessity of nature to him. But no state is possible without the existence in it

of a supreme power with the right to govern the state's members. God then, who alone can give this power, must have intended to give it, and wherever it exists legitimately, it is traceable to Him. God gives the authority, but He does not designate the person of the recipient. The ways in which the sovereign power may be acquired are manifold. Sometimes for example it has been by election; sometimes by conquest; at other times by treaty; now and then by an usurpation subsequently legitimised by the peaceful acquiescence of the governed when lapse of time and hopelessness of success have extinguished the title of the expelled sovereign. Under all these modes of designating the sovereign there seems to lie the choice or at least tacit consent of the people as a condition; but when once the sovereign power has been constituted it continues according to the form in which it was constituted, whether elective, or hereditary, monarchical, aristocratical, or popular, without any right on the people's part to resume at will the sovereignty and designate a new sovereign. This right would indeed exist if, as moderns teach, the sovereign were simply the people's delegate and minister; for the power they give they can withdraw. But it does not exist according to the doctrine that the sovereign is God's delegate and minister, and that the people's part is only to designate in certain cases the person who shall be invested with the sovereignty.

The sovereign's end is the public good.

The natural law, from which the sovereign derives his right to rule, prescribes also the end at which he should aim in ruling. His sovereignty exists because it is indispensable to his people's good; the end therefore of the exercise of his sovereignty must be his people's good likewise. To use his power merely for his own private good would be to rule as a tyrant not as a sovereign. Hence if he should enact anything plainly contrary to God's law and to the state's injury his enactment would be without binding force. He would no longer command in this point as God's minister in virtue of the power God has given him, and to disobey him herein would not be to disobey God, but on the contrary to disobey would become a duty. Still particular unjust enactments do not take away the prince's right to obedience in other matters where his commands are just. He is still sovereign, though he may rule in many points tyrannically.

The tyrant's end is his own private good. He may be deposed.

But a case may arise in which the sovereign, in spite of warnings and admonitions, perseveres for a long time in governing with utter disregard to the general good of his subjects, so that the social order is breaking up under his tyranny, and everything is going hopelessly to ruin in the state. In such a case must the tyrant's rule be borne by his people as an evil from which there is no escape, or does any way exist by which he can be lawfully deprived of his authority and his subjects freed from their duty of obedience to him? Taking reason only for our guide, the natural law in a case of extreme necessity like the one supposed seems clearly to permit the deposition of the sovereign; for since he received his sovereignty for the state's good, and he exercises it for the state's destruction, it is right and just that he should forfeit it. But the difficulty is that, as a sovereign prince, he has no temporal superior who has the right to judge and depose him. Nor again have his subjects, either individually or collectively, any jurisdiction over him. Still since it was through their choice or acquiescence originally that he or his ancestors were invested with the sovereignty, it has been held not unreasonably that they may on account of his incurable tyranny depose him, or more strictly declare him deposed. Only

this sentence, it should be added, to be a rightful one, must be pronounced by the larger and wiser portion of the people, especially by the estates of the realm to that end assembled.

Christianity modifies the sovereign's rights.

Thus far I have treated the question with reference only to the natural law and prescinding from the existence of revelation. But, it may be asked, if a pagan king and people should embrace Christianity, will the king's rights as sovereign be thereby affected and his relations to his subjects modified? The answer is that they will be affected in two particulars. The end, indeed, of the state which has become Christian is still the temporal wellbeing of its members, and the attainment of this end must still be the chief aim of the Christian sovereign in his rule. As however his subjects have a higher end of existence than a temporal one, and are now members of a supernatural polity instituted by God to enable them to attain this higher end, the Christian sovereign cannot duly exercise his authority as God's minister in the temporal order without taking into account the supernatural polity, or the catholic church, and the acts of its rulers, and regulating his own mode of government so as to be in harmony with them. Thus for example a father in the education of his children, while setting before himself the good of the family as his end, does not close his eyes to any enactments of the state which affect his children, but modifies his own line of conduct accordingly. The Christian sovereign then must subordinate his rule to the church's rulers; first by not opposing what the church enacts for the eternal good of his subjects; and secondly by using the temporal power which God has given him in her service, when she calls on him for aid in carrying out the work which God has entrusted to her.

Church and State in the Middle Ages.

The relation which ought to exist between the church and a Christian sovereign flows from the nature of the two organizations, by and in which God has willed that men should attain the temporal and eternal ends of their life on earth respectively. It is therefore independent of the circumstances of time and place. Human frailty and the decay of faith may impair the harmony and set the temporal ruler at variance with the spiritual one, but they cannot render untrue the divine ideal or make that praiseworthy which contradicts it. There was a time in the world's history when these principles attained a special development and external manifestation such as they never reached either before or since. This was in the middle ages, when the catholic church had remoulded on a Christian pattern and vivified with a Christian spirit the whole fabric of political, social and domestic life, so that the catholic faith extended as a living power into the every-day actions, views, language and customs of men. During this time, which has been called not untruly the ages of faith, the states of Europe were knit together into a kind of Christian commonwealth under the headship of their common spiritual father, the Roman Pontiff, and thus exhibited in their unity an earthly similitude of their spiritual oneness in the catholic church. It was then

The Pope's temporal authority.

that the temporal authority of the Pope over Christian states and their rulers was most fully exercised and freely acknowledged. How far this sprang indirectly from his spiritual office of Christ's vicar and how far it had its source in what may be called the international law of an undivided Christendom may be disputed. Certainly in those days when men's wills were strong and the checks of society feeble, it was a happy thing for the oppressed, whether individuals or states, to be able to appeal to the common father of Christians for protection, and the

oppressors, though they might try to hinder the appeal, could not deny its lawfulness. But whatever the source of this power, it was acknowledged by all men, and its decrees were regarded as valid and binding, just as treaties between states are held to bind now. The highest exercise of this power was when the Sovereign Pontiff solemnly deposed an offending sovereign and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. It was a penalty rarely and reluctantly inflicted and not till every other means of bringing the offender to reason had been tried in vain. But it was chiefly in the case of heresy that the Pope had recourse to his deposing power. Other sins might be tolerated for a time in a sovereign and their evil effects abated by lesser remedies. But not so heresy, which under the protection of an heretical sovereign will soon pervert a nation. Hence the greatness of the evil calls for prompt and unsparing measures. No monarch so manifestly uses his authority for the destruction, not the good, of the commonwealth as the heretical prince. No one therefore so justly deserves to lose his throne as he. It was in fact an axiom in those days that the heretic, whatever his degree, was an enemy and alien to the Christian commonwealth, and that so long as he continued in heresy he had no part or lot with Christian men. It is necessary to put this strongly, for if we do not realize how men regarded heresy and the heretic then, we shall not be able to understand the legislation of which these were everywhere the object. Hence no one saw ground for complaint when the church punished heretics or delivered them over to the civil power for punishment, and men greeted as an act of supreme justice the solemn deposition of an heretical king.

Deposing power.

Heresy the ages faith.

The common law of mediæval Christendom will be found in cap. 3, *de hæreticis*, passed by the fourth Lateran and twelfth œcumenical council under Innocent III. in 1215. Four hundred and twelve bishops and eight hundred abbots took part in this council. Many princes of Europe were present at it in person and others by their representatives. Its decrees, therefore, regarding them from the lowest point of view, must have been in perfect harmony with the common sentiments of Christendom. The following is a translation of part of cap. 3, *de hæreticis*, which, it may be added, has been inserted in the *Corpus Juris*, and will be found in the Decretals, cap. Excommunicamus, *de hæreticis*. "If a temporal lord, after having been required and admonished by the church, shall neglect to cleanse his land from heretical defilement, let him be excommunicated by the metropolitan and the other bishops of the province. And if he shall through contempt fail to give satisfaction within a year, let this be signified to the Sovereign Pontiff, that he may thereupon declare his vassals absolved from allegiance to him, and offer his land for seizure by catholics that they may after expelling the heretics possess it by an incontestable title and keep it in the purity of the faith: saving the right of the principal lord, provided he puts no obstacle in the way of this and opposes no hindrance; the same law nevertheless being observed with regard to those who have no principal lords." This decree by its insertion in the *Corpus Juris* became part of the ordinary statute law of the church. It had not been abrogated by desuetude in the sixteenth century; for Allen and Persons appeal to it as in full force in a memorandum drawn up for Philip II.,[1] and S. Pius V. acted in accordance with it when he issued his bull deposing Queen Elizabeth.

The fourth Lateran Council, 1215.

[1] March, 1587, infra, p. 285.

Were there valid grounds for Elizabeth's deposition? Elizabeth Queen *de jure* and *de facto*.

We have next to consider the second of the two questions proposed, viz., how far the conditions requisite for the deposition of a sovereign according to the church's law and the principles of the sixteenth century were fulfilled in Elizabeth's case. The answer to this will involve Allen's justification or condemnation. Although Elizabeth was the issue of an incestuous and adulterous union, her title to the throne, which rested on an act of parliament and her father's last will and testament, was universally admitted by the country at Mary's death, no other claimant appearing and not a voice being raised for any other. She was thus *de jure* and *de facto* Queen of England. Eleven years after her accession, when the northern counties rose under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, the rising was not against the Queen, whose authority the earls recognized in their proclamations, but against the evil counsellors surrounding her, "divers new set-up nobles, who not only go about to overthrow and put down the ancient nobility of the realm, but also have misused the Queen's majesty's own person and also have by the space of twelve years now past set up and maintained a new-found religion and heresy contrary to God's will."[1] It was not until the following year (1570), that S. Pius V. published the bull *Regnans in excelsis* in which he excommunicated Elizabeth by name as an incorrigible heretic and favourer of heresy, deposed her from the throne and absolved her subjects from their allegiance. There was nothing novel in this act of the Pope; there was nothing startling in his assertion of a power, which his predecessors had claimed and used for centuries without reclamation from the European commonwealth of Christian states. The Pope's prudence in thus acting might possibly be questioned; his right to act thus was unquestionable. S. Pius V. failed indeed to induce any of the princes of Christendom to put the bull into execution and take possession of the realm. The means and opportunities were wanting to them. Philip II. was willing,[2] but the troubles in the Low Countries occupied him fully and prevented him from intervening in England.

Queen *de facto* not *de jure*.

This Pontifical act was not a mere empty protest. Its effect was that Elizabeth ceased to be Queen *de jure*, while she remained Queen *de facto* as before. The distinction is important: for in forfeiting the right to reign, her continued occupation of the throne constituted her an unlawful usurper; on the other hand as she was Queen *de facto*, those under her sway were permitted, nay bound in conscience, to obey her enactments and recognize their validity, provided these were not in themselves unjust. The reason of this is that the good of the people imperatively requires that the organization of the state should continue unbroken and anarchy be kept at a distance. At the same time no one but the usurper, who is resolved not to abandon possession of the throne, has the physical force requisite to maintain social order. The people are therefore bound in conscience, while this state of things lasts, to acquiesce in his rule and by their acquiescence to give validity to his enactments. The usurper still sins by exercising an authority to which he has no just title, but it is a part of the sin of his unjust usurpation, not a

[1] Lingard, VI., 210.

[2] In 1559 Philip II. from motives of policy did his best to persuade Paul IV. not to excommunicate Elizabeth; if however the Sovereign Pontiff was determined to proceed to censures against her, he prayed that he might be invested with the realm of England. The King acted in the same way in 1561, when Pius IV. was meditating her deposition. Mignet, *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, Tome I., Append., pp. 399, 402, cinquième édition.

new offence. And he would sin still more grievously if, while retaining the office of ruler which he has seized, he omitted to fulfil the duties of a legitimate ruler. Such is the teaching of theologians regarding an usurper,[1] and in harmony with it Pope Gregory XIII. issued a modification, or rather an explanation of the bull *Regnans in excelsis*. He declared by rescript, dated 14 April, 1580, "that the bull should always bind the Queen and the heretics: on the other hand that it should in no way bind the catholics, as things stood, but then at length, whenever it might be possible to effect some public execution of it."[2] Fathers Persons and Campion took with them to England this authoritative declaration for the relief of the perplexed consciences of the English catholics, who feared to refuse obedience to Elizabeth lest they should be punished as traitors, or to obey her and so incur the excommunication of the bull.

Zeal of Gregory XIII. for Elizabeth's deposition.

It was far however from the desire of Gregory XIII. that the bull should remain without execution. He saw too clearly the ruin to innumerable souls which resulted from Elizabeth's continuance on the throne. As spiritual pastor of these souls he was bound to use all lawful means to save them from perishing. Hence not content with aiding by his munificent gifts the purely spiritual work of conversion which was carried on by the colleges of Douay and Rome, the latter being his own foundation, he left nothing undone to impel Philip II. of Spain to overthrow Elizabeth by force of arms. Thus in 1577 when it had been arranged that Don John of Austria, after pacifying Flanders, should undertake the conquest of England and place Mary Queen of Scots on the English throne, Gregory XIII. sent Mgr. Sega as his Nuncio to Don John with 50,000 ducats in aid of the proposed expedition.[3] A few months later in the same year he appointed Mgr. Sega Nuncio at Madrid, with special instructions to urge upon the king the expedition against Elizabeth and to offer on the Pope's part an auxiliary force of 4,000 to 5,000 men.[4] The ill-fated expedition under Sir Thomas Stukely,[5] which was equipped by Gregory XIII. and sent by him to Ireland, but which by the treachery of its commander was diverted from its destination and perished with Sebastian, King of Portugal, at Alcazar in Morocco, 4 August, 1578, is a further proof of the Pope's zeal in the same cause.[6]

Under these circumstances can it excite surprise, or be looked upon as worthy of blame that Allen when summoned by the Sovereign Pontiff to take an active part in this new sphere of work should have entered upon it willingly; the more so as it did not in any way oblige him to abandon the spiritual work of the seminary? Rather his conduct would have been simply unintelligible if he had held aloof, much more if by his refusal he had condemned as wrong the action of the Sovereign Pontiffs and the King of Spain in endeavouring to restore by arms the catholic faith in England.

Allen kept the work of the seminaries unmingled with his political life.

What is noteworthy and singular in him is the way in which he managed to carry on at the same time these two great branches of work, each sufficient by

[1] Lessius de *Jure et Justitia*, lib. II. cap. 29, dub. 9: *Utrum tyrannus peccet usurpatione judicii, ejusque sententiæ sint irritæ*. Billuart de *Jure et Justitia*, dissert. X., art. 2.

[2] Butler's *Historical Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 366, note.

[3] Infra, p. 281.

[4] *Relazione compendiosa della negoziatione di Monsignor Sega nella corte del re cattolico*, MS. mentioned in the *Recueil des Bulletins de la Commission Royale d'Histoire à Bruxelles*, 3 série, Vol. VI. p. 157 sq.

[5] Infra, p. 267, note.

[6] Becchetti, *Istoria degli ultimi quattro secoli della chiesa*, Tom. XII., p. 220 sq.

itself to absorb the thoughts and energies of the whole man, without allowing the one to mingle or interfere with the other. He saw distinctly that the priests whom he was training for the English mission must keep altogether clear of political action if they were to win souls to God. Zeal for the house of God and the longing to gain souls was the spirit which he strove to breathe into them,[1] and this would in most cases be damped, if not quenched, by active participation in secular enterprises. But apart from this, they were to go as sheep among wolves, carrying their lives in their hands, with no defence before their persecutors except the innocence and harmlessness of their conduct. If then, guiltless though they were of plots or designs against the state, many of them, after being racked and tortured, died for their faith and priesthood a traitor's death upon the scaffold, and many more languished for years in fetid dungeons for the sole crimes of having become priests, saying mass or reconciling heretics or schismatics to the church, how much more would they have met with sure and speedy extermination, if it had been possible to prove against them any real practices hostile to the state or Queen? Ordinary prudence therefore forbade the priests on the English mission to mix themselves up with politics. Accordingly in their training for England all questions relating to the Pope's power of excommunicating and deposing princes were wholly omitted from the college course. Such points, though commonly discussed in other theological schools, were not alluded to at Douay or Reims even in a general form, much less with reference to the Queen's particular case. For this we have Allen's express testimony.[2] Again there is no trace of Allen having employed for political work the friends and disciples who helped him to carry on the college. He seems to have carefully avoided all conversation with them on such subjects. In the numerous letters which he wrote to F. Agazzari, S.J., rector of the English college at Rome, there is not a syllable of allusion to affairs of state. Yet many of them were written at a time when his mind must have been full of the impending expedition against England in which he was to take a principal part, and the pressure of business was so great that he sometimes had not time to read the letters over before despatching them. This reticence is the more remarkable because it seems contrary to the expansiveness and geniality of his natural disposition and to his wide and deep gift of sympathy. For such a man to keep his words under full control implies no small mastery of himself. A passage in a letter of Dr Richard Barret, for whom Allen had great esteem and affection, to F. Agazzari, dated Reims, 14 April, 1583, is worth quoting in this connection.[3] "I think" he says "that no one here knows anything about F. Robert [Persons] except Dr Allen, who is so secret that he will not communicate it to any one. I am surprised however that he has omitted it in his letter to your reverence, and yet has written it to others. I therefore pointed out to him that he should have put in a line, &c. He said that the only reason for the omission was that there were many occasions for writing or omitting things according to the matter in hand and as it came to his mind. I venture to affirm and I know for certain that there is no one with whom he converses by

[1] Infra, p. 62.

[2] Allen's *Answer to the Libel of English Justice*, p. 64, quoted in the *Introduction to the First and Second Douay Diaries*, p. cvi.

[3] The Latin original is in the Appendix to *The First and Second Douay Diaries*, p. 326.

letter more willingly and confidentially than with your reverence, who he thinks surpasses every one as to the affair of England's conversion in burning charity, sincerity in the guidance of our students to that end, and in many other things besides. I always hear this from him and talk about it with him to our mutual delight." The F. Robert alluded to was F. Robert Persons, who was then about to return from Spain, whither he had gone on an important political mission.[1]

The passage speaks for itself. One more instance of Allen's secresy may be given. In April, 1584, he sent an English seminary priest, Alfield by name, and afterwards a martyr, to the Apostolic Nuncio in Paris, about a matter of great consequence, relating to a recent convert, Captain John Davis.[2] In his letter introducing Alfield to the Nuncio he praises him as "very diligent and skilful in the transaction of business." He adds however that "though specially sent to me from the Island concerning a secret matter, which he will unfold to you but to no one else in these parts, he ought to know nothing about the great affair," i.e., the contemplated invasion of England. And in fact he did know nothing about it; for when he was martyred at Tyburn on July 6th of the following year, 1585, his indictment shows that the sole ground of his condemnation was his having brought over into England and dispersed there some copies of Dr Allen's "Answer to the Libel of English Justice," written in reply to Lord Burleigh's *Justitia Britannica*," or "The Execution of Justice, &c."[3]

When Allen began to take part in political action.

The next thing to determine is the precise time when, so far as we can judge, Allen first began to take an active part in political enterprises. On this point both positive and negative evidence may be adduced. Allen visited Rome for the third time in the winter of 1579—1580. It was an eventful moment as regards England. The Jesuit Fathers were then induced after much hesitation to take an active part in the English mission, and in the following summer FF. Persons and Campion, S.J., entered upon the new harvest as the first representatives of the Society. A little while before this, Allen's friend, Dr Nicholas Sander, had been sent as Apostolic Nuncio to Ireland in order to encourage and unite the Irish nobles who were in arms against Elizabeth. Naturally, Allen's enemies attributed his visit to Rome to political objects. He answered them in his "Apology of the English Seminaries" published in the following year, 1581. 'Therefore" he says "touching some of our late repairing to the city of Rome this year past, wherewith we are charged, the principal of that viage doth protest that he neither joined with rebel nor traitor nor any one or other against the Queen or realm, or traitorously sought or practised to irritate any prince or potentate to hostility against the same. Further invocating upon his soul that he never knew, saw nor heard during his abode in the court there of any such writings as are mentioned in the said Proclamation of July containing certain articles of confederation of the Pope, King of Spain and other Princes for the invasion of the realm, nor ever afterward gave counsel to publish any such thing, though he were in Rome at the day of the date that some of those copies, which afterward he saw when they were common to all the world, do bear."[4] Again: "How so ever it be and from whence soever they came, Christ knoweth our going to Rome did neither fetch, cause, nor procure any such matter, nor was for any

[1] Infra, p. 184, note 1. Also p. 189.
[2] Infra, p. 226.
[3] See *Life of Alfield*, in the *Rambler*, New Series, Vol. VII., p. 420. Allen's *Apologie of the English Seminaries*, fol. 15.
[4] Ib., fol. 15.

treaty or counsel against our country, but much more for the advancement of the same and for the necessary relief of our fellow students in banishment, as other men's going to other Princes' courts we doubt not to be for the like purpose: though we cannot so precisely warrant the actions of other men, wherewith we be not so well acquainted as our own."[1] And again: "And for the present troubles in Ireland, which now namely seem to give some cause of doubt that our brethren's intentions may be against the state, no less than for the preferment of the catholic faith, most sure it is, and of certain knowledge the writer hereof protesteth, that they [the seminary priests] neither were nor could be acquainted otherwise therewith than by the common bruit of the world. If the Pope have any part in those affairs, assure yourselves their elders (which of reason should know it) neither by his Holiness mouth nor any of his ministers in the time of those students being in Rome heard so much. And therefore to rack those poor innocent persons and to wrest out of them Princes' secrets, whereof there can be no reason that they should be partakers, is a lamentable and rare case in our country, specially in the clement reign of her Majesty. Imagine ye the Italian government and specially the Papacy to be so discreetly managed that every poor priest or scholar in the city knoweth the Pope's secrets? No, no; Christ doth know it, and He shall one day open their innocency and judge their cause and ours, who, as we shall then answer before Him, neither knew then nor now know any intentions of Pope or Princes concerning such things as are contained in the articles of the pretended confederacy mentioned in the Proclamation of the 15th of July, as more largely we have declared before."[2] Thus we have Allen's solemn testimony that up to 1581 which was the date of the publication of the "Apology of the English Seminaries," he had taken no part in the proposed enterprise against England, nor had any knowledge of it beyond what came from popular report. This positive statement is indirectly confirmed by the documents now printed, many of them for the first time. They consist of various letters to Pope Gregory XIII., the Cardinal of Como, the Pope's secretary of state, the Apostolical Nuncio at Paris, and other persons of note, but there is nothing in any of them to indicate that Allen was concerned in affairs of state or was even made aware of what was going on. His letters relate almost exclusively to the colleges and the temporal necessities of the English exiles for whom he sought relief. This negative proof is the more striking when the series of documents earlier than 1582 is compared with the subsequent series. The former contains no allusion to politics, while the latter affords abundant information regarding the affairs of state in which he then took part.

Allen's political life began in 1582.

It was in the spring of 1582 that Allen's political career seems to have begun. He was at that time fifty years old, and his life hitherto had been entirely devoted to "scholastical attempts," as he expresses it, "for the conversion of our country and reconcilement of our brethren to the catholic church, which we everlastingly profess and will endeavour until death."[3] But he already stood very high in the estimation of his exiled fellow-countrymen. Thus Dr Nicholas Sander, writing in 1576 to the Cardinal of Como, classes Allen with Sir Francis Englefield as one of the two English catholics whom it would be a mistake not to consult in all questions concerning England.[4] In the following year, 1577,

[1] Ib., fol. 16.
[2] Ib., fol. 100.
[3] Ib., fol. 15.
[4] Infra, p. 28.

Mary Queen of Scots, replying to a letter from Allen, speaks of "the many good reports and multitude of rare virtues flowing in you, which long ago have made your name be known not only unto me, but to the greatest and every one of good in Christendom."[1] In 1581 he had been for some time one of the two distributors of the alms of Philip II. to the English exiles in Flanders;—an office of great trust and delicacy which Sir Francis Englefield had held before him.[2] By the middle of 1580 Allen's College at Reims had trained and sent to the English mission above one hundred priests, not to mention many others educated there, who entered various religious orders or remained on the continent.[3] So famous indeed had this college become that, in 1578, only ten years from its foundation, Dr Vendeville was directed by Philip II. to take it as his model in organising the new seminary which the king had commissioned him to establish for the Low Countries.[4] These facts are enough to show the prominent position which Allen occupied among his fellow-exiles and the high consideration in which he was held, not only by ecclesiastics in the Low Countries, but even at the court of Philip II. in Spain. Surely then it was inevitable that a man of his ability and influence would sooner or later be called upon to take a leading part in the political enterprises by which the sovereign Pontiff and Philip II. hoped to restore England to catholic unity. The occasion for this came about in the following manner.

FF. Persons and Campion in England.

When FF. Persons and Campion arrived in England in the summer of 1580 they at once gave themselves up to the apostolic work of preaching, hearing confessions, resolving cases of conscience and reconciling the fallen to the catholic church. In this way they spent a year or fourteen months, travelling up and down the country and reviving everywhere the faith and fervour of the catholics. F. Campion seems to have devoted himself solely to these purely spiritual occupations. F. Persons on the other hand lost no opportunity of acquainting himself with the political state and sentiments of the catholic body, and he enjoyed quite exceptional means of gaining this information through the many catholic gentlemen who spoke to him on the subject when treating with him of their consciences.[5] Nor did he confine his attention only to England; but, as he saw clearly the bearing which the religious condition of Scotland must have on the neighbouring kingdom, he sent thither, in 1581, a secular priest named William Watts,[6] and shortly afterwards a Jesuit, F. William Holt, that they might promote the spiritual interests of the Scotch catholics and inform him of the state of things there.[7] Watts returned to London in January, 1582, but found that F. Persons had already left England for the continent. After sending a written report[8] upon the condition of Scotland and the dispositions of the King and the gentry towards the catholic faith to Dr Allen at Reims, where he had been educated, he went back to Edinburgh to continue the work assigned to him. Allen forwarded to the Cardinal of Como, the Pope's secretary of state, that

F. Persons sends Watts and Holt to Scotland.

[1] Infra, p. 29.
[2] Infra, p. 105.
[3] *First and Second Douay Diaries*, p. xxxviii., note 2.
[4] Infra, p. 46.
[5] F. Persons expressly stated this to J. B. Tassis, the Spanish Agent in France, who mentions it in a letter to Philip II., Paris, 18 May, 1582, infra, p. xxxix.
[6] It does not appear what authority F. Persons had over Watts, who was a secular priest and not under his jurisdiction.
[7] Infra, p. 117, note 2.
[8] Infra, p. 114.

part of the letter which regarded the general affairs of Scotland that it might be laid before his Holiness. There is nothing in it purely political, nor does it allude to any invasion of England or armed intervention whatsoever: but the nobles who are inclined to favour the catholic cause are represented as desiring for their own protection and for that of the King a small number of foreign soldiers—Italians, if possible, or Spaniards—from the Pope or the Spanish King.

F. Persons at Rouen. The Duke of Guise.

F. Persons on leaving England in the autumn of 1581 went to Rouen, where he spent the ensuing winter. The position of the place rendered it very suitable for keeping up his relations with England. But besides this it had another advantage in that it was not far from Eu, a town belonging to the Duke of Guise in right of his wife, Catherine of Clèves, Countess of Eu, in which he often resided. F. Claude Mathieu, provincial of the Jesuits in France, was the confidential adviser of the Duke of Guise, so that it was easy for F. Persons to obtain access to him, even if the fact of his connection with the English mission would not have sufficed for this purpose. For the Duke's thoughts had long been turned to English affairs, especially on account of the captivity in England of his near relation, Mary Queen of Scots. In April, 1578, he had gone so far as to propose to the Spanish ambassador at Paris, Don Juan de Vargas Mexia, a scheme for the deliverance of the Queen of Scots by force of arms, in which he and the Duke of Lorraine would take the principal part and be supported by the Kings of France and Spain.[1] Two years later, in February, 1580, the Queen of Scots, having lost hope of assistance from the French King, charged the Duke "to place herself, her son and her kingdom without reserve in the hands and under the protection of his catholic majesty, that he may order every thing according to his will and as should seem good to him, causing her son to be taken to Spain, if it so pleased him, and marrying him there, and disposing of her and of him at his good will."[2] The Duke of Guise fulfilled this commission, and in answer to it Philip II. assured the Queen, through his ambassador, that "he has towards her the same good will that she has always been able to perceive in him, and that he will attend to her affairs and favour them with much affection, and that he will receive and welcome with the same love the King, her son, either in Spain (which would be the best) or in any other of his states, treating him exactly as though he were his own son."[3] Any information therefore about England from such a reliable source as F. Persons must have been welcome to the Duke of Guise.

Affairs in Scotland. Duke of Lennox.

About this time a great change took place in the internal affairs of Scotland, favourable to the interests of Mary and her catholic supporters. Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, a catholic in religion and a Frenchman by education, arrived in Scotland from France, September, 1579. He soon succeeded in captivating the affections of the young King, his cousin, who showered honors and appointments upon him, besides creating him first Earl and then Duke of Lennox. A trial of strength between the new favourite and Elizabeth's party in Scotland was unavoidable. It resulted in the full success of Lennox. The Earl of Morton expiated his share in Darnley's murder on the scaffold, June, 1581; the Earl of Angus was banished; and the other adherents of Elizabeth dropped off from her and made their peace with Lennox and his friends. These events in

[1] Teulet, *Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne*, V., 144.
[2] Ib., 206. [3] Ib., 213.

Scotland raised not unreasonably the hopes of the catholics. The King had indeed been brought up a strict protestant; but he was young, only in his fifteenth year, and his affection for Lennox might induce him to listen to instruction in the matter of religion, while his mother's influence, though she had been parted from him in his infancy, would undoubtedly be directed to the same end. Besides policy conduced to recommend his conversion. Only as a catholic could he hope to secure the support of the King of Spain and the Pope, while the whole weight of the English catholic party would be against him, if he claimed to succeed to the crown of England remaining still a protestant. Even in Scotland the catholics were powerful. They only needed the King for their head to regain their due place in the realm. Such thoughts and hopes must have suggested themselves also to the Duke of Guise, who had been long looking out for an opportunity of rescuing his kinswoman, the imprisoned Queen: so that he would naturally listen with interest to what F. Persons had to tell him from his own personal observation of the state of things in England. Before however taking any active steps the Duke was anxious to obtain fuller and more exact information about Scotland, and especially to sound the dispositions of the Duke of Lennox, who had just then risen to the highest power in the realm. An opportunity for doing this soon occurred. F. William Creighton, S.J., who had been sent from Rome to Scotland with orders from his General to take the directions of F. Persons on his way, arrived at Rouen towards the end of January, 1582, and in company with F. Persons visited the Duke of Guise at Eu to confer with him "about the advancement of the catholic cause in both realms of England and Scotland and for the delivery of the Queen of Scots then prisoner."[1] No better envoy could have been obtained by the Duke than F. Creighton, who was already furnished with credentials to the Duke of Lennox from the Scotch ambassador, and was also to return very shortly to France. F. Creighton on his arrival in Scotland obtained an interview with the Duke of Lennox, from whom he received the following letter[2] addressed to J. B. Tassis, Agent of the Spanish King at the French court:

F. Creighton sent to Scotland.

"Sir, the bearer of this, William Creighton, a Jesuit, has come here and told me that he has been sent to me by the Pope and the King of Spain, your King, and he has brought me a letter of credence from the ambassador of Scotland to the effect that I should put trust in what he shall say to me. After him there arrived another Jesuit, an Englishman [F. William Holt] bringing me a letter from the ambassador your King has in London [Don Bernardino de Mendoza], and who in conjunction with the Pope desires, as it seems to me, to use my services in the design which they have in hand for the restoration of the catholic religion and the liberation of the Queen of Scotland, according to what the aforesaid Creighton related to me. As I believe that this enterprise is undertaken for the good and preservation of the Queen of Scotland and the King her son, and that his crown will be maintained and supported, I am ready, with the consent of the Queen his mother, to devote my life and property to the execution of the said enterprise on condition that I am provided with all those things which are set down in a memorandum[3] which I have given to the bearer to communicate to you; and according to the answer which I shall receive from you, I will go to France

Lennox to Tassis, 7 March, 1582.

[1] Infra, p. 129, note. See also p. 382.

[2] Teulet, V., 235. See letter from the Duke of Lennox to Mary Queen of Scots of the same date as the letter to Tassis, ib., p. 237.

[3] Infra, p. xxxviii.

as soon as possible to carry out what I have said, since it cannot be effected without my going thither, for the reasons which will be signified to you by the bearer; to whom be pleased to give full credit as to myself in all things that he shall say on my behalf. Herewith I kiss your hands, and pray God to grant you a good and long life. Dalkeith, 7 March, 1582."

F. Creighton returns to France.

F. Creighton on his return to France in April, after having conferred with the Archbishop of Glasgow and Dr Allen at St. Denys,[1] went immediately to F. Persons at Rouen and then with him to Eu, where he delivered the answer from the Duke of Lennox to the Duke of Guise to the Duke's "full contentment."[2] After this the Duke of Guise and F. Creighton proceeded to Paris, while F. Persons was detained at Rouen for a few days by a feverish attack which prevented him from travelling. On May 8, the Nuncio wrote as follows to the Cardinal of Como.[3]

Nuncio to Cardinal of Como, 8 May, 1582.

"The Duke of Guise has been twice with me to inform me that having found, as he thinks, the catholics of England well disposed, he will himself undertake the enterprise of England by assailing it unexpectedly from certain seaports of his, from which it is possible to cross over in six or seven hours; and as to the part which falls to him, he needs nothing; for having a good understanding with the catholics of England he hopes to have even on a sudden such a number of persons and of such quality that they will suffice to do whatever is required. But little need be done to raise the catholics of Scotland; for they are quite prepared to rise, and the Duke of Lennox, *i.e.* Mons^{r}. d'Aubigny, who is guardian of the King's person, with many other gentlemen, is beyond measure desirous to change the state of things; and that Jesuit father [F. Creighton] who went to Scotland has returned thence, bringing letters from Mons^{r}. de Lennox to the Duke of Guise and also to me, of what great moment you will perceive from the letter itself which I enclose, and you will see too that he judges it necessary to stir up the Irish who are still at war with the Queen of England, that when she hears of these movements, she may be obliged to send thither the ships and troops which she has in these parts, and thus leave the frontier towards France unprovided, which may be attacked when the catholics who live near it and are very numerous have risen. To effect this Mons^{r}. de Guise thinks that it will be necessary to have for Scotland and Ireland from six to eight thousand infantry for at least four or five months, and also some corslets, pikes and arquebuses to arm a certain number of the English who will rise, for they are disarmed; and he thinks it well nigh necessary that this should be communicated by our Lord [the Pope] to the catholic King, whose Agent in England promises great assistance. This is what the Duke of Guise wishes me to signify to our Lord for the moment, as nothing further can be done just now owing to the illness of F. Robert [Persons] a Jesuit, who has arrived from England, where he has had this affair in hand for the last two years,[4] and has in his mind all that should be done, and will come hither from Rouen where he has been suffering from fever these few days past. If however the fever should increase, the Jesuit father who has returned from Scotland will be sent to him, and then I will write more fully to our Lord the whole plan contemplated, and the way in which it is wished to carry it out. These gentlemen hope that our Lord will not let slip so fine an opportunity of bringing back two kingdoms to the faith of Christ without much tem

[1] Infra, p. 130. [2] Infra, p. 129, note [3] Infra, p. 405. [4] Ib., note.

poral loss: and I do not doubt but that his Holiness will be ready on his part to embrace this glorious enterprise; for if Gregory I. is much praised for having won that kingdom to Christ, of far greater merit with God and fame with the world will Gregory XIII. be for bringing back two kingdoms to Christ and setting free so many miserable Christians who are outraged every day, especially in England, and thus taking from all the heretics of the world the support which they receive from that kingdom. It would therefore be well if our Lord would reflect upon what aid he will be willing to give to this enterprise and what steps he will take with the catholic King; for since the charge of the affair has been undertaken by so prudent and valiant a captain as Mons^r. de Guise, one may rest assured that there will be no deception and that the matter will be conducted with much prudence. I will also mention that the Duke at present thinks it better that the catholic King's aid should be in money rather than in men; but as to particulars, I leave them for my future letters."

F. Persons did not continue many days ill at Rouen. On coming to Paris he and F. Creighton called on the Agent of the Spanish King, J. B. Tassis, who sent Philip II. a report of the visit in the following letter, dated Paris, 18 May, 1582.[1]

Tassis to Philip II., 18 May, 1582. Interview with FF. Creighton and Persons.

"Two or three days ago two Jesuit fathers came to speak to me, the one a Scotchman, the other an Englishman. The former [F. William Creighton] told me that, being at Rome more than a year ago at a congregation or chapter of his order which was held there, he was ordered by his General to give an account to his Holiness of the disposition and state of things in Scotland and of the good hope there was of some marked success in the restoration of the catholic religion, if earnest measures were taken to that end. His Holiness was pleased with this, and ordered him to come here, while at the same time he charged his Nuncio who resides here and the ambassador of Scotland to see what could be attempted and done in the matter, manifesting a desire to act with much vigour in case appearances were favourable. Thereupon the Nuncio and the ambassador resolved to send the father to Scotland for the purpose of making known this good will of His Holiness to M. de Obini [Aubigny] Duke of Lenos [Lennox] a Frenchman by nation and related to the King, over whom he has the greatest influence; a man of high authority in that realm, and whom the father knew to be a catholic, on which account they hoped that he would show great promptitude and willingness in the matter; as well as of animating and exhorting him thereunto as much as possible: to which end the ambassador gave him a letter of credence to Aubigny founded upon the above-mentioned instructions of His Holiness to himself and the Nuncio. The father had gone thither with this letter, and not without great difficulty, through the mistrust in which the right-minded live there, had held communication with Aubigny, first by letters carried to him very secretly, and once afterwards in person at a castle of his to which he came under colour of other business. At this interview there was present another Jesuit, an Englishman [F. Holt] a companion of this one who came to speak to me, and who has remained there, and who succeeded in reaching the same place at the same time with the same commission in favour of the catholics of England carrying with him a letter of credence to Aubigny from Don Bernardino de Mendoza. At last in consequence of what they both said to Aubigny he has

Creighton sent to the Duke of Lennox.

[1] Teulet, V., 246.

resolved to undertake what his Holiness and your Majesty desire, on condition that he is provided with the men and other things asked for in a memorandum signed by him, which he has delivered to them and which I have been allowed to read. The father also gave me a letter from Aubigny, of which I enclose a copy.[1]

Lennox' memorandum.

"What is asked for in the aforesaid memorandum is in substance the following. There must be placed in Scotland by next autumn 20,000 men, paid for eighteen months and consisting of Spaniards, Italians, Germans and Swiss, a certain number of pioneers, plenty of munitions of war and artillery and besides some amount of money wherewith to raise troops there, if necessary. Also there must be provided here [in France] as soon as possible 20,000 crowns to meet a similar sum which he will at once take up there [in Scotland] in order to make a beginning of fortifying certain strongholds, which ought in any case to be fortified. He names the ports where the troops should be landed, and asks that his King may be general of this army, and in the King's absence himself only with supreme command over all the nations. If the enterprise should turn out ill and he should in consequence lose his property, he stipulates that his Holiness and your Majesty should give him the full value of it in some secure place. As to the end for which the enterprise is undertaken, a declaration should be made that it is for the restoration of the catholic religion and the deliverance of the Queen of Scotland. He relies upon his King taking part in the enterprise, and he proposes to come to this kingdom [France] to make a beginning, as soon as his Holiness and your Majesty have resolved upon it.

"This, if I remember rightly, is the summary of the said memorandum: about which on my saying to the Scotch father that the demands were very high, he answered me that he had represented this to Aubigny when he gave it to him, and his reply was that, though he asked for so much, he left it all to what might be settled here by the Duke [of Guise], to whom as the Queen's relation he is related and who must have had a hand in this affair from its beginning.

State of religion in Scotland.

"I asked him what was the state of things in Scotland as regards religion? He answered that publicly they were in a bad state, since the heretical ministers were supreme as hitherto, but that in secret many men of note desired this change and would adhere to Aubigny in the aforesaid resolution and without doubt declare themselves on his side; and that though the young Prince, being still under the influence of the heretical ministers, was growing firmer in that religion, they were yet in hopes that if this enterprise should succeed he would soon be brought back again to the right road.

"He said that the King was continually running great risk of his life through the secret machinations of the Queen of England to deprive him of it, and that on this account it was the more expedient to seize this opportunity now offered; for if the Queen of England should get the start in this with the King, he would be lost for ever without a hope of bringing him back to a better mind.

Disposition of the English catholics.

"When this Scotch father had finished all that he had to say to me, the English one [F. Persons] began, assuring me that the catholics in England were extremely desirous that this design should be carried out and that arms should be taken up in Scotland for the restoration of the catholic religion and the deliverance of the Queen of Scotland, for that, if this were done with a well grounded prospect of success, they would do the same, and hasten to the camp

[1] Supra, p. xxxv.

which would be formed in Scotland, whenever it should be necessary. To effect this things were in a very good state and disposition; for all that part which borders upon Scotland is full of catholics, and there too lie the estates of the Earl of Westmorland, whom your Majesty maintains in Flanders and whom they think of summoning for the affair, and there also is a certain bishopric of great jurisdiction [Durham] to which they would wish his Holiness to name some influential person, who when he had possession of it would be able to raise the people, and there are many other persons who would do the same in other districts, since (as he assures me) England is so full of catholics that it could not be believed. When I asked him what security they have for all this, and whether any of the principal men had formed a confederation for this object and given each other some security of signatures, as the custom is, he answered me that he knew all this from what many of them had declared when he had treated with them of their consciences; and that in regard to this things had gone so far that there could be no doubt about it, and that most certainly England was very well disposed at the present time for this movement being attempted there.

"He told me that within the last few days there had met elsewhere in secret conference about this design the Duke of Guise, the ambassador of Scotland and Dr Allen, an English ecclesiastic of great name, who is president of the seminary of that nation at Reims, and through whose hands likewise the affair must have passed from the beginning.[1] By his remarks I saw clearly that they had noticed the great extent of Aubigni's requirements, and considered them to be more than could be conceded, and that they judged 8,000 men sufficient, provided that there was money wherewith to levy more in the kingdom itself at the time of execution, if it should be found that they were necessary; and the greater part of these 8,000 they said should be Spaniards or Italians. I asked him whether they will take the Most Christian King into their counsels? He answered me: By no means, for that they understood this would be the ruin of the affair owing to the sentiments here current, which would cause it to be viewed with regret rather than pleasure, whence it was clear that the Queen of England would immediately come to know of the design. I perceived also that the point had occurred to them regarding the jealousy which this enterprise might excite in the said King; which is an indication that they have been discussing it throughout.

"Lastly he told me that in a few days the Duke, the ambassador and Allen would meet again and come to a decision about the affair in every point, and that when this was done the Scotch father would at once leave for Rome and he himself for the Spanish court to give an account of everything to his Holiness and your Majesty.

"Before these fathers came to speak to me I had been already informed of the affair by the ambassador of Scotland, and since then he has returned once more to speak to me about it: and I see clearly that they have gone thoroughly into the matter in their conferences; for he told me that owing to the Duke of Guise being of opinion that Aubigny should by no means come here, as he had sent word that he wished to do, they had already advertised him not to set out, and that the Duke was resolved to take part in the affair in person by throwing

[1] This is a mere supposition of Tassis, who evidently at that time had no personal knowledge of Dr Allen.

himself into England on the side opposite Normandy, where the mine of catholics is great, at the same moment when the like was done on the side of Scotland, so as by this diversion to put the whole kingdom into confusion. This part of the plan the Duke thought could be very easily effected, as he has a port of his own in Normandy, where he could carry out the design, while dissembling it. He also informed me that the Duke was considering the point which regarded the employment of Spaniards in the enterprise, his fear being that if he were a party to a matter in which they were concerned it would fully confirm the current opinion that he was a Spaniard. He told me likewise of the meeting which they were to have for the complete settlement of the affair, and that the fathers would leave after it was over, and so it will be. I believe that they will depart next week, as the Duke is expected back from Fontainebleau to-morrow or the day after.

"I have tried neither to divert them in any way from what they propose, nor yet to give them encouragement, as I do not know what would be proper and what mistaken for me to do. Since however the design is so catholic, I listened to them with a friendly countenance, and showed myself desirous, as a Christian, that every thing should succeed as they are planning it.

"The English father, who is going to present himself to your Majesty, will travel with a gentleman of the same nation who came to this kingdom about a month and a half ago and has been ever since at Reims with Allen. Don Bernardino wrote to me about him at the time in very strong terms, requesting me to treat him with honour and make much of him, as he was a man of very great consequence. I have done so, and I see that he must belong to the party, since he follows the same course."

From this letter it is plain that the Agent of Spain had as yet no instructions to intervene actively in the enterprise. He could only listen with sympathy and report what he heard to his master. There was nothing however to prevent him from attending the final conference at the house of the Archbishop of Glasgow at night. He gives a full account of it in a letter to Philip II., May 29.[1] But though present as a listener, he could take no active part in the debate, much less in the decision as F. Persons more than once implies that he did.[2]

A few days later, 22 May, 1582, the Nuncio wrote from Paris to the Cardinal of Como.[3]

F. Persons' memorandum.

"I have had a visit from F Robert [Persons], an English Jesuit, who appears to me a very prudent man; but as yet I do not know of the arrival of the Duke of Guise with whom the design on hand must be arranged in all its particulars. The said father has given me a memorandum of which I send a copy. It is, I know, unnecessary to say that the bishop alluded to in the memorandum should not be appointed in consistory since in that way the affair would be easily discovered, and therefore I will say nothing about it. This father assumes that 6,000 footmen are sufficient in Scotland to cross over afterwards into England, but this is a point which will be better settled when the Duke comes. The expense seems to me small for two such great Princes, especially since it will not last for many months, and the gain of bringing back to Christ two kingdoms is inestimable, and not to attend to this enterprise would drive into the extremity of despair the catholics of both realms. In a few days F. Creighton, a Scotchman, who has

[1] Teulet, V., 254. [2] Infra, p. 129, note, and p. 386. [3] Infra, p. 406.

lately returned from Scotland, will go to Rome with a full account of the state of England and Scotland; and from what I know, if these troops can be brought on a sudden to Scotland, and go thence likewise on a sudden to England, it seems to me that the affair is most easy. The blood of those martyrdoms which have taken place in England will make supplication to God, in my belief. The memorandum is as follows:—

"It is necessary to the enterprise to appoint secretly a bishop of Durham. For the bishop of Durham is a personage of the greatest importance, both on account of the number of people who will follow him and also for the purpose of controlling and reconciling differences between the other gentlemen of those parts. Hence it is requisite that this bishopric be given to a man of credit and repute with the people of that part of England. But there is no one of this kind to be found at present among the English except Mr. Allen, president of his Holiness's seminary at Reims, a man whose authority and reputation stand so high with the whole nation that his mere presence even as a private individual will have a greater effect with the English than several thousand soldiers, and not only the Earl of Westmorland[1] who is very difficult to manage, but all the other banished gentlemen bear him such reverence that at a word of his they would do any thing; much more if he were in some post of dignity or prelacy with them. I say all this that your most reverend Lordship may know the disposition of the English at the present time both within and without the realm, who all repose the greatest confidence in Allen and will receive whatever he tells them as most agreeable and admitting no debate. Hence in all these affairs it is necessary that he should take part. There are many other bishoprics in England richer and greater than this bishopric of Durham; but on account of its convenient position near the frontiers, and the authority and royal jurisdiction which it possesses in those parts, even in temporal things, it alone is of more importance in this affair than many other bishoprics together. It will be necessary that Mr. Allen be speedily apprised of the intention of his Holiness that he may dispose of certain persons so as to have them in readiness against that time; and that he may also write and print secretly certain books which we are writing at this moment with the view of satisfying the people of England; and again may make many other necessary preparations both as regards himself, for it is most essential that he be there in person, otherwise the affairs in England will not go well in my opinion, and in respect to other gentlemen, whom he must find means, as he will do, of sending secretly in disguise to Scotland. Moreover at the proper time the principal catholics in England will receive information of the affair by means of the priests. But this will not be done until just before the commencement of the enterprise, for fear of its becoming known; since the soul of this affair is its secrecy. It would also, as we think, be very useful if his Holiness were to summon to Rome Dr Owen Lewis,[2] Archdeacon of Cambray, an Englishman, who is at Milan, and is very well acquainted with English affairs. If this man were sent from Rome to Spain under some other

[1] See the joint letter of the Earl of Westmorland and Edward Dacre to Dr Allen, 5 March, 1583. Infra, p. 178.

[2] On June 3, Dr Allen wrote to the Cardinal of Como, praying that if the affair went on as he hoped, the first place might be assigned to Dr Owen Lewis, and the second to himself. Infra, p. 143.

pretext, and so went thence with the army to Scotland to meet Allen, who might start from here, it would be a great help to the cause: for though this Dr Owen on account of the differences which have lately arisen between the Welsh and English, he being a Welshman, does not stand very well with the greater part of the English, nevertheless as he is a grave and prudent man, if united to Allen, who possesses the hearts of all, he would be of no small assistance, especially with his countrymen the Welsh, who can be of much service in this affair, and will desire to help from the great affection which they bear to the catholic faith; and when the army has reached England this Dr Owen might be sent to Wales with those great lords of that country who already favour us to help in raising the people of those parts. The importance of this affair rests entirely in the secrecy and rapidity observed; for if the expedition be not sent immediately, there is no hope of the opportunity continuing, nor will it be ready to hand in the future; whereas if seized now, there is no doubt but that by God's grace the result we desire will be effected, for all things are already most fully disposed for it. There is another thing of which I should remind your most reverend Lordship as of the greatest importance. It is that, owing to there being great points in dispute and natural rivalry hitherto between the Scotch and English nations, which if revived (as we hope they will not be) would cause many hindrances, it will be necessary to provide that in regard to the things or concessions [?] which shall come from his Holiness the two nations shall be placed on an equal footing. This will be effected if the English see that Mr. Allen or some other Englishman like him (though the English have at present no other head to whom to trust themselves except Allen only) is joined on behalf of England with the most reverend Archbishop of Glasgow on behalf of Scotland in those points which shall concern the state of both the kingdoms at once. Lastly I have to offer to your most reverend Lordship in the name of all the catholics of England their life, their goods and all that lies within their power for the service of God and his Holiness in this enterprise, which they desire so earnestly that they promise, if our Lord God shall give them the victory, and beg your most reverend Lordship also to promise in their name, most honourable consideration to all those who shall aid the affair or labour in it or do any thing to favour or forward this enterprise."

The Nuncio adds that the Duke of Guise, the ambassador of Scotland, Dr Allen and F. Persons had met at his house and approved the project of which F. Creighton was the bearer to his Holiness. The Duke wished the Pope to be informed before all things that he was still firm in his purpose of undertaking the enterprise in person with his friends and relations, and that if matters continued as they were he did not doubt of success. The expense would certainly be very heavy, if the affair were to last long; but he reckoned that within a month they would be conquerors or dead, so that the cost for such a short time would be bearable. The Nuncio concludes his despatch thus:—"It seems to me that this enterprise is so honourable and useful to the church of God that nothing, I believe, could be undertaken or even imagined greater or more fruitful; and I cannot do otherwise than entreat your most reverend Lordship to animate our Lord [the Pope] to this enterprise, which is worthy of Christ's Vicar; since with so prudent a captain and one moreover who will be approved of by the catholic King, as his Agents promise, we may hope for the fullest success."

The greater part of April and May was spent in discussing this design, and finally, at a meeting held in Paris, at which, besides those already mentioned, F. Claude Mathieu, provincial of the Jesuits in France and confessor to the Duke of Guise, was present, a plan was definitely decided upon, and F. Creighton was deputed to take it to the Pope at Rome and F. Persons to Philip II. at Lisbon, where the King was then residing. It appears from a despatch of the Spanish Agent to Philip II., dated May 29, that F. Creighton had already started on May 24 or 25 and F. Persons on May 28.[1] F. Creighton carried a letter of recommendation to the Cardinal of Como from the Nuncio,[2] and another to his Holiness from Dr Allen.[3]

As this letter of Dr Allen to Gregory XIII., written at St. Denis in France, 24 April, 1582, with a companion letter of the same date to the Cardinal of Como, is the first indication to my knowledge of his having taken an active part in political affairs, it is deserving of more than incidental notice. F. Creighton, he tells the Pope, has just returned from Scotland with very full mandates and instructions from the chief men of that country for his Holiness and the King of Spain. But as the matter concerned the welfare of England he was ordered to communicate it fully to Dr Allen and to the Archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador of the Queen of Scots. The three met at a place designated by the ambassador, and after conference decided that the affair was of the deepest importance to both nations, and that the present was perhaps the last opportunity of bringing it to a successful issue. They further resolved to send F. Creighton to his Holiness and F. Persons to the catholic King to represent to them the urgency of the matter. This preliminary meeting was, as we have seen, followed by others, in all of which Dr Allen naturally took part. He was now at length launched upon the sea of political transactions, and his great gifts, moral and intellectual, soon placed him in the first rank among his compeers. Allen to Gregory XIII., 24 April, 1582.

F. Persons, as has been said, began his journey to Lisbon, May 28, and he was already far advanced on his road, when Philip II. wrote as follows from Lisbon, June 11, to his Agent, J. B. Tassis, at Paris.[4]

"The two fathers of the Company of Jesus who spoke to you about Scotland, must have gone thither from motives of true zeal; but to advance so far as they did in the negotiation, and to communicate the plan to so many persons as they must have treated with may be attended with much inconvenience as regards secrecy. And that this may be the better secured, it will be well that, if the one who was thinking of coming here has not yet left, you should manage to detain him, pointing out as from yourself the importance of not giving occasion for the publication of the affair before the time, and intimating that he should not start until you have received my answer. In the same sense you will reply to the Duke of Lennox by the same channel, and you will conduct the whole affair in such a way that it may not seem to them that difficulties are being raised as a

[1] Teulet, V., 256. F. Persons has made a mistake in saying that F. Creighton and he "departed from Paris primo Maii." Infra, p. 129, note.

[2] Infra, p. 409.

[3] Infra, p. 129. Compare Allen's letter to the Cardinal of Como of the same date, p. 130. See also the plan of this enterprise which was found upon F. Creighton when he was captured at sea, 4 September, 1584, infra, p. 425, and also his confessions in the Tower, p. 432.

[4] Teulet, V., 257.

pretext to refuse them assistance, but that the affair must be solidly grounded in order the better to ensure its succeeding; for it is a thing which so deeply concerns the service of our Lord and the public good that all are bound to further it."

Raid of Ruthven.

During this time however events were passing in Scotland which had an important bearing upon the enterprise. The probability of its success would evidently depend very much upon the continuance in power of the Duke of Lennox. But in the summer of 1582 a plot had been formed against him under Queen Elizabeth's auspices among certain influential members of the Scottish nobility with the Earl of Gowrie at their head. The ministers of the kirk too favoured the conspirators, for they set little store upon the Duke's professed conversion to protestantism since his arrival in Scotland. The result of all this was that, on August 23, the Earl of Gowrie and the confederate lords seized the person of the young King, who, suspecting nothing, was then on a visit to Gowrie at his castle of Ruthven, and, though they surrounded him with all the outward tokens of respect, soon made him feel that he was really a prisoner in their hands. Shortly afterwards the Duke of Lennox escaped to Dumbarton Castle, and was at length compelled, in December, to leave Scotland and return by way of England to France, where he died, 26 May, 1583.

Allusions to these events occur in various letters printed below. Thus Dr Allen wrote to the Cardinal of Como, on September 12,[1] of the apprehensions entertained in Scotland that some plot was being hatched there against the young Prince and Lennox. It was this fear of impending evil which had induced the Prince and Lennox to put forth in the month of August a public protestation that they would remain firm in the religion which they had embraced and had no thought of change. Not that much credit was generally given to this assertion, for Lennox was known to be in heart a catholic, and the Prince was ill affected towards the heretics and skilled in dissimulation. If however recent rumours widely spread through England and France could be believed, the Prince's enemies had by some stratagem already torn him away from the guardianship of Lennox. But the people and the most ancient nobility were attached to the Prince, and would no doubt come to his rescue; the more so since Lennox was at liberty, and occupied the strongest fortresses of the kingdom. There was therefore all the more need of expedition in carrying out the design proposed to his Holiness, in order to deliver the Prince from the hands of his enemies, if he had already fallen into them, or to save him from falling into them very shortly.

Again the Nuncio at Paris writes on November 6 to the Cardinal of Como as follows.[2]

The Nuncio to Cardinal Como, 6 Nov., 1582.

"I gave [the message] to the Duke of Guise. His answer was that he was greatly obliged to our Lord [the Pope] for the confidence which his Holiness placed in him, but that at present he could not give a decisive answer, since, as he was to be the head of the enterprise, he wished first to make quite sure of what he could do and promise; for when he had once promised, even if he had to go with only two followers, he would go there and die. He added that in eight or ten days he expects a Jesuit father, whom after these troubles in Scotland he had sent disguised to the Queen of Scotland and who is on his way back by London, and from him he will hear what the said Queen can promise on behalf of her

[1] Infra, p. 161. [2] Infra, p. 410.

friends in England and Scotland, and he will learn too what arrangements this father has made with the gentlemen in England about the affair on hand and in what state it is: and as to this affair he says that the Agent of Spain has told him in the name of the catholic King that his King will do for it all he can, and so too F. Robert [Persons] writes that the catholic King is not wanting in will but in money. He has also told me that letters have come from Scotland stating that only those have shown themselves enemies of the Prince who were already enemies of the Queen [his mother] and that the Prince had ordered the Duke of Lennox to come to France and ask for aid, and that the Most Christian King desires his coming and shows himself inclined to aid that Prince: in which case the Duke of Guise believes that with the help of our Lord [the Pope] all may be brought to a good end: more than this however he will not say at present. He added however that he thinks it would be well if some part of the money which our Lord [the Pope] is willing to give should be deposited in some place whence it could not be withdrawn without me, so that if a sudden occasion for using it should arise, there would not be the delay of writing and receiving an answer about it, while in the mean time the opportunity might pass away. I answered him that in this case I would send a courier by express. Nevertheless he shows that such is his desire."

From a despatch of the Agent of Spain, J. B. Tassis, to Philip II., dated Paris, 5 September, 1582,[1] it appears that on the day before he wrote certain intelligence had arrived from the French ambassador in England of the raid of Ruthven, as the seizure of King James by the Earl of Gowrie and his confederates was called. The Agent sent at once an account of it to Philip II., in which he spoke of the great grief it had caused the Duke of Guise, who was afraid that what had happened might alter the goodwill of the King of Spain in this matter. Philip II. replied from Lisbon, 24 September,[2] to this despatch. He had already, he says, ordered 10,000 crowns to be sent to Tassis for transmission to the Duke of Lennox to help him to maintain himself against the intrigues of his enemies. Now however that he has heard from Tassis the bad news which had just come, he will not change the destination of the money, but leaves it to the Duke of Guise to forward it or not according to his discretion. The Agent is to assure the Duke of Guise of the King's firm will to co-operate with him in the reduction of Scotland, provided he sees good ground to hope for success, and the Pope will aid with money, as he has several times offered to do. Since the imprisonment of the King of Scotland has made a great change in the prospects of the enterprise, Philip II. is very desirous to have the Duke's opinion on this point. The Agent will take great pains to remove any doubt from the Duke's mind about the King having any private ends of his own in this affair of Scotland and England, but only the service of our Lord, the conversion of those two kingdoms and their coming into the possession of those to whom they belong.

The Cardinal of Como wrote in the following terms to the Nuncio in France, 14 February, 1583[3]:—"Since the Duke of Guise thinks that he cannot arrive at a decision about the affairs of Scotland until he has received the information which he expects, our Lord [the Pope] will wait till then for his determination. Meanwhile if the said Duke should think it fitting to send some money to the Duke of Lennox, that he may not lose heart, it may be done; and with regard to the

[1] Teulet, V., 258. [2] Teulet, V., 261. [3] Infra, p. 411.

quantity and way of sending it you three can take counsel together, I mean, your Lordship, the Duke aforesaid and the Agent of Spain, who has received the money from his King and directions to disburse it at our requisition. The disbursement, as your Lordship already knows, should be in the proportion of three fourths from the King of Spain to one fourth of ours. May God guide you as to what is best to do in this matter; for the hope of doing anything better seems to me to become fainter on all sides every day."

On February 28, the Cardinal wrote again to the Nuncio.[1] "As to the affairs of Scotland our Lord [the Pope] expects to hear the final resolve of Mons^r. de Guise when he has spoken to the Duke of Lennox, who on reaching France will give the Duke of Guise so much information about the affairs of Scotland that he will not need to wait on this account for the return of the man whom the Duke of Guise has sent to Scotland. So far as we understand, things are in a worse state in that kingdom than ever before, and God grant that we may find the way to remedy them. Meanwhile your Lordship will not part with the money except after full counsel and deliberation, though I wrote to you lately that you might disburse it."

At this very time the Duke of Lennox was sick at Paris, and the disease was making such progress that the doctors feared for his life. In consequence of this the ambassador of Scotland had only been able to treat briefly with him of the matters in hand, and it was plain that any further steps must be put off for a time. Such was the account which the Agent of Spain sent to Philip II. from Paris, 14 February, 1583.[2] "In my poor judgment" he added "the affair is at an end for the present; for to all appearances this boyish Prince will conform and adapt himself to necessity, and even, through his absence, forget Lennox, if requisite."

Proposed assassination of Queen Elizabeth.

The death of Lennox on May 26 made it requisite to reconsider the whole state of affairs. But before this took place, an incident occurred, which deserves notice, though nothing came of it eventually. It is related in the two following despatches, which have been printed for the first time in this volume from a transcript made for the Public Record Office, London, from the originals in the Vatican.

On 2 May, 1583, the Nuncio wrote from Paris to the Cardinal of Como[3]:— "The Duke of Guise and the Duke of Mayenne have told me that they have a plan for killing the Queen of England by the hand of a catholic, though not one outwardly, who is near her person and is ill-affected towards her for having put to death some of his catholic relations. This man, it seems, sent word of this to the Queen of Scotland, but she refused to attend to it.[4] He was however sent hither, and they have agreed to give him, if he escapes, or else his sons, 100,000 francs, as to which he is satisfied to have the security of the Duke of Guise for 50,000 and to see the rest deposited with the Archbishop of Glasgow in a box, of which he will keep a key, so that he or his sons may receive the money, should the plan succeed, and the Duke thinks it may. The Duke asks for no assistance from our Lord [the Pope] for this affair; but when the time comes he will go to

[1] Infra, p. 412. [2] Teulet, V., 273. [3] Infra, p. 412.

[4] Compare infra, p. 388, where F. Persons seems to allude to this incident; but either he never heard the true account of it, or was betrayed by his imperfect memory into a misstatement.

a place of his near the sea to await the event and then cross over on a sudden into England. As to putting to death that wicked woman, I said to him that I will not write about it to our Lord the Pope (nor do I) nor tell your most illustrious Lordship to inform him of it; because, though I believe our Lord the Pope would be glad that God should punish in any way whatever that enemy of His, still it would be unfitting that His Vicar should procure it by these means. The Duke was satisfied; but later on he added that for the enterprise of England, which in this case would be much more easy, it will be necessary to have here in readiness money to enlist some troops to follow him, as he intends to enter England immediately, in order that the catholics may have a head. He asks for no assistance for his passage across; but as the Duke of Mayenne must remain on the continent to collect some soldiers to follow him (it being probable that the heretics who hold the treasure, the fleet and the ports will not be wanting to themselves, so that it will be necessary to resist them) he wishes that for this purpose 100,000 or at least 80,000 crowns should be ready here. I let him know the agreement which there is between our Lord the Pope and the catholic King with regard to the contribution, and I told him that on our Lord the Pope's part he may count on every possible assistance, when the catholic King does his part. The Agent of Spain believes that his King will willingly give this aid, and therefore it will be well, in conformity with the promises so often made, to consider how to provide this sum, which will amount to 20,000 crowns from our Lord the Pope, if the catholic King gives 60,000. God grant that with this small sum that great kingdom may be gained. The Queen of Scotland wrote the other day that she had won over the Earl [of Shrewsbury] her keeper, and that she is sure of being able to free herself when she pleases, but that she wishes to wait for a good opportunity. Independently of this plan, the Duke of Guise expects in a few days information from four principal gentlemen in England, and he will let me know the result: meanwhile he has nothing of moment from Scotland or England to tell me."

The Cardinal of Como answered this despatch of the Nuncio, on May 23, in the following terms.[1]

"I have reported to our Lord the Pope what your Lordship has written to me in cipher about the affairs of England, and since his Holiness cannot but think it good that this kingdom should be in some way or other relieved from oppression and restored to God and our holy religion, his Holiness says that, in the event of the matter being effected, there is no doubt that the 80,000 crowns will be, as your Lordship says, very well employed. His Holiness will therefore make no difficulty about paying his fourth, when the time comes, if the Agents of the catholic King do the same with their three fourths: and as to this point the princes of Guise should make a good and firm agreement with the catholic Agent on the spot. With regard to our 20,000, since your Lordship has already in hand 4,000, and to send the rest without knowing for certain that there will be any result would be to take trouble for nothing, while not to send them might injure the affair, if by chance it should become necessary to pay them, his Holiness thinks it best that in case of need your Lordship should take up the whole or part where you are by a bill of exchange on the credit of some Italian merchant or other person, which his Holiness will not fail to meet immediately that it is

[1] Infra, p. 413.

brought for payment here. I say the whole or a part because it is not likely that it will all be needed at once, since it is more probable that it will have to be spent in two or three months rather than one, in which case your Lordship will easily supply the first advance with the 4,000 you have already in hand, and will have time to write here for the rest. Nevertheless if necessity requires it, your Lordship can adopt the expedient which I mentioned of raising them there, and do not stop on this account from doing good. God grant that this may not prove like so many other promises which never had any result."

The Duke of Guise had taken care to inform the Agent of Spain through the Archbishop of Glasgow of what was in contemplation, and to ask that 100,000 crowns might be provided for him by his Holiness and the catholic King to enable him to carry out his project. This we learn from a letter of the Agent Tassis to Philip II., 4 May, 1583,[1] in which among other things he says:—"I understand that he [the Duke of Guise] is following such plans as may well meet with success, and if they do succeed it will be very necessary for me to have at hand a provision of money with which to assist him at once, and particularly as regards one project which on account of the risk I dare not set down here, but which will make a noise if it succeeds; and if it does not, I shall be able some day with some security to send word about it, for to delay doing so is of no consequence." Philip II. replied, June 6,[2] that he was willing to contribute towards the 100,000 crowns, but that he had written to the Pope to beg him to increase his proportion of the advance. In a letter of the same date to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, his ambassador in England, the King says:[3] "I have also seen what the Queen of Scotland has written in weariness of her long imprisonment, as well as the answer which you sent her, persuading her not to leave that kingdom, even if she could. This seems to me very good advice, and you will continue to act thus; for circumstances may arise when it would be very advantageous that the catholics should find her ready at hand, and her absence might do much harm." The project however had already fallen through; as appears from a passage in the Nuncio's letter of May 30 to the Cardinal of Como.[4] "I believe" he says "that the design upon the person of the Queen of England will come to nothing." Still more decided are the words of the Agent of Spain in a letter from Paris, June 24, to Philip II.[5] "The project," he says "which Hercules [*i.e.*, the Duke of Guise] was pursuing and which I intimated to your Majesty on May 4, *was a deed of violence* against this lady, from whom some one, perhaps from motives of interest, was to have freed him, and it has, I see, for the present quite disappeared without any further mention being made of it: so that it is no longer necessary to provide the money which was asked for on account of it." The italicized words in the above extract are underlined in the original by the King, who has written with his own hand on the margin: "It was thus, I believe, that we understood it here; and if they had done it, it would have been no harm; though they should have made provision of certain things beforehand."

What is to be thought of it.

Such is the history, now for the first time published, of this remarkable incident, related in the words of those who were personally cognizant of the facts, and who, besides being bound by their position to write truly and without exaggeration, had no reason to suppose that their letters would ever become known to the world

[1] Teulet, V., 275. [2] Ib., 277. [3] Ib., 280.
[4] Infra, p. 414. [5] Teulet, V., 281.

at large. What it comes to then is this. The Dukes of Guise and Mayenne agreed to secure the payment of a large sum of money to a person who engaged in return to kill Queen Elizabeth. The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Nuncio to the French Court, himself a bishop, the Cardinal of Como, the Spanish Agent, J. B. Tassis, Philip II. of Spain and perhaps the Pope himself, when they were made aware of the project, did not express the slightest disapprobation of it, but spoke only of the manifest advantage it would be to religion, if in some way or other the wicked woman were removed by death. Now there is nothing wrong in rejoicing at the death of a great persecutor or heresiarch, not indeed out of hatred to him or desire of vengeance, for we are bound to love our enemies and do good to those who persecute us, but because of the greater good thence ensuing through the deliverance of so many innocent persons from his oppressions. Nor again is it immoral to desire and pray for the death of such a one from the same motive, as St. Paul did when he wrote to the Galatian Christians, "I would they were even cut off that trouble you." [1] But it by no means follows that because an end is good and desirable all the means of attaining that end are also good, for it is an axiom of morality that the end does not sanctify the means. It is necessary that these be good in themselves or at least indifferent; otherwise to use them will vitiate the action however excellent may be the end to which the action is directed whether in its own nature or through the intention of the doer. According to these principles no blame could attach to any one who desired the death of so bitter a persecutor of God's people as Elizabeth was; but to cause her death by violence, or to approve of such an act, or not to say so much as a word in disapproval is quite a different matter. Its morality must be considered in and by itself before we can acquit or condemn those who acted thus. The soldier who takes the life of his country's enemy in battle, the executioner who puts the criminal to death, the private individual who kills his would-be murderer, have all blood upon their hands, but they can plead the sovereign's command or the right of self defence to clear themselves from all bloodguiltiness. Can then those who sought Elizabeth's death bring forward any available plea to justify them in seeking it? At least we may hear whether anything can be alleged in their defence before condemning them as assassins. Common fairness demands as much as this.

On what principles then can their act be accounted for? Some will perhaps reply: *O tempora! O mores!* In those days men made as little account of assassinating an enemy as they would of killing a soldier in lawful war. What wicked men! What a wicked time! Such an answer is easy, but it is hardly philosophical: for philosophy does not deal with bare facts; it views them in their causes; and in this case the causes of an act are the motives which impel to its commission. What then were the motives which actuated the various persons concerned in this affair, whether as principals, or approvers? What were the principles on which their practical judgment was formed? If an assassination by Cæsar Borgia were in question the gratification of his unbridled passions would be a sufficient account of his motives. If we ask how it was that John Knox was an approver before the deed of David Riccio's murder, we find the explanation in the well known opinion of the Scottish reformer, that it is lawful for private persons to put to death the oppressors of God's people, when all redress in the

[1] Gal. v. 12.

ordinary course of justice is impossible.[1] A false conception of his rights as sovereign led Henry III. of France to order the assassination of the Duke of Guise. Religious fanaticism acting on a weak and excitable brain may account for the crimes of Jacques Clément and Ravaillac. Patriotism and religion misunderstood moved Felton to murder the Duke of Buckingham. A vain hankering after notoriety has before now urged some silly fool to attempt his sovereign's life. But motives such as these will not suffice to explain the conduct of so many different men, occupying some high, some the highest positions in church and state, accustomed to act with deliberation and to shape their conduct by fixed principles, irreproachable (at least most of them) in their morals and otherwise zealous for God's glory and the welfare of their fellow men. They were not delirious fanatics. They professed no self-invented, private code of morals. They were not the slaves of unbridled passions. They had no personal animosity against their intended victim. How came it then that they saw no sin in a project which, if it were a sin, involved the most grievous sin of murder? How is it that they were so clear in conscience about it that their words indicate no doubtfulness and that there is no sign whatever of any attempt to palliate or excuse to themselves or others an act which might be desirable for many reasons but was hardly lawful? Surely the question is a grave one, and needs an answer of some kind. I will now venture to suggest one, which, whether it be the correct account of their motives or not, will at least show how these persons without doing violence to their reason or forcing their conscience may have justified to themselves the proposed act.

Let me begin by putting a possible case. In a country where the executive is powerless and might prevails over right, the chief of a band of robbers has seized an unoffending traveller and keeps him a close prisoner until he pays for his ransom a sum which it is quite beyond his power to obtain. Now who can deny that under these circumstances the prisoner might lawfully kill the robber, if by so doing he could secure his escape? And if he might do it himself, any one, much more a friend and kinsman, might do it for him, or he might hire another to do it in his stead. The violent death of the robber could not in this case be justly regarded as a murder: it would simply be the result of an act of self defence on the part of the innocent man whom he was holding captive.

This case seems to contain the solution of the present difficulty. Fifteen years before the events we are considering Mary Queen of Scots had sought hospitality and a temporary shelter in the kingdom of Elizabeth. Instead of obtaining her request, she was at once placed in strict confinement and every attempt on her own part or that of others to obtain her liberty had proved ineffectual. Mary's life during all this time hung on the mere will of Elizabeth, who had gone so far in 1569 as to issue an order under the great seal for her execution.[2] In 1572 Elizabeth arranged with the Earls of Morton and Mar to deliver up to them the Queen of Scots on condition that she should "receive that which she had deserved there by order of justice." On which Tytler remarks that "these words when taken with the context can bear but one meaning—that of executing her summarily and without delay."[3] Nothing but the sudden death of the Regent Mar prevented this agreement from being carried into effect. Again

[1] Tytler's *History of Scotland*, Vol. III., pp. 405, 406. [2] Ib., 315.
[3] Ib., 347, note 3.

in 1587, four years after the occurrence with which we are now concerned, Elizabeth caused it to be intimated to Sir Amias Paulet, Mary's gaoler, that he should secretly kill her; a crime, however, which he, unfeeling bigot though he was, refused to perpetrate.[1] Finally, 8 Feb., 1587, after a form of trial she caused her captive to be beheaded. The conduct of Elizabeth to Mary from her arrival in England in 1568 to her judicial murder at Fotheringay in 1587 was one prolonged act of injustice. Elizabeth had no jurisdiction over her, for Mary was a Queen, and therefore incapable of being the subject of another sovereign. Even apart from her regal dignity she was a Scotchwoman and therefore no subject of the English Queen. If a Frenchman were arrested, tried and executed in England for a murder which he had committed in France, however certain might be his guilt, his death would be a simple murder and the judge who condemned him a murderer; because not being an English subject he was not amenable to English jurisdiction for acts committed beyond the realm. If then it could have been proved with absolute certainty that Mary had been privy to Darnley's murder, this would not have justified Elizabeth in usurping a jurisdiction that was not and could not under any possible contingency be hers. But what of Babington's plot? If Mary was aware of the intended attempt on Elizabeth's life, and there is no proof of it, this did not make her a subject of Elizabeth; for she was still Elizabeth's equal as a Queen. But at any rate she was tried with all the forms of justice? And of what value, it may be answered, are these forms when there is no jurisdiction to give them life and efficacy? They are a mockery of justice, and none the less such because they are a solemn mockery. Thus the parallel is complete between the bandit chief and Queen Elizabeth. Both detain with equal injustice the prisoner who has fallen into their hands. Both have the power and the will to murder their prisoner, if circumstances make it advisable. Both prisoners are unable to persuade their captors to release them. If then it be no sin in the captive, either by his own hand or the hand of others, to kill the bandit chief and so escape, why was it a sin to kill Elizabeth and by doing so to save from a life-long prison and impending death her helpless victim, the Queen of Scots? If the one act is a laudable measure of self defence, why is the other branded with the names of murder and assassination? In a word, if there is no real disparity between the cases, why should we not use the same weights and measures in judging of them both? Such may have been the reasoning of the Duke of Guise and his approvers, and on such grounds they may have maintained, not without plausibility, the lawfulness of an act which under other circumstances than those which have been described would merit the deepest reprobation.

Events in Scotland. The King recovers his liberty.

To return to the narrative of events:—When in December, 1582, the Duke of Lennox was journeying through England towards France, he met on the road to Scotland M. de la Mothe-Fénelon,[2] who had been sent by the King of France as ambassador to the Scottish King to aid him in regaining his liberty and to counteract the English intrigues in Scotland. De la Mothe-Fénelon did not stay long in that country, but soon returned to France. He was succeeded by M. de Menainville, who remained there until the beginning of May, 1583, when, after

[1] Lingard, VI., 457.

[2] Tytler, IV., 55. According to M. Teulet, M. de la Mothe-Fénelon was sent in October, 1582, while M. de Menainville did not leave France before January, 1583. Teulet, V., 281, note.

having organized the plot for the overthrow of the Ruthven lords and the return of the Duke of Lennox to power, he took shipping from Leith for France.[1] Towards the end of June the young King, who had acted with great vigour and secrecy, suddenly threw himself into the castle of St. Andrews, summoned round him the nobles who were privy to the plot, declared by proclamation the raid of Ruthven to have been an act of treason, and, while promising to pardon those who had taken part in it and solicited forgiveness, made known his determination to punish with severity all who should refuse to sue for mercy. In this way the King once more recovered the exercise of his royal authority, though the unexpected death of Lennox deprived him of the satisfaction of welcoming back to Scotland the favourite who had been torn from him by the Earl of Gowrie and his confederates.

The report which M. de Menainville brought of the state of things in Scotland revived the Duke of Guise's desire to undertake the enterprise. The urgent solicitations of the Queen of Scots and Lord Seton confirmed him in this resolve. He thought of sending to Scotland one of the princes of his house with M. de Menainville as his lieutenant, while he himself proposed to remain on the frontiers of England according to the plan already settled. "I think," the Nuncio writes, May 30, to the Cardinal of Como, "4,000 footmen will suffice for Scotland, and as to England he will act according to circumstances."[2] In another letter of the same date to the Cardinal of Como[3] the Nuncio announces the return of F. Robert Persons from Spain:—"He set out on the last day of April from Madrid, where he left the catholic King exceedingly well disposed towards the enterprise of England and Scotland, and his Majesty is of opinion that it ought by all means to be carried out this year. . . . . Whenever it is ready, a report in writing of the state of this affair will be brought, setting forth how it is proposed to conduct it, with what troops and shipping, whence they are to come and the money that will be requisite. This will be sent to our Lord the Pope and to Spain, and then his Holiness and the catholic King will take whatever resolution God may inspire them with. May it please your most illustrious Lordship to exhort our Lord the Pope not to lose so fine an opportunity of bringing back two kingdoms at the same moment to the catholic church and delivering so many poor catholics from the tyranny of that Jezabel. Either this enterprise will be executed this year or there is nothing more to be hoped for from human endeavours. Our Lord could not spend the patrimony of St. Peter more usefully and more honourably than in the recovery of these kingdoms, for which his predecessors have laboured so much to plant therein the faith of Christ."

A few days later, June 11, the Nuncio wrote from St. Cloud to the Cardinal of Como[4]:—"A memorandum is being drawn up as to how the affair of England should be conducted, for by the death of the Duke of Lennox we have lost the basis of Scotland, and it is necessary to make a new plan for that kingdom, about which they are now busy. With reference to this kingdom and also to England there met at my house in Paris, whither I went expressly, the Duke of Guise, the Agent of the catholic King, the ambassador of Scotland, Monsr. de Moneville [Menainville] and F. Claude [Mathieu, S.J.], in whom all put confidence; and the Duke of Guise read a memorandum, of which he caused a copy in French to be given to the Agent of Spain and another in Italian to me. The Agent and F. Claude afterwards came to me here at St. Cloud where F. Robert [Persons] still

[1] Tytler, IV., 64. [2] Infra, p. 414. [3] Infra, p. 194. [4] Infra, p. 415.

is, and we changed some things, and the Agent has remained to draw up in French whatever seemed good to him. The memorandum has not yet come back to me, but when it does, I will send it at once to your most illustrious Lordship in cipher. I can only say at present that this affair is in a much worse state through the death of Lennox; the difficulties have increased, and something very different from 80,000 crowns will be wanted to put in execution what is designed." After discussing the best way of remitting the Pope's contribution, the Nuncio proceeds: "I had written thus far when I received the memorandum from the Agent of Spain, but I do not send it, as it is not settled. I will say thus much; although the Duke of Guise affirms that so far as it rests with him he will undertake the enterprise of England, still the Agent of Spain and I think that it cannot possibly be undertaken this September; and the Duke knows this, but lets it be understood in this way that he will be ready when what is needed shall be in order. The Queen of Scotland prays that nothing new be done, so long as her son is not at liberty and her party in Scotland on a firm footing; from which I judge that nothing will be done this year. We have all resolved that the nephew of the said Queen's ambassador should be sent to Scotland with money to confirm our friends and gain others. At the Duke of Guise's request the Agent of Spain will give 5,000 crowns for this purpose, and though I have been asked to contribute my fourth, and am aware that I have the money at my disposition for the things of Scotland, still, since I had it for the maintenance of the Duke of Lennox, I have refused to consent to give it without fresh instructions. As by gaining the Scotch and rendering the Prince favourable for his own interest and that of his mother we shall be on the lines of the original design, I think it will be well not to refuse the Duke of Guise this small sum for a beginning of this enterprise, towards which Spain has already given 10,000 crowns and I have promised to contribute always in proportion to what the minister of the catholic King shall give. The nephew of the ambassador of Scotland, who is a very prudent person, will go to Scotland on the pretext that he has been recalled by his father, who intends to leave his property to him as his eldest son if he goes there, or to give it to a younger son, if he does not go."

The plan for the enterprise of England, which had been under discussion, was forwarded to the Cardinal of Como by the Nuncio, June 20, that is, a few days before the Scottish King freed himself from the Ruthven lords. It is as follows.[1]

"A person shall be sent immediately to Scotland with means and money to dispose the people of the country to embrace this enterprise, which was begun by the Duke of Lennox and has been greatly improved by the ambassador of France who was there. Every effort shall be made to obtain this ambassador's immediate return to continue these negotiations in that kingdom and to dispose the King to place himself at the head of the enterprise as was originally intended. If however the King will not do this, it is hoped that there will soon be obtained so much correspondence, and that so much assistance can be counted upon in that kingdom that the King will be obliged to adapt himself to it, or at least will be unable to put any hindrance in the way of the enterprise. The enterprise of England. 20 June, 1583.

"As soon as possible two expeditions should be got ready, one in Spain to go to Scotland, if things are well disposed, or to England on the frontier of Scotland,

[1] Infra, p. 416.

where it will be easy to seize some port with the help of the catholic party who are very numerous there and skilled in war, besides which all the ports in England are open, and a fleet can ride at anchor in them safely. The expedition from Spain should consist of 10 or 12,000 men or more, if possible, *i.e.*, 4,000 Germans, another 4,000 Italians and 3,000 Spaniards. It should be victualed for twenty days after landing, and bring with it money to pay these troops and to raise 20,000 more, Scotch or English, as well as a quantity of arms to arm the soldiers of the country. This expedition should be the first to arrive in England and be under the command of some one chosen by his Holiness and the catholic King, for its head could not be one of the two brothers [the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne] since they could not both reasonably leave France at the same time. The second expedition should consist of Frenchmen under the command of one of the two brothers. It can only land in Sussex, owing to the little convenience to be met with elsewhere; while a disembarcation here will be very commodious, as the crossing can be made quickly and securely in a tide. But this expedition must not be the first to land, for the one from Spain is so distant that it is impossible to judge with certainty when it will arrive. Besides which the chief strength of England is on the side of Sussex, as London is only a day's journey distant, and nothing more can be done on the side of France beyond what was originally offered, though in carrying this out there will be no failure or deficiency of any kind. When these two expeditions are in England, they cannot unite until they have both fought a battle, for to effect a junction they will necessarily have to cross England. They must therefore be strong; the more so since from there being no fortresses in England the English will be obliged to fight immediately, as they can only save themselves by a battle. It will be also requisite to afford means to the catholics and the discontented, who form the majority in England, to unite. Measures are being taken for this purpose, and thereby the conquest of that kingdom will be accomplished in a short time: especially since it is impossible for England to receive succours under two or three months, if it be attacked when our enemies are not resolute and have not begun to prepare themselves, besides other difficulties in the way of obtaining aid,[1] so that there is no ground for fearing this.

"With regard to the time of putting into execution this enterprise, the sooner it is done the better, and there will never be found any shortcoming on the side of France. As to this expedition from France the head of it thinks that he can obviate the jealousy which it might otherwise excite in the Most Christian King, and that it may therefore be safely accomplished. Besides, in the expedition from Spain there will be a great quantity of Italians and Germans and its head will be appointed by his Holiness; all which will be signified by the Nuncio in France to the Most Christian King, with the assurance that the intention of his Holiness is to use the power which God has given him solely for God's glory and the increase of the catholic faith. It is necessary to provide a good store of money at Paris both for the needs of this expedition and for those of Scotland and England. This resolution should be made known to the Duke of Bavaria,[2] who

[1] The text at this point seems to be corrupt.

[2] M. Teulet thinks that the Duke of Bavaria here spoken of was William V., surnamed The Young, of the branch of Munich, who in 1596 resigned the government of the state to his son Maximilian to live in retirement with the Carthusians near Ratisbon. Teulet, V., 286, note.

has offered himself for the enterprise, that he may be ready according to the advices which will be sent him continually by him who will lead the French into England, whenever his Holiness and the catholic King have resolved upon the execution of the enterprise, and who perhaps may find it expedient that the Duke of Bavaria should command the expedition to be despatched from Spain. Some one should be sent immediately to England to advise the Queen of Scotland and the ambassador of Spain of this resolution and to learn what they think of it and what account is to be made of the strength of the English catholics, who will receive such general information as may be necessary to prepare them for taking up arms at the proper time. With regard to Ireland, it seems well that 2,000 men should be sent thither from Spain with those Irish gentlemen who are in Spain asking for aid. It would be advisable that these troops should reach Ireland a few days before the other expeditions arrive in England; and to strengthen yet more this force it will be expedient to send money to the Earl of Arguil [Argyle] and Macovil[1] in Scotland that they also may despatch troops thither against the English, as they are accustomed to do every year.

"The catholic exiles from England should not return to their country until the expeditions have arrived in England, that the design may not be discovered; but they should be told to be ready to join the expeditions on their arrival there. For this purpose the advice of Signor Bernardino Mendoza will be of great use, as he is a man experienced in actual warfare and knows well what may be expected from the catholics and the partisans of the Queen of Scotland in England. The Agent of Spain besides the first 5,000 crowns has now given 6,000 more, and they are in the hands of Father Claude [Mathieu] to be disbursed as the nephew of the ambassador of Scotland shall require; and when asked, as I am, to pay our Lord the Pope's share I do not see how it is possible to hold back, otherwise the Duke of Guise will say that he has only words given him. Dr Allen has come here and thinks that the preparations required are too great; but we must go by the judgment of soldiers in matters of war."

A long and important dispatch of the Agent of Spain to Philip, dated Paris June 24,[2] treats the subject somewhat differently. "The report" he says "brought by M. de Menainville is that Scotland is not at present in such a state as that our expedition can go thither and begin the enterprise on that side according to the plan which the Duke of Lennox proposed last year; for the King is what he always has been in matter of religion, and besides being in the power of the English party he is so deceived and fed with the promises which they make him that he thinks he is already free and that he will obtain his mother's freedom and the succession to the English throne by amicable negotiations. Besides we have neither fortress nor port in Scotland except Dumbarton, the captain of which will admit no one except the Duke of Lennox, who died a few days ago .... In fine it is clear from de Menainville's report that neither on the side of the King, nor by the help of any particular party, nor by fortresses or ports is there any basis in Scotland for attempting the enterprise. De Menainville indeed gilds this over by expressing great hopes that the King may be won, as well as many of his vassals. His opinion is that the former may be effected if the Most Christian King will send thither again on some pretext or other an ambassador of persuasive speech, who being made acquainted with the secret may little by little draw the

[1] Macconnell, Lord of the Isles? [2] Teulet, V., 281.

King on to what is desired; for he affirms that he is a prince of very good understanding, and though he will not hear a word about changing his sect, yet holds in abhorrence the proceedings of its ministers. As to the rest, he is of opinion that some private person should go to Scotland immediately with money to pay certain sums by which means some have been already won over and others will be won, since they all have an eye to their own interest, through which they can be easily reached and gained." The Agent goes on to say that a nephew of the ambassador of Scotland has been chosen to carry out the second suggestion and that he has given him at the Duke of Guise's request 6,000 crowns. The Duke on the other hand has undertaken to obtain from the Most Christian King the return of M. de Menainville to Scotland as his ambassador. The Agent is doubtful whether the Duke will succeed in this, for it depends on the mere will of the King, and the Guises are not in favour at present; nor again under the circumstances already stated does he anticipate much fruit from de Menainville's mission, if he should be sent. "When the Duke of Guise" he continues "had heard what de Menainville had to say about the affairs of Scotland and reflected upon it for several days, he wished us to have a meeting at the Nuncio's house. There in the Duke's presence de Menainville repeated his report; and passing thence to the principal matter on hand a proposal was made on the Duke's part that it was fitting to undertake the enterprise by way of England on the same footing and with the same means as those which he proposed to your Majesty in person through Richard Melino [F. Robert Persons] and which were read from a writing, and the time fixed for the enterprise was next September. As it did not seem to me reasonable to reply there and then on a sudden to so grave a matter, the conference was broken up for the moment after some general talk." The Agent then says that he thought it right in conversation with the Duke of Guise to criticise the plan at length and put before him various difficulties which it involved; the Duke however was not shaken by them, and his final resolution was that the beginning of the enterprise should be undertaken by the forces from Spain, while he himself would make the attempt on the side of Sussex. He would not put off the attempt to a later date, but left the time to the determination of his Holiness and the King of Spain. The Agent thinks that the Duke knows that it cannot be effected so soon, but wishes that the delay should not seem to come from him. The English members of the conference, he adds, would prefer that the enterprise should be undertaken from the side of England rather than of Scotland, but in any case they trust it will not be delayed beyond the beginning of winter. They beg to be informed as soon as the King of Spain has come to a final resolution, that they may prepare their partisans for the attempt. The Agent concludes with a warm commendation of the catholics in England to the King, and he expresses his own opinion that, if the attempt is to be made, there is a better prospect of success by commencing with England rather than Scotland.

Meanwhile Allen strove to dispose the Cardinal of Como and Gregory XIII. to view the undertaking with favour. He wrote to the Cardinal from Reims, August 8,[1] praying him to "admonish the Holy Father that now was the time for acting, that there had never before been a like opportunity, nor would such a chance ever recur." Again when it had been decided at the conference to send F. Persons to Rome with written instructions from the Duke of Guise, Allen

[1] Infra, p. 201.

addressed a letter to Pope Gregory XIII. on his behalf, Paris, August 22,[1] earnestly recommending him and the matters of which he was to treat to his Holiness. These instructions, which were given to F. Persons under the pseudonym of Richard Melino, 22 August 1583, are as follows.[2]

F. Persons sent to the Pope: his instructions.

"His Holiness should be very minutely informed of all that has been prepared and disposed up to the present time in England and Scotland for the good success and happy result of this enterprise. After a full consideration of every point, and the receipt of a letter from the Queen of Scotland, and of advices from the principal lords of the kingdom that things are very well prepared especially towards the border of Scotland, where the expedition from Spain would land, it has been at length resolved that it will be sufficient if the catholic King sends a force of 4,000 good soldiers, unless his Majesty should find means to send more. But it is necessary that the same expedition should bring with it money to pay 10,000 soldiers in those parts for some months, as well as corslets, pikes and arquebuses to arm 5,000 soldiers of the island. And whereas the preparations and dispositions of that realm are subject to many changes, and there is danger also to secrecy if there be long delay, since these affairs pass through so many hands, and whereas moreover news has lately come from the King of Scotland that unless he is assisted as M. de Menainville promised, he cannot maintain himself in the freedom which he has almost miraculously recovered these last few days, the Queen of England meanwhile doing all she can to favour her party in Scotland, supplication should be made to his Holiness in the name of Hercules [the Duke of Guise] and all the catholics of that realm to the effect that in as much as things have reached such a point that nothing but money is now wanting, his Holiness would deign to augment a little his liberality and give at once a sum of money proportionate to the greatness of the enterprise and leave the whole affair to the catholic King and the Duke of Guise, in order that the enterprise be carried out as soon as may be and, if possible, this year.

"His Holiness should be informed that we are sure of having seaports in England where we can land in perfect safety; and this affair will be greatly furthered by the ports which the catholic King has lately recovered in Flanders, where soldiers can be embarked to unite with the Duke of Guise and whence aid and succour can be obtained when necessary.

"The port where the expedition from Spain will disembark is called in English *the Pileous Foudre* [the Pile of Fouldrey[3]] a place of great security and size, where we are sure that the expedition will be welcomed and joyfully received by the catholics, who are very numerous there; so that within a very few days it will be possible to raise at least 20,000 horsemen to join the expedition: viz., on the frontier of Scotland, 3,000; of the Earl of Merton and the Baron of Fernest [Fernihurst?] 3,000; of the Baron of Acres [Dacre] 4,000; of the Earl of Westmorland, 1,000; of the Earl of Northumberland, 3,000; of the Earl of Cumberland, 1,000; of the Baron Varton [Wharton] 2,000; of the new Bishop of Durham. . . . .[4] These are the nearest to Scotland and to the port where the

[1] Infra, p. 206. [2] Teulet, V., 308.

[3] "A small rocky island in the parish of Dalton in Furness and hundred of Lonsdale, north of the sands, ... The port of the Pile of Fouldrey is large and commodious, and would float a large man-of-war at low water."—Gorton's *Topographical Dictionary*, Vol. II. [Note in Teulet.]

[4] The points are in Teulet.

Spanish expedition will arrive. But within the kingdom there are many lords who favour this enterprise as the Earl of Rutelander [Rutland] Biestros, Burie, Vorcester, Arunden, Viscount Monteacudo [Montague] and others.

"Several ships and good seamen will leave the port of Fouder [Fouldrey] to meet the expedition from Spain and guide it to England. They have been already told to be prepared.

"It will be necessary that the catholic King cause Don Bernardino de Mendoza to remain in England until all things are ready, and that a few days before the enterprise Don Bernardino retire to Dunkirk to join the expedition of the Duke of Guise and go with him into England. Also that his catholic Majesty write to the Prince of Parma to give passage to the soldiers who shall go to Dunkirk and other places in Flanders to embark and join the Duke of Guise; and that he permit all the English catholics who are in Flanders in his army or service to go to the said expeditionary force of the Duke of Guise, and lastly that he give all the aid in his power to the Duke of Guise and his expedition in victuals and men.

"His Holiness should also be entreated in the name of the Duke of Guise and all the catholics to expedite a bull declaring that the enterprise is undertaken by his Holiness with the reasons which have moved him thereunto, affirming also that he has charged the catholic King and the Duke of Guise to undertake the enterprise, at the same time giving indulgences to all who take part in this holy work and renewing the bull issued by Pius V. against the Queen of England and against all who shall aid or favour her, or oppose in any way this holy enterprise.

"His Holiness will be pleased to create Mr. Allen bishop of Durham; and to make him or some one else his Nuncio in the expedition from Spain to represent the person of his Holiness and publish the said bulls; and also to send another Nuncio with the expedition which will start from France, for which office it seems that M. de Savona [the Bishop of Savona], rector of the county of Avignon, would be suitable.

"His Holiness should also be advised of the death of M. de Aromini [the Bishop of Rimini] his Nuncio in France.[1] He has done much good in this kingdom and has shown himself a man of great virtue, prudence, devotion and edification, and very deeply attached to this enterprise. His Holiness will be pleased to send another as speedily as may be, resembling, if possible, his predecessor; one who will not be dependent upon or attached to any party, but dependent only upon his Holiness, without letting himself be drawn to this side or that through any respect. His Holiness will pardon the great boldness with which we speak in this matter, since it arises from pure zeal for the honour of God and his Holiness and the good of Christendom."

Mr. Charles Paget sent to England.

At the same time Mr. Charles Paget was despatched by the Duke of Guise to England to obtain information for the purposes of the expedition. His instructions, dated August 28, are printed in Teulet, V., 312. According to F. Persons Paget undertook the journey to England with the intention of overthrowing the enterprise, in fact of acting as a traitor to the cause, as he himself informed Mr. Watts, the priest, when waiting to embark at Dieppe.[2] But it is not easy with the documents at present available to ascertain how far this charge

[1] John Baptist Castelli, Bishop of Rimini, died at Paris, 17 August, 1583.

[2] Infra, p. 393 and p. 392, note; also p. 387.

is well grounded. If true, it seems strange that Allen and Persons should have continued to treat Paget with confidence? as on F. Persons' own showing they did. F. Oliverius Manareus, S.J., evidently thought that F. Persons' animosity to Paget had coloured and distorted his recollections of their former relations.[1]

F. Persons returns from Rome without increased subsidy. Annoyance of Tassis.

F. Persons mentions in his Autobiographical Notes that he returned from Rome in a few weeks.[2] And the Agent of Spain confirms this, for in a letter to Philip II., dated Paris, 15 Nov., 1583,[3] he complains of F. Persons' short stay at Rome as showing that no pressure had been put upon the Pope by the Duke of Guise to furnish a larger contribution of money for the enterprise, according to the wish which Philip II. had expressed in his letter to the Agent of June 6.[4] "I have seen" the Agent writes "what your Majesty has ordered me to attend to in the matter of England and Scotland. Melino [F. Persons] was certainly in a hurry to obtain at Rome things which might have been deferred; but, as he was there, he must have thought it best to get it done apart from the rest; the more so because the wish to see accomplished what he desires so ardently must have persuaded him (as often happens to the afflicted and necessitous) that the affair could be carried into effect in the way in which he imagined it. Besides it may be that his Holiness in giving him those papers may have had some intention of burdening us with the delay: but, if so, they will have gained little by it, since the opinion here, as regards the substance of the case, viz., the money with which the enterprise has to be carried out, is that the proposal made to your Majesty on the subject is very niggardly. I shall continue to foster on all occasions this opinion, which was conceived (I say) the moment it was first heard of, in order that the fault of this delay may be understood to rest with Rome and not with us. With regard to the impossibility of putting the hand to the work this year, I am confident the Duke of Guise in his heart must know very well that such things cannot be done so precipitately, but need much forethought and care to provide beforehand all things necessary, by which means whatever is attempted usually succeeds; whereas those whose interests are at stake, like people in affliction, dying to be delivered, are full of sorrow and hours appear to them like years. I have pointed this out to them more than once, and represented to them that what is well done is done soon enough. I will go on in this way, and encourage them to wait patiently the proper time, and charge them above all to observe secrecy, since everything depends on it. This will be all that I shall tell them, without passing on to anything else; as in my opinion it is very necessary that they should not know of your Majesty's intention to make the attempt by way of Flanders, until everything is so far advanced that it will be impossible to keep silence about it any longer; and then too they should be informed of it in such terms that they may not imagine that it is intended to exclude them from this part of the enterprise, which indeed, I think, would be no wise fitting, but to give the Duke of Guise an opportunity of pursuing what he so much desires on his side, and of sharing in the glory of the affair to which he aspires, in order that in this way we may meet with no interference to render its execution difficult. With regard to other pretensions which I see noted in the summary which has been sent me, it seems to me that even in the execution they ought not to be known, but be borne in mind, that the subject may be treated with full liberty. And if any one is to be trusted with furthering them at that time, it should be in my poor

[1] Infra, p. 392, note. [2] Ib. [3] Teulet, V., 317. [4] Ib., 727.

opinion Allen or Melino [F. Persons] who I see have a great affection for our side and will be delighted to forward any thing pleasing to your Majesty." After mentioning other things the Agent gives an account of a conversation which he had had with F. Persons, in which the latter alleged various reasons for making the attempt on the side of England rather than Scotland, especially the danger there would be lest the Huguenots and even the French King should send aid to the Queen of England, so easily are they moved to oppose anything undertaken by Spain. This last reason seems to the Agent so weighty, that he quite agrees with F. Persons in this matter.

Five days later, November 20, Dr Allen wrote from Reims to the Cardinal of Como [1] to thank him for all that he had done for the welfare and salvation of England, and he promises him that, though infirm in body and weak in mind, nothing shall be wanting on his part to fulfil the higher functions which in due time are to be entrusted to him. The briefs, he adds, have been received by the ambassador of the catholic King, and he will use them, according to the Cardinal's directions, at the proper time and not before. These must have been the briefs appointing Dr Allen Bishop of Durham and Apostolic Delegate to the expedition. They were probably brought by F. Persons from Rome. With regard to Allen's health, the Agent of Spain in his despatch of June 24 speaks of Allen as "older and more infirm [than the other exiles] and that he will have to make the journey [from Flanders to England] with more comforts than they." [2]

On the same day, Nov. 20, Dr Allen wrote in the same sense to Pope Gregory XIII.[3] "About myself" he says "I can only say to your most holy Fatherhood that although in these very small affairs of the church and my country in which I have been long employed by your Beatitude's command and under your auspices I feel and acknowledge my weakness and unworthiness, and therefore tremble exceedingly at undertaking those greater functions, still all things which by the command of your Holiness, that is, as I look upon it, by the will of Christ shall be laid on my feeble shoulders will by His grace, your Apostolic blessing and my obedience become (I hope) if not light at least bearable for me, so that I may be able to say with the Apostle: I can do all things in Him who strengthens me."

Arrest of Throgmorton and others.

On the 12th of the following December Mgr. Girolamo Ragazzoni, bishop of Bergamo, the lately appointed Nuncio in France, wrote to the Cardinal of Como [4] concerning certain arrests that had been made in England, from which it was to be feared that the English government had obtained a clue to the enterprise. His letter is as follows:—"The ambassador of Spain, who resides in England, writes to the Duke of Guise in his letters of the 19th of last month that, shortly before, there had been imprisoned by the English Queen seven gentlemen, four of whom are catholics and three heretics, but all of them much in the confidence of the Queen of Scotland. Later on the ambassador in his letters of the 26th of the same month writes to the Duke of Guise that one of the catholic prisoners, named Trhot Morton [Throgmorton] had been sent to the Tower and that they were talking of putting him to the torture, as there had been found in his house a note of all the ports of the Island and the names of the principal catholic noblemen in that kingdom. This Throgmorton, as I understand from F. Claude [Mathieu], Jesuit, has a general knowledge of the agreement which has been entered into to succour the catholics. The ambassador adds that he is in great doubt whether

[1] Infra, p. 217. [2] Teulet, V., 292. [3] Infra, p. 218. [4] Infra, p. 419.

this agreement has not been or will not be discovered. It seemed to me that the ambassador of Spain resident here entertains the same doubt about its discovery. He has also said to me that there has been too great a hurry in this affair, and that the convenience of the catholic King must be waited for. I have sent a copy of this to the Bishop of Piacenza, Nuncio [in Spain], in the cipher which I found here among the papers of [my predecessor] Monsig^{r}. di Rimini as proper to be used between Nuncios."

Although it is clear that there was no likelihood of the King of Spain resolving to carry out the enterprise during the winter, Dr Allen and F. Persons, the one from the college at Reims and the other from the court of the Prince of Parma at Tournay sent, 16 January, 1584, a joint report of the state of affairs in England through the Nuncio at Paris to the Pope.[1] They also addressed a copy of the same document to Philip II. through the Agent of Spain. The following is the tenor of this report, which is headed: "A writing given by Father Allen and Father Robert on the 16th of January to be sent to our Lord [the Pope]."

Report on the state of England, 16 Jan., 1584.

"There is no doubt that his Majesty will be desirous of receiving information about the affairs of England by reason of the rumours which will reach Spain concerning what has lately happened in that kingdom. Although we know that his Majesty's ambassadors both in England and France will not fail to write whatever they hear of the matter, nevertheless we have looked upon it as a thing which belongs to the duty we owe to God and his Majesty to set down simply in the Lord's sight the whole present state of England, so far as we have been able to ascertain it from letters of men of the highest station in the realm. First: it is certain that the Queen's ministers were for some time in fear for their position, especially this year [1583] after the recovery of Terzera, the increase of his Majesty's fleet, the retaking of the ports of Flanders, the expulsion of the Duke of Alansone [Alençon] and the deliverance of the Prince of Scotland. These considerations, I say, have made the said ministers more suspicious, so that in the past months they have sent out spies, to advise them of whatever might be suspected and discovered regarding the dealings of the catholic Princes, especially of his Majesty and his Holiness or of the house of Guise, that from these reports they might be able to make up something solid against the catholics of England. While then they were intent upon this, God permitted that they should conceive suspicions of Throgmorton, who frequented the house of Don Bernardino, and who, though they have put him to the torture three or four times, has not confessed anything to the prejudice of the cause, as Don Bernardino writes and as appears from the confession of Throgmorton made under torture.[2] About the same time there was arrested a kinsman of Throgmorton, named Homerfild [Somerville] who had been long regarded as insane. He, being put to the torture, confessed that he had been in communication with various gentlemen and ladies[3] both heretics and catholics, of whom four only, who are catholics, have been condemned to death viz., the father-in-law [Arden], the mother-in-law, the wife and the confessor [Hall] of the madman, as well as the madman himself, who afterwards hanged himself in prison. When the catholics saw this barbarity, they

[1] Infra, p. 222.

[2] Francis Throgmorton was tortured three times without disclosing anything, but the fourth time he revealed what he knew.

[3] Perhaps the reading should be *signore*, ladies, as I have translated it.

began to be afraid and some to leave the kingdom, among whom there have come hither to Paris Lord Pagiot [Paget] and Charles Arundel, both of them intimate with the catholic nobility of England: and on this becoming known in England, viz., the flight of these two, our adversaries were disturbed, being in doubt whether it might not be the beginning of a general revolt of the nobility. They therefore at once cast their eyes upon the highest in rank with whom the two fugitives were most intimate, the Earl of Arundel and the Earl of Northumberland, whom they ordered to remain as prisoners in their own palaces, and the Earl of Rutland, whom they forbade to go more than ten miles from London. It is clear then that these cruelties which the heretics now use proceed from the distrust they feel about their affairs; but in particular as regards the dealings between his Holiness and his catholic Majesty, there are reasons to prove that as yet they know nothing about them. First, because it is publicly stated that the Earls of Arundel and Northumberland are imprisoned on account of Lord Paget's flight, as having been cognizant of it. Secondly, none of these Earls in prison, except the Earl of Northumberland,[1] knows anything about our affair. Thirdly, if our great affair had been the cause of their imprisonment, they would certainly have been put into the Tower of London, as is the custom in such cases and persons. For these reasons then we are satisfied that hitherto our adversaries have not found out any detail of our affair; and as regards what our enemies have done thus far, it is the opinion of those who are well acquainted with the disposition of England that it will prove for the benefit of the enterprise, and that this ought to encourage his Majesty to prosecute this enterprise with all speed. As to the persons of the three earls, their confinement by God's grace will be no great hindrance, since it is probable that as soon as the war begins they will find means to free themselves; and, if not, we shall still have other earls and princes remaining in England to act as heads of the enterprise. Besides, the earls in confinement have kinsmen, friends and sons to take their part, as the Earl of Arundel who has two powerful brothers and an uncle, all catholics; the Earl of Northumberland has six sons, of whom three are here at Paris; and the same may be said of the others. In conclusion then we say that what our adversaries have done thus far has not been hurtful but rather beneficial to the enterprise by making our party in the Island more determined than it was before. Moreover what they have done against the catholics has not arisen from any knowledge of the business in particular, but only from a general suspicion. In truth it may be called a great miracle of God that an affair, which has been matter of communication among so many friends for the space of now two years, has not been entirely discovered many days ago; and certainly a long time cannot pass before it will be found out in one way or another, and then, unless external help comes first, the ruin of all the catholics in the Island will follow. Wherefore casting ourselves at his Majesty's feet we entreat him for the love of Jesus Christ not to abandon so many afflicted souls, who with hands upraised to heaven are in daily expectation of his aid. The time

[1] See Teulet, V., 333. Tassis to Philip II. Paris, 18 April, 1584. The Earl of Northumberland in the past summer was in communication with the Duke of Guise, who sent over some one to consult him about the enterprise. Probably it was to him that Charles Paget was sent in August, 1583. Compare ib. 321. Northumberland advised that the expedition should land in Scotland and take that country for its point of departure rather than England.

is very favourable now, and every day's delay brings us great hurt and danger. Hence we entreat his Majesty with all possible earnestness not to defer the execution longer than is necessary: a prayer which we have been commanded by the Duke of Guise to offer to his Majesty in the Duke's name, who is more determined now than ever, and awaits only the good resolution of his catholic Majesty. A similar writing has been given by the aforenamed fathers to the ambassador of Spain in this country."

In a letter from Paris, January 21, to the Cardinal of Como[1] Dr Allen alludes to this report. "Your highness" he says "will easily understand the present state of things in England either from the letters of the most reverend Nuncio or from a certain writing which Father Robert [Persons] and I gave to his Lordship to transmit to our most holy Lord [the Pope]. I only add that it is not by thus delaying, but by hastening that our country will be restored. If at once, never better; if late, never worse . . . At this very moment I have learnt that the most illustrious Bernardino Mendoza has been commanded by the Queen to depart within twenty-four hours:[2] but in the meantime a sudden order has been issued that he is not to leave his house, and a guard has been set over him."

The Cardinal of Como answered Dr Allen's letter through the Nuncio on the 14th of February following.[3] "Our Lord [the Pope] has seen the writing which your Lordship sent me in cipher and which was given you by Father Allen and Father Robert [Persons] relating to the affairs of England. As a like writing has been sent to Spain, I have nothing more to say than that nothing has been nor will be wanting on the side of his Holiness to promote earnestly and unceasingly with his Majesty the good success of this affair, and to do all that is possible to attain the desired end, and, if the execution had been in our hands, Father Allen would have seen this some time ago. This will serve for an answer to what the said father wrote to his Holiness and to me."

On 21 March, 1584, Dr Allen wrote again from Reims to the Cardinal of Como[4] warmly recommending Lord Paget and Mr. Charles Arundel to the favour and liberality of his Holiness. The Cardinal's reply through the Nuncio in April[5] was as follows. "Father Allen recommends to me those two English gentlemen, Arundel and Paget, whom your Lordship also has recommended, praying that our Lord [the Pope] would provide them with some entertainment. I have done as asked, and the reply of his Holiness is that if the enterprise of England is to take place at the present time these gentlemen will be able to serve in it, and thus will not only have entertainment but recover also their own property. If however the enterprise should not take place, it will be necessary to make another reckoning, which at present would be superfluous and unseasonable. Your Lordship can explain this to Father Allen in reply to his letter, as I am only writing four lines to him to accredit to him your Lordship."

Meanwhile it appears from a letter of Mary Queen of Scots to Dr Allen, dated Sheffield, 22 March, 1584,[6] that she was in frequent correspondence with him. In it she expresses her joy that Allen was destined to be one day the interpreter to her of the commands of his Holiness. She abandons with the fullest confidence her own interests and, what she regards more than these, the

[1] Infra, p. 224.
[2] January 18, 1584.
[3] Infra, p. 419.
[4] Infra, p. 228.
[5] Infra, p. 420.
[6] Infra, p. 229.

common weal to his care and guidance. The non-payment of her yearly income, for which she has been asking during several months past in order to effect with it her deliverance from prison, is the reason why she has not hitherto made arrangements with the friends who can accomplish it. "I mention this particularly," she continues, "that you may know how necessary it is, when the time for action arrives, to send first of all a band of soldiers, English or foreign, to the place where I am detained for my deliverance. It will be very easily effected, for the place is not fortified and the garrison is of no account. I wonder that so small a sum of money, which is so necessary for me, can nowhere be obtained among so many less necessary expenses, unless perhaps they think that no account need be made of me." She commends Ralph Ligon as her agent with the Prince of Parma, if that Prince is to take part in the affair on behalf of the catholic King. She also begs Allen to recommend Thomas the brother of Francis Throgmorton, then residing at Paris, to his Holiness for assistance. Lastly she sends her salutations to Eusebius [F. Robert Persons].

Cardinal Como to the Nuncio at Paris on the enterprise, 9 April, 1584.

On April 9 the Cardinal of Como addressed the following letter to the Nuncio at Paris about the enterprise:[1] "We have seen the Memorial which your Lordship has received from the Duke of Guise with the other copies appended. And in the first place I have to tell you that such things should not be sent about except in cipher, on account of the great danger thence arising; besides to send them hither in French and in bad writing is very troublesome to him who has to read them here and does not know the language. With regard to the substance of the affair our Lord [the Pope] is exceedingly pleased that the Duke has taken so noble and holy a resolution, and he would willingly if possible have given him all the aid he requires from his purse alone, but the scanty treasury of his Holiness will in no way permit this, and it would be folly in us to think or speak differently, and it would only serve to launch forth the Duke and then to leave him amid dangers without the possibility of our maintaining him for long. We must not deceive ourselves with things done in this fashion, for the deception would result in great injury to the public and private weal. Hence if we are really to further the intention and design of the Duke, we must abide by the same proposals which were negotiated and set down by the late Mons^r. di Rimini,[2] viz., that everything should be done by the united impulse, counsels and power of the ministers of his Holiness and the catholic King. As therefore we have communicated everything here to the ambassador of his catholic Majesty, that he may write to Tassis at Paris and to his own King in Spain, so your Lordship will immediately seek an interview with Tassis and you will discuss together this motion and determination of the Duke, and if you find it to be good and likely to succeed, you will speak to the Duke and declare to him the good will of the Pope and the King to aid him in every way to carry it into execution as soon as possible: to which end we wrote yesterday in energetic terms to Spain by a special courier with directions to send the King's resolution immediately to Paris so that no time might be lost through its first coming here. Wherefore if the Duke is quite willing to await the answer, it will perhaps be the best; but if he is not willing, or the affair will not comport with the delay, you may see whether Tassis has still in hand the remainder of those thirty thousand crowns which were sent to him last year for this same purpose and which ought to amount to eighteen thousand, since, so far

[1] Infra, p. 420. [2] The preceding Nuncio.

as we know, only twelve thousand were spent. And if he has them, the catholic ambassador here is writing to him that he ought to disburse them to the Duke; and if he does disburse them, our Lord [the Pope] wills that your Lordship should also disburse his quarter, which will be six thousand crowns. If Tassis has not all the eighteen thousand, he will disburse at least what he has, and your Lordship will in like manner disburse the fourth of what he gives; which, though not a large sum, will not be so trifling in amount as not to be enough to provide many things requisite to make a beginning with the enterprise. Should however Tassis have no money or the Duke think that this sum will by no means suffice, it will then be necessary to wait for the answer from Spain; and if it should prove, as we hope, that the catholic King will provide a larger sum, your Lordship will disburse the whole of what proportionately falls to our share. And since your Lordship has only about three thousand crowns in hand, you may take up from merchants in Paris whatever you require on this account and make it payable here by Signor Bernardo Olgiato, depositary general of his Holiness, who will immediately repay it to whomsoever those merchants at Paris shall order by their letters. And it cannot be doubted but that your Lordship has credit enough with them for so small a sum as this will be. Let then the Duke do now what he thinks best about setting in motion speedily or slowly that blessed armament, for this is the final resolution to be looked for from his Holiness; though we neither know nor seek to know on what side he means to enter England, and should have thought it more advisable for him to go in person to Scotland, both to provide for the security of that King and to enter England afterwards on that side, relying not so much on the army which he will bring with him, which cannot be very numerous, as on the movement of the catholics in England, especially at this time when they are so barbarously persecuted.

"We have directed those two Irish gentlemen who are here to go at once to Paris according to the Duke's wish. They will leave in two or three days, and another Irishman will go with them, a priest and a practical man. We will take measures that another who is at Naples and is supported by the catholic King shall go likewise to France. But to avoid discovering to any one prematurely that the Duke has this affair on his hands, we will only tell them that the Archbishop of Glasgow wishes them to go to Paris for certain good reasons, and that they are to do whatever the archbishop and your Lordship tell them, and that their pensions will be continued to them as if they were in Italy. When necessary, your Lordship will tell them to obey the Duke.

"The two things which the Duke says that he hopes to accomplish, viz., to make an agreement that all the catholics shall live unmolested in Scotland and to obtain that the ambassador of France now in England shall be sent back to Scotland, will be of great benefit to God's service and the public good. His Holiness therefore desires that his Excellency will effect them as soon as possible."

The Cardinal of Como was of opinion, as it appears from the above letter, that the expedition should disembark in Scotland rather than in England. The Spanish Agent, Tassis, on the other hand continued to take the opposite view, which he defended at length in one of his last despatches to Philip II. from Paris, 18 April, 1584,[1] not long before he retired from the Agency. Dr Allen agreed with the Agent of Spain, as appears from the following paragraph of a letter of

[1] Teulet, V., 327.

the Nuncio in France to the Cardinal of Como, dated Paris, 16 April, 1584.[1] "Father Allen" he says "has just come to this city, summoned very urgently by the ambassador of Scotland, in the name also of the Duke of Guise, to draw him over to their opinion in regard to the new design: viz., to commence the enterprise of England by way of Scotland; and on his bringing forward some of the difficulties hereunto appended they became angry with him. Allen therefore desires it may not be known that he gave in the memorandum appended. The Scotchmen also have their reasons in answer to it, which they will be bound to explain to his Holiness."

Memorandum by Allen advising that the enterprise should begin from England, and not Scotland.

The memorandum is as follows[2]:—"If the army land first in Scotland instead of England, it seems that it will meet with the following difficulties. Those who would for the sake of religion join the catholic army, if its first destination were England, will now, it is to be feared, take the enemy's side; since from the old hatred between these provinces and the great inclination of the Scotch at the present time to heresy, they will both of their own accord and at the instigation of the English heretics be easily led to suspect that it is not a question of religion at all, but of subjecting the English to the Scottish rule. And if once this doubt is injected, it is to be feared that the invading army will not only have the heretics for enemies, but also the catholics who will suspect everything from an army marching on them from Scotland.

"This doubt will be increased by the different judgments men entertain about the King of the Scots, who they will perhaps suspect is not fighting for the catholic religion, which he neither acknowledges nor cares about, nor for the Pope, whom he does not recognise as his superior, nor, it may be, for the catholic King, whom the English catholics desire for king as well on account of his known faith and obedience to the Apostolic See as of the justice of his title, but is minded to retain the empire for himself, and pay no obedience to his Holiness, nor perhaps, which is a matter of moment to the English, restore and observe the treaty with the house of Burgundy, but will keep only to the French treaties, as is the custom of the Scotch—a point which the catholic King also will do well to consider before he begins the enterprise.

"On the other hand if the army land first in England, the catholics will undoubtedly be freed from every fear and will follow our side willingly. They will then accept and desire aid from Scotland, and they will not only not fear the Scottish King's forces for the aforesaid reasons, but they will treat them with very great affection.

"If the army goes to Scotland first, our enemies will have time and space allowed them to prepare themselves. They will have the means of intercepting those catholics who may wish to join the catholic army. Time will be given to the confederates of the heretics beyond the realm or to their neighbours who may be jealous of this undertaking to enter England and assist them. Lastly they will have time and space to fortify some cities, which otherwise would easily surrender to the catholics.

"If the invasion be made from Scotland, there will be a great difficulty about provisions and this for several days, since the army will have to cross desolate mountains and waste places, the border land of both kingdoms. Moreover it will make the war a long one, whether the army stay in Scotland to subdue that

[1] Infra, p. 230. [2] Infra, p. 231.

realm and so render it safer for the King to invade England, or delay there to fortify certain places necessary to the future expedition, or even advance by as rapid marches as possible; for they will be at a very great distance from London and the principal parts of the kingdom. Hence the heretics will rejoice exceedingly that their enemy is so far from their vital parts, and only lies in wait for their heel and bites at their feet a long way off.

"It will also be advantageous to our enemies that by the landing of the catholic army in Scotland they will be forewarned of the place and line of road by which the invasion will take place—a knowledge which will prove useful to them in many ways. Whereas if England be first entered, seeing that there are many convenient ports in different parts of the realm for disembarking troops, the heretics will be under the disadvantage of not being able to place a proper garrison at some certain place or sea-shore, but they will be forced either to fortify many places in different parts of the Island and thus scatter their forces, or else leave very many places without defence. The voyage also to Scotland is more difficult and long, and more exposed not only to the English fleet, which is always very strong, but to other chances, than if the passage were made to England only.

"On the other hand the only reason of weight why the landing should not be in England seems to be that it is thought men will be found there in readiness not only to resist the foreign soldiers on the very shore where they will be landed, but also to assemble inland very rapidly and fight with the catholics, especially if the army disembarks where most of the natives are heretics.

"If however the landing takes place in the northern districts or on the eastern or western coast of the ocean or in Wales or in other catholic places, the danger of the enemy's resisting will not be great; nor even in the parts where the heretics abound, if the foreign army is sufficiently numerous and disciplined; for the common and promiscuous multitude, which will in the first instance oppose a hostile invasion, is unwarlike and has hardly had any military training whatever. To sum up, I hope that the business can be carried to a successful issue in either of the two ways, though, with all submission, my opinion is that owing to the many difficulties which will arise the war will be more protracted and costly if undertaken by the way of Scotland."

Dr Allen was not content with sending this memorandum to the Pope by the Nuncio, but on the same day, April 16, he wrote a long letter to the Cardinal of Como[1] urging him, and through him his Holiness, to press on the execution of the enterprise. "If it be not carried out this year," he says, "I give up all hope in man and the rest of my life will be bitter to me."[2]

The Agent of Spain, Tassis, in his letter of May 27 to Philip II.[3] throws some

[1] Infra, p. 232.

[2] There will be found in Theiner, *Annales Eccles.*, III., 480, a very valuable and interesting memorandum, entitled: "Of the present state of things in England, from which may be seen how easy and opportune the sacred expedition will be." It is anonymous, but was evidently written by one of the English catholic exiles. Another rather later report on the different shires of England and the character of the inhabitants of each with reference to the catholic religion is given in Teulet, V., 381. It is enclosed in a despatch of Don Bernardino de Mendoza to Philip II., Paris, 13 August, 1586, and was drawn up by Mendoza partly from his own knowledge and partly from information supplied to him by an ecclesiastic whom he had sent to travel through the kingdom.

[3] Teulet, V., 336.

further light on Allen's views. "Richard Melino [F. Persons]" he writes, "has returned from Flanders. He and his companion Allen are still of opinion that the enterprise should be undertaken by way of England and by no other route. They have told me in confidence that the Scotch here, vexed at the delay, are discussing the question whether it will be possible to conduct this enterprise by other hands than those of your Majesty. And though the two continue to keep in relations with them as well as they can, they declare that the English wish for no protector but your Majesty, and that they not only look to your Majesty to set things straight at your first entry, but expect that, even if the Queen of Scotland should be made their queen, you will not desert them so speedily, until every thing is thoroughly secured. They even say that they would be glad if your Majesty would keep some ports in your hands, the better to ensure this. It is needless to attend to the talk of the others, for it can only be windy chimeras; and it may be also that what the two say springs from their desire the better to draw us onward. In conclusion thus much is certain that the English wish for no other protector than your Majesty; and beneath this it seems that anything may be believed."

The month of May passed away without any decision being taken by Philip II. On the 28th of that month the Nuncio wrote from Paris to the Cardinal of Como[1]:—"The Duke of Guise has judged it well that the two Irish gentlemen, who have lately arrived from Italy, should go at once to Scotland to help the King. I therefore praised this resolution and told them to go, promising that their pensions from his Holiness shall be continued to them. The twelve thousand crowns which the catholic King promised to pay for the King of Scotland's body-guard have not yet come, nor has any answer been received as yet from Spain about the enterprise of England."

Events in Scotland. Execution of Gowrie.

In the mean time Queen Elizabeth through her partisans in Scotland had organized a dangerous conspiracy against King James. The Earls of Gowrie, Angus and Mar were at the head of it, and the preachers of the kirk lent them their powerful aid. Through the vigorous action of the young King supported by his loyal subjects the plot failed. Gowrie expiated his treason on the scaffold, 4 May, 1584. His associates found a refuge in England, and the Scottish parliament, Sept. 20, having pronounced them rebels confiscated their property. King James was at length master in his own kingdom. His dispositions towards his cousin the Duke of Guise were all that could be desired, if we may judge from a letter which he wrote to him Aug. 19 of the preceding year, 1583.[2] The time was very favourable for prosecuting the enterprise. The only thing wanting was the final decision of the King of Spain, without whose fleet, troops and money nothing could be effected. But whether it arose from his habitual procrastination, or from want of money, or from thinking further preparations necessary to make security sure, Philip II. let the propitious moment pass by unused, until events happened in France and elsewhere which turned the Duke of Guise's thoughts into another channel, and without extinguishing cooled the ardour of his zeal for the enterprise which he had hitherto so warmly advocated. This is alluded to in the following extract from a letter of the Nuncio in France to the Cardinal of Como, dated June 25.[3] "Every one says that the most Christian King is more gay since the death of Alansone [Alençon] than he was before. I have had letters

[1] Infra, p. 423. [2] Teulet, V., 304. [3] Infra, p. 423.

from Spain of the 1st instant from Monsr. of Lodi,[1] without any decision about the affair of England: but the Agent of the catholic King here has told F. Claude [Mathieu, S.J.] that, according to the news which he has received, his catholic Majesty is not satisfied that his Holiness should contribute only a fourth. The said Nuncio writes to me that it was not believed in Spain that the Duke of Guise would leave France during Alençon's illness. They will therefore believe it much less after his death, and [still less] now that the King of Scotland is in no danger, which apparently more than anything else moved the Duke to undertake the enterprise: so that the English and Scotch who are in the secret give signs of having lost all hope of it."

Death of the Duke of Anjou, 10 June, 1584.

The death of the Duke of Anjou, formerly Duke of Alençon, heir apparent to the crown of France, 10 June, 1584, was an event of the deepest significance. The King had no prospect of a direct heir, and therefore at his death the throne of France would according to the laws of inheritance revert to the nearest prince of the royal blood, Henry of Navarre, a relapsed heretic. But it was hardly possible that the catholic nobles and people of France, that is, the largest and most powerful portion of the nation, would ever tolerate a heretic for their king. A change of dynasty would have been in their eyes an evil far more endurable. And if there should be a change of dynasty at Henry III.'s death, who might more naturally aspire to the vacant throne than the Duke of Guise, the popular champion of the catholic cause and a scion of the sovereign house of Lorraine, powerful in its numbers and wealth, and celebrated for its devotion to the catholic faith? A vista of possibilities must have opened out before the Duke's imagination, which may well account for the air of sadness and melancholy that was observed in him when assisting at the Duke of Anjou's funeral. Under such circumstances we can scarcely wonder if affairs at home should have exercised a more powerful attraction over him than a foreign expedition. Besides, the need of the enterprise had become less, at least in his eyes. The King of Scotland was now free: he had cast off the trammels of the English party among his subjects; and in consequence seemed willing to grant liberty and toleration to the catholics within his realm. On August 13 the Cardinal of Como wrote to the Nuncio at Paris[2] that "his Holiness was pleased to learn that the King of Scotland was ameliorating every day the state of the catholic religion in his kingdom." It was doubtless from the Duke of Guise and the ambassador of Scotland that the Pope had heard this. Again there was now a real prospect of the deliverance of Mary Queen of Scots being effected by amicable negotiation with Elizabeth. Even Walsingham "could see no cause but that her Majesty should rest satisfied" with the terms offered by Mary.[3] The catholics of England were the only sufferers to whom no prospect of alleviation was held out; and yet if James should one day ascend the English throne in the dispositions in which he was then supposed to be, he could hardly refuse to his new catholic subjects that liberty to practise their religion which his native subjects would on the supposition have already possessed.

These were days full of deceptive hopes, like the sunshine which lights up the still troubled sea during the brief lull preceding a fresh outbreak of the

[1] Mgr. Ludovico Taberna, Bishop of Lodi, Nuncio in Spain.
[2] Infra, p. 424.
[3] Sadler, quoted by Lingard, VI., 370, note 2.

tempest. The execution of the enterprise was more than ever necessary, just at the moment when it seemed possible to dispense with it.

The enterprise becomes known to Elizabeth.

Through the confessions of Throgmorton on the rack the ministers had obtained a general knowledge of the plans which had been in agitation during the past two years for the invasion of England. If indeed we may give credit to the following passage of the Nuncio's letter from Paris to the Cardinal of Como, 3 Sept., 1584,[1] their information was more than general. "They have put to death," he writes, "in England that gentleman of the house of Framurtone [Throgmorton] on account of whose confessions Don Bernardino di Mendoza was dismissed the kingdom; and now there has appeared a book in English,[2] containing the confessions made by Fragmortone under torture, which gives, as F. Robert [Persons] tells me, almost the whole history of the negotiations for the enterprise, and it principally touches the Duke of Guise. No doubt this has reached the ears of the most Christian King. Moreover Fragmorton says that he heard it all from Don Bernardino."

Whatever may have been the extent of Throgmorton's revelations, there can be no doubt that early in September, 1584, the ministers of Elizabeth were in possession of the full particulars of the enterprise as agreed upon when the Duke of Lennox was in power. They were gathered partly from a paper which F. Creighton tried ineffectually to destroy when he was captured at sea on his way to Scotland[3] and partly from the confessions which fear of torture drew from the same father in the Tower. The accuracy of the information thus obtained by the English government may be seen from the document now first printed *in extenso* at p. 425, compared with the substance of F. Creighton's confessions given at p. 432.

Mary Queen of Scots to Dr Allen, 30 Oct., 1584.

On October 30, Mary Queen of Scots wrote to Dr Allen from Wingfield[4] acknowledging the receipt of four letters from him since she had last had the opportunity of writing to him. She urges him to go on soliciting on her behalf the long-expected supplies. "The negotiation," she adds, "for my liberty continues; yet it is all conducted with such dissimulation that I have no hope. But whatever change may be made with regard to my position, or whatever danger to my life and interests may arise, do you go on soliciting the long-looked for supplies with all the diligence you are able, and let nothing be omitted in the execution [of the enterprise] through any regard or care for my person: since my mind is already made up that my life cannot terminate more happily than at this time and in this cause. I wish to say this to you once for all as my final resolution, lest hereafter I may have no liberty or convenience of writing safely. It is my desire that you should signify this from me to whomsoever you think it may concern: but especially I should wish our most holy Lord [the Pope] and the catholic King to be assured that while on the one hand things are now ripe in England, on the other they are so nigh to hopelessness that if help be put off beyond next spring, all will be lost and there will be nothing good to look for in our days.

[1] Infra, p. 425.

[2] Rishton in his *Diary in the Tower* says, "1584, July 10, Francis Throgmorton, gentleman, is executed: an infamous libel is published by the heretics on the same day against him."

[3] "Sept. 16, William Crichton, S.J., and Patrick Abdy, Scotch priests, returning to Scotland, are, against the law of nations, conveyed from sea into an English prison." Rishton's *Diary in the Tower*.

[4] Infra, p. 243.

"My son took it amiss that of the ten thousand crowns destined and promised for his own use he has only received six thousand. Nevertheless he remains firm and immoveable in will towards the common cause, and has a very great and truly filial affection for me, and promises to obey me always and in all things. He has at this time sent a young catholic nobleman, named Gray, as his ambassador, chiefly in order to visit me and take charge of all those common affairs. God grant that the Queen of England will allow him to converse with me."

It was not long before Mary was bitterly undeceived with regard to the reliance she had so fondly placed in her son and his ambassador. James abandoned her from motives of self interest, and Gray betrayed her to the ministers of Elizabeth, who in the dead of winter, January 13, caused her to be transferred from Wingfield to the cold and gloomy abode of Tutbury in Staffordshire, where, besides being deprived of many of the comforts she had hitherto enjoyed, she was continually a sufferer from illness.

On Feb. 5, 1585, Dr Allen wrote from Reims to the Queen of Scots a letter[1] in which he indicates a very important change which had come over the conduct of the enterprise against England. The Duke of Guise, it seems, had retired if not from the affair altogether, at least from taking that principal part in it which he had hitherto done. "The Duke of Guise" he writes "keepeth at Joinville still, of whom and whose affairs great rumours still rise." It was at Joinville that a secret treaty had been signed, 31 December, 1584, assuring the support of Philip II. to the League, of which the Duke of Guise was the real head and mover, and the members of the Holy Union were busily employed in preparations for the civil war which in April, 1585, broke out against Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots of France. Philip II. had now taken the affair of England into his own hands, and had resolved to employ in it as his lieutenant the Duke of Parma, at that time governor of the Low Countries. "Perhaps," Allen writes, "your Majesty is advertised by better means and more speedy than I can have for our resolution out of Spain that the whole execution is committed to the Prince of Parma, and that Father Euseb. [Parsons *interlined*], Mr. Hew Owen and myself should deal with no other person, but solicit him only in your Majesty's affairs; whereof the said Hew Owen hath brought the K. of Spain's determination to the Prince, who seemeth as glad as we that he may have the effectuating of the whole matter so glorious in the sight of God and men." This important resolution of Philip II. changed the whole complexion of the enterprise. The same letter incidentally shows the intimate connection Dr Allen and F. Persons now had with its conduct. "Parma," Allen says, "by order, as I take it, of the K. of Spain, acquainteth none particularly and fully with these things but myself, Euseb. [F. Persons] and Owen." "Their use is," he adds, "they keep their secret in the compass of as few as they can, and they think it behoveth very much that it be marvellous secret that the affair is to be executed by him and by way of Flanders."

Philip II. takes into his own hands the enterprise of England. Duke of Parma his lieutenant.

Another event took place about this time which also had an important bearing on the enterprise. On the 10th of April, 1585, Gregory XIII. died, in the eighty-fourth year of his age; and a fortnight later, April 24, he was succeeded on the chair of Peter by Sixtus V. The new Pontiff ascended the throne full of vast

Gregory XIII. dies, 10 April, 1585. Sixtus V. succeeds.

[1] Infra, p. 247.

designs for the glory of God and the good of his flock, and he resolved to make up by energetic action for the possible shortness of his reign. He was well acquainted with the management of purely ecclesiastical affairs, but the disfavour into which he had fallen with his predecessor had kept him at a distance from matters of state and obliged him, though a Cardinal, to live in comparative retirement. In his case however the inspirations of genius and the possession of sound practical sense made up for his want of experience, and enabled him to feel his way aright, as if by instinct, in the perplexed field of European politics. To save France from falling away into heresy and at the same time to secure her existence as a great catholic nation was one chief aim of his policy. Another was to bring back England to the unity of Christendom. He valued Philip II. as a co-operator in these undertakings, for he saw clearly that the Spanish King was the only catholic monarch on whose good will, power and ability he could rely. Yet he was not blind to the dangers to Christendom of an universal monarchy, to which Philip seemed at times to aspire, and while acknowledging the sincerity of that monarch's desire to maintain and spread the catholic faith he could not fail to perceive his tendency to domineer over the church and to seek the attainment of his own private ends under cover of his undeniable zeal for the catholic faith. He was a valuable ally, but to be used with caution. It would never have done for the Pope, as Philip wished, to abandon himself unreservedly to the King's guidance. Hence then arose from time to time jars and differences in their intercourse, though these never interfered with the substantial harmony which existed between them. They each needed the other and they knew it. Their mutual esteem was greater than their mutual affection.

Philip II. was not long in discovering that Sixtus V. would be a more energetic ally than his predecessor in the enterprise which he meditated against England, and he listened without reluctance to the exhortations addressed to him by Sixtus V. to prosecute the work with renewed vigour. Under these circumstances it was natural though for different reasons that both Sixtus V. and Philip II. should desire the presence in Rome of two men so well able to give the Pope full information about English affairs and at the same time so devoted to the crown of Spain as Allen and Persons were. F. Persons left Rouen for Flanders about mid-Lent, 1585, and May 10 he wrote to F. Agazzari that in a few months he hoped to be in Rome.[1] This shows that his journey to Rome was not suddenly decided upon, but that he had had orders to prepare for it some time before he went. With regard to Allen there is nothing from which we can infer with certainty the precise time when he received the Pope's command to go to Rome; but it seems probable that it was while he was recovering from a dangerous illness at Spa in the summer of 1585. The apparent or rather partial motive of his journey was the affairs of the two colleges, and very possibly no other reason was given to him for his presence in Rome being desired. Anyhow about Sept. 16th Allen and Persons with William Morris, a priest, and Thomas Hesketh, Allen's nephew, set forth from Spa for Rome, where they arrived November 4th. Allen carried with him the following letter from the Nuncio in France to the Cardinal of Como, 7 October, 1585[3]; "This letter will be presented by Dr William Allen, superior of the English seminary at Reims. This doctor is regarded here and is truly known by me to be a man of most ardent zeal for the catholic faith, from

Allen and Persons go to Rome.

[1] Infra, p. 222, note. [2] Infra, p. 393, note. [3] Infra, p. 435.

love of which he has also left his country, and is in these parts like a harbour of refuge to all catholics who depart from that realm. He is a man of most innocent life and of most choice learning, as it appears to me. I have wished to write all these particulars to your most illustrious Lordship because I am here, and not because I think that this good servant of God has need of this my testimony, but thereby to satisfy myself and the truth." Perhaps this testimonial was intended by the Nuncio for Sixtus V. rather than for the Cardinal of Como, who had learned through a continuous correspondence of some years to appreciate Allen's excellence.

During the first three months of Allen's residence at Rome I have no document giving particulars of the way in which he was employed there, though there can be little doubt from the letter which follows that a careful search among the despatches of Count Olivares, the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, which are now kept at Simancas, would furnish valuable information on this point. The letter to which I have just alluded is one from Olivares to Philip II. dated Rome, 24 Feb., 1586.[1] It is as follows.

Olivares to Philip II., 24 Feb., 1586.

"I have received your Majesty's letter of the 2d of January, and as Louis Dovara is still at Florence and I am without information when he will return, and Dr Allen has done his best with the Pope, and inspired him with such a great desire for the enterprise of England as your Majesty will have seen from my previous letters, I was obliged to open the question with him according to the last of the three forms preferred by your Majesty.

"To prevent the inconvenience which in a matter of such moment might arise from any ambiguity, I thought it necessary to give the Pope at my last audience a summary of what I had said in your Majesty's name, annotated with the decision which was finally agreed to under each section, the whole of it in Spanish, as he has a good knowledge of that language, that he might see it all and approve of it: and since as regards the section about the money I refused to acquiesce in any thing, save only that I would write to your Majesty what he said to me, neither more nor less, I brought it to him in blank, and the note of how it runs remains in my possession in Cardinal Caraffa's handwriting and will serve as a memorandum for all the rest.

"As to the question of the general, he seemed to me to have no difficulties, since as the enterprise is to be entrusted to your Majesty it is just that the general should be at your Majesty's choice, and he is on very good terms with the Prince of Parma, and praised him much for having refused to accept the return of the islands to their allegiance on the conditions which I mentioned to your Majesty in a letter some days ago.

"The last day I saw the Pope he told me that the princes of Guise had sent to him to say that with regard to this league for the enterprise of England, which was noised there, they besought his Holiness to do nothing without their participation. His Holiness says that he replied that there was nothing at all in it, and that when there was any thing, he would inform them; and he offers not to do so until your Majesty thinks it can be done without inconvenience. Cardinal Sanz [archbishop of Sens] is trying to persuade the Pope on behalf of these princes that this is not the time for the enterprise of England, but that what is seasonable is that of Geneva, since this will give an impulse to their affairs in France.

"In regard to secrecy I impressed it upon him greatly, and he has bound

[1] Infra, p. 251.

himself to it with such earnestness that I have some hopes of his keeping it, for he said to me that he would not speak of this matter to any man born, and that I was not to do so with any of his ministers; until at last necessity constrained him to employ some one, and he resolved to take Cardinal Caraffa as the most secret, and it is to him that he has consigned the book and letters of Allen who as far as I can judge has acted well in this affair.

"To try to persuade the Pope that the principal end which moves your Majesty to take part in this discussion is not vengeance for private wrongs, the advantage which it offers for the affairs of Holland and the impossibility of making secure in any other way the passage by sea to your Indies is a thing which there is no means of getting him to understand, though I have made the best use I could of the reasons and fears mentioned in my report: and besides the tenacity of his disposition and the shield furnished by the example of his predecessors, great harm has been done by the advices which come from every quarter of the preparations which your Majesty is making and that they are for this enterprise: and the greater these become, the harder will it be to negotiate with his Holiness, and the liking and desire which he used to show to do something famous have grown cold in him through his grief at having to part with the money. His last act was to send me a letter which he had received from Portugal telling how the pirate Dragues [Drake] besides other captures had taken a ship of great importance, one of the Indiamen: and this he did to show me more clearly the necessity which lies upon your Majesty to provide a remedy against it.

"In case this negotiation is to proceed, I beseech your Majesty to send me very particular and precise orders regarding all the points touched upon in the report, and the time when each thing is to be applied for; since if the affair is to be carried out this year, there is little time left to spend in questions and answers: and especially your Majesty will be pleased to inform me as to the time when the deposition[1] of the King of Scotland and the investiture of whoever is to succeed him as king is to be put into execution, since to do it at once would entail the inconveniences of publicity, as well as spoil the title of the enterprise, and to defer it would imperil its success: and for the Pope to resolve to do it in secret would be a difficult matter for him, and so likewise to keep it secret afterwards with his disposition. Whatever your Majesty shall decide upon I will endeavour to carry out in every point with the greatest possible care and desire to meet your wishes.

"I have not touched upon the subject of Allen's Cardinalate, for I think it very fitting, as your Majesty says, that it should progress at the same pace as the enterprise, if this is not to be delayed; since in that case the Theatine[2] [*i.e.* the Jesuit, F. Persons] says it would be of great importance as a means of keeping the catholics in good heart. I have given him a very loving message on the part of your Majesty, without saying a word calculated to put him in hopes that the enterprise will be soon undertaken; and to the Jesuit, who is the one that speaks about the Cardinalate, I have held out great expectations that your Majesty will do what is requisite for the accomplishment of his desire, but without giving him any pledge: and as this good man suffers need, I should think it no harm if your Majesty were to grant him some assistance, which, so long as he is not Cardinal,

[1] *I.e.*, the act depriving the King of Scotland of the right to succeed to the English crown at his mother's death.

[2] Infra, p. 523, note 1.

might well be one thousand crowns, or if five hundred it would not be bad. I say so, because I think it very important to lay under an obligation this man who is the one that will have to lead the whole dance, and on whom it will chiefly depend to move the Pope to what your Majesty desires about the succession, and who will be another Cardinal for the events that may happen; and your Majesty has few in his service who were eye-witnesses of that time, and only myself among those who are now in active employment.

"Allen has written a book against the Queen of England, a summary of which I send herewith, and the book I keep back because it is more than one volume.[1] He wishes to print and publish it; and they think it will be a suitable work to publish some months before the enterprise, as they fancy it will make a stir in the Island and outside of it. If your Majesty should see any unfitness in the publication, on learning your commands I will cause it to be kept back.

"Allen and Robert [Persons] are inclined to add at the end a few pages in reply to the manifesto of the Queen of England against your Majesty: but I will keep them in play until I receive your Majesty's orders, and when they have written it, I will send a copy; and if any thing has to be done, the work will be better divided, and your Majesty in this case will judge in whose name it should be published."

From this letter we gather that soon after Allen's arrival in Rome he was in frequent and intimate relations with the Pope and the ambassador of Spain. The enterprise of England was the subject of many discussions between his Holiness and the ambassador, and Allen was employed to stir up the zeal of the Pope, who even then looked with great favour on the undertaking.

Allen's promotion to the Cardinalate is spoken of by Olivares in his letter to Philip II. as a matter already settled, and as the King was not apt to take hasty resolutions, it had probably been for a long time in his thoughts. Nothing however was said by the ambassador to Allen on this subject. It was F. Persons who was anxious for this promotion, and with whom alone the question was discussed. It may well have been that he first broached the subject on his visit to Spain in 1582, and obtained, as he says,[2] a promise for Dr Allen to be made Cardinal, or rather probably that the King would take the matter into his consideration, and, if he should judge fit, apply to the Pope for Allen's promotion. It is very unlikely that Philip II. would at that early time have promised more than this.

The following is the Summary or Report[3] alluded to in the preceding letter. It contains the heads or sections of the King's proposal with the Pope's answer to each, followed by a gloss or notes by Count Olivares giving what the Pope said and he replied as each section was presented for discussion. Memorandum, 24 Feb., 1586.

"His Holiness returns infinite thanks to God that he has been the instrument of setting in motion his Majesty; to whom he gives many blessings for the

"First point.

"Although his Majesty has been at different times admonished by the predecessors of his Holiness to undertake this enterprise, he never felt so con-

[1] Infra, p. 253, note 4. [2] Infra, p. 253, note 2. [3] Infra, p. 254.

zeal with which he is disposed to engage in an undertaking so worthy of the calling of the Catholic King.

vinced of the reality of the assistance he should obtain from them as he now confidently expects it from the courage and vigour of his Holiness: which consideration, together with the great favour with which his Holiness so reasonably regards the enterprise and the desire which his Majesty[1] has to give him satisfaction, moves him to engage in it, notwithstanding the importance to him of first terminating the affairs of Holland and Zeeland, as well as other difficulties which will arise if he takes in hand at the present moment this enterprise.

"His Holiness praises and agrees to what his Majesty here proposes.

"Second point.

"That the end and declared ground of the enterprise shall be to bring back that kingdom to the obedience of the Roman church, and to put in possession of it the Queen of Scotland, who so well deserves it for having remained firm in the faith in the midst of such great calamities.

"His Holiness thinks that this is a matter for grave consideration, and that it is very proper not to trust the religion of that kingdom to the King of Scotland for the reasons given by his Majesty; and with regard to the person who shall be proper to succeed the Queen, his Holiness will conform himself to what shall seem good to his Majesty and do whatever may be necessary for that purpose.

"Third point.

"After the death of the Queen his Majesty says that it would be to plunge into greater difficulties and harder to overcome if the King of Scotland, her son, should succeed, he being a confirmed heretic, and any conversion of his being open to doubt, and a relapse easy, besides having sucked in that poison from infancy through being forced to live among suspicious persons as were those who brought him up: whereas, in order to establish firmly the catholic religion in that kingdom, there is need of a person thoroughly rooted in it. Hence it appears to his Majesty that it is fitting at once to think about and look out for a proper person, as well as to consider whatever else bears upon this point; *in order that the Queen of Scotland, may not, under the deceptive influence of maternal*

[1] I have little doubt that S^{d}. in the text is a clerical error for M^{d}. The sense of the clause is greatly improved by this correction.

love, be able to think that it will be good to introduce him into the succession and put him in possession of the kingdom.

"With regard to this his Holiness was at first minded to convert the King, but in my answers I showed him such great inconveniences in this course that he inclined to the plan of looking out for some catholic who might be suitable, and marrying him to the Queen, and that he should be made Prince, whereby it would be provided that he would succeed, if she were to die without children. To this I answered by pointing out the danger to which the Queen's life would be exposed through the desire which he who married her might have to succeed her on the throne: also, the difficulty of finding any Englishman fitting, and that even if he were in his own person good, he might have many relations who were the reverse of this, and who could not be proceeded against; moreover that apart from religion there are parties and passions in that kingdom as every where else, and that those of the opposite party to that from which the King was taken, and even his own friends, would bear very impatiently an equal being raised so high above them, and not they only but his kinsmen also, who, besides being ill-satisfied at his elevation, would not fail to show him little respect, and that thence private passions would begin to the injury of the cause of religion, which he could not chastise with that authority and safety which was befitting, and I added much more in the same sense. The result was that, though the Pope tried to lessen these inconveniences and to show the suitableness of a native Prince, he nevertheless became confused, and got out of the difficulty by saying that there was time to settle this: and in his reply I bound him down (as your Majesty will see) to follow herein whatever may seem good to your Majesty, and after having read it and had it in his power he said nothing against it.

"I did not venture to enter into greater details, in order that, according to your Majesty's commands, the point of the subsidies may be first settled. I think of using Allen in this matter, when the time comes to put pressure on him.

"His Holiness is quite satisfied that your Majesty has no thought of the succession of England, and it was in this sense that he answered the Cardinal of Este on the occasion which I have mentioned further on, and I said nothing to him against this opinion.

"I also see that he is far from imagining that your Majesty has any intention on behalf of any one of your own, and therefore he will be greatly amazed when it is touched upon with him, and, however much he may be pledged to agree to what your Majesty thinks fit, I think he will not fail to raise some difficulty, and your Majesty will see in my hand[1] something which occurs to me on this point.

"What I say further on about restoring to the Pope the money he advances for this enterprise may serve as a bridge for this, by saying that, in compensation for your Majesty's contributions, the succession to that realm shall be the dower of the Lady Infanta Doña Isabel; and even if nothing more be said than that it will be retained until your Majesty has been paid all that you have spent upon the enterprise of England and on account of it, with the losses, interests, &c., from what your ministers report it would come to the same thing, since in a few years

[1] The words "your Majesty will see in my hand" are underlined in the transcript.

it will increase to so large a sum that it would be impossible for any one to collect what would be necessary to meet it. Your Majesty will be pleased to consider this; for I shall not stir in this without your Majesty's command, though I hold it to be a point of importance and of little inconvenience, since the burden of what has to be repaid the Pope must be divided into years, and the greater part of it, as is reasonable, will fall to the Queen of Scotland.

"I have not treated more clearly of the deposition of the King of Scotland, since the Pope would take occasion to talk about it, and it seems to me that publicity might be inconvenient. The words however of the proposition and answer imply deposition and all else which may be necessary to that end.

"In what I said to his Holiness on this point I thought it well to add the clause in italics to what your Majesty commanded me to write, as I considered it necessary to stop up that chink.

"His Holiness, while he thinks that every assistance given to this enterprise is very well employed, is grieved that he cannot fully satisfy his Majesty's request, in as much as he has found the Pontifical treasury much exhausted and the revenues of the Apostolic See in great part spent and pledged. Hence being unable (even if he were willing to burden his people) to offer the sum which he would readily contribute, and being ready to go beyond every subsidy which has been granted by his predecessors for any enterprise hitherto undertaken on behalf of the catholic religion, he offers his Majesty, as soon as the expedition has set sail for the enterprise against England to give 200,000 crowns, and he will give 100,000 more the moment the army has landed on the Island, and yet further 100,000 more at the end of six months, and in like manner after another six months 100,000 more; and if the war lasts longer, his Holiness will continue to give each year 200,000 crowns, meaning by the continuance of the war that the person who ought to have the kingdom is not yet put into possession of it. This aid will be given either in ready money or partly in ready money and partly in paid Italian soldiers, whom his Holiness would be glad to employ in this enterprise, as has been the custom

"Fourth point.

"His Majesty finds himself so much drained by the long wars of Flanders, and his subjects of every state so distressed that, much as he regrets it, for he would have rejoiced to be able to carry out this enterprise without asking anything of his Holiness, its magnitude and the preparations which are necessary to resist those who in great numbers will endeavour to hinder it make it requisite that his Holiness should contribute for his share two millions of gold. And certainly it is for an object upon which they will be well employed and which will be very beneficial to the Apostolic See and the whole of Christendom; just as his Majesty will regard as well employed the great expense which he will incur in this affair from the satisfaction which he will feel at having been the instrument of bringing back that kingdom a second time to the obedience of the Holy See.

in every other similar one of importance. Besides this he will not fail to excite and animate all the Italian princes to so glorious and holy an enterprise, which if it turn out prosperously, as with God's favour is hoped, his Holiness's intention is that the Apostolic See should recover and be effectually replaced in possession of the revenues, rights, jurisdictions and actions which it formerly had in that kingdom before Henry VIII. apostatized from the faith.

"I did not ask for a definite portion of the expenditure on account of the difficulty of the accounts, and still more because it is impossible not to mix them up with those of Flanders. And though my request presupposed that the enterprise, including what it would be necessary to spend in consequence of it, would cost four millions, and I kept to this figure in the memorandum I gave in writing, I said nevertheless by word of mouth that my last commission from your Majesty was to go down to one million and a half.

"His Holiness did not say a word about the Grand Duke [of Tuscany] taking part in the enterprise at present, though he promises himself great assistance from the Grand Duke and the Venetians when once the affair is made public: for at present he suspects that the same inconvenience might arise as at other times from making it known to them. As the end which the Grand Duke had in view, namely, to be general of the enterprise, has ceased to be attainable, I expect little from his liberality or that of the Venetians, and therefore in our discussions to move his Holiness to greater liberality, I made him the offer that he should apply their subsidies to the diminution of his own contributions. But he took little account of this, and in my opinion with reason, for if he draws anything from them, it will be sold for more than it is worth.

"I have not availed myself of an offer, which has been several times made on the part of the Catholics of England, to pay whatever is spent in this enterprise, though this is a thing which might have some effect with the Pope; but I keep it in reserve to give with it the last turn to the balance. I have also reserved for the same moment to avail myself of Allen, after first ascertaining what can be done in this matter; for with these two things there is a probable hope of making his Holiness advance a step or two.

"It would, I believe, put him in great straits if he could be persuaded, or if it might be said to him as from your Majesty, that unless he contributes thus much your Majesty will abandon the enterprise, and that this will be the fault of his Holiness and will be published as such throughout the world, and then to set Allen at his ear. For though I have gone so far as to hint something of the kind, it will be quite another matter to say it to him resolutely and as from your Majesty; and though he is very tenacious in regard to the money, it could not fail to have an effect upon him. But this must be understood of something additional; for unless there should be a further abatement of a million, and he be allowed his own time for paying, he would break through every thing; as it

seems to him that he satisfies his obligation by giving more than his predecessors on any former occasion have done.

"With respect to burdening the churches of Spain, I have not alluded to it or shown it favour, and therefore it was only touched upon in relation to the sum demanded by the Grand Duke for the expedition against Algiers:[1] and with the view of disparaging the Pope's offer I said that your Majesty had made no account of the 3,000,000 crowns with 520 of subsidy and other things, without expressly mentioning the revenues of Toledo, so as to avoid furnishing him with matter for dispute.

"Caraffa told me in strict confidence that, when they were discussing the question of these first payments being made at once, the Pope had suggested to him a scruple about what security he had that your Majesty would not afterwards give up the enterprise and keep the money. He says that he gave a fitting answer; and though at first I used language to the effect that a great part would have to be paid at once, in order to begin to make the preparations, yet that it might not seem that I agreed to an offer so much less than what your Majesty had commissioned me to accept (although as regards money from his Holiness's purse it is the greatest that has been made) I refused to dispute about these times of payment.

"It has occurred to me as a good way of giving security to his Holiness, without letting it be seen that it is done for this purpose or that his doubt is known, to propose to him that, with the view of dissembling the object to which this money is to be applied on its being paid at once, there should be a fictitious purchase of an equivalent annuity upon the crown-revenues of Naples with a secret writing that it was to serve for the aforenamed purpose and would come to an end with it. In this way I am persuaded that he would not hesitate to anticipate the payment of the 300,000 at least, and even perhaps all the 500,000,[2] or more, provided that interest was to be paid him upon them or a part of them until the fixed time at which they were due from him should arrive; for as to these 500,000, even if the war does not last so long, his Holiness agrees to the reading that they should belong to your Majesty.

"To have security, in case the Pope should die, for what he offers in annual payments he might be asked to procure a joint bond from the Sacred College whenever there would be no inconvenience in publicity.

"It would be also possible to mortgage the Papal dues collected in Spain and Naples and the 20,000 crowns which are paid for the bull of the crusade.

"To avoid lengthening this letter by relating to your Majesty the conversations I had with his Holiness about the money, on which subject most of the time was spent, I will mention the principal grounds on which we both rested our cases, that your Majesty may see what you can add to persuade his Holiness more efficaciously. On the Pope's part they were these:—that your Majesty cannot avoid seeking for satisfaction from this woman; that thereby the affair of Holland and Zeeland is brought to an end; that security is thus obtained, which

[1] An expedition against Algiers under the Grand Duke of Tuscany's command was contemplated by Sixtus V., at the beginning of his pontificate.

[2] In the Pope's answer to the fourth point he agreed to pay 200,000 crowns when the expedition sailed, 100,000 when the troops disembarked, 100,000 at the end of six months, and 100,000 at the end of six months more, i.e. in all 500,000: and then *if the war should continue* 200,000 a year during its continuance.

is impossible with such an evil neighbour; that the enterprise will be incomparably easier than that of Holland and Zeeland; that the highways to the Indies and the coasts of Spain will be rendered safe from pirates: also the large amount of favours enjoyed by your Majesty from the Apostolic See. Moreover he reckons the expense as very small, adding that in the time of Pius V. it was calculated that this enterprise would cost 400,000 crowns, and he brings forward as an example that Pius V. did not spend 200,000 crowns in two years of the league, and that adding up the various times he helped the King of France with money and sent him paid soldiers, the sum total which he expended did not reach 260,000, and he alleges other like examples, and produces the accounts of them: the necessitous position of the Apostolic See owing to its revenues, the first fruits and the taxes for the expedition of Apostolic letters having been, so to speak, sold: the scandal it would give if the door were opened to raise money by means which some of the Popes have used and which God grant may never be employed again: that as to what he has stored in the castle of St. Angelo, no Pope can be without it, as a provision against some sudden necessity befalling the Apostolic See: that the Grand Duke had proposed as necessary for the enterprise of Algiers no more than 400,000 crowns and even these payable by way of subsidy in two years: a thing which has done no good, any more than the advices which come from all sides that your Majesty is making great preparations for this enterprise.

"The arguments which I have used to urge him to contribute generously are of this kind:—to show him on the one hand that if he will aid largely the enterprise it may be soon carried out, without however binding myself as to when: that it is not a thing which your Majesty cannot leave undone, as he thinks, so long as you have not ended the affair of Holland and Zeeland: that the Queen of England has not given any offence which may not very well be forgiven her the moment she becomes the instrument of bringing back those islands to their allegiance: while I caused it to be whispered to him that the Queen is understood to be not far from this and has had no wish to set foot in the islands for any other purpose, her principal object being to ensure that your Majesty will let her live: how that if this opportunity passes and your Majesty makes peace with the Queen, things in England will remain as they are for ever under the guarantee of prescription, so that the subject can no more be thought about, and the door will be closed to all interference with the affairs of Germany, where this would cause such great terror, besides appeasing all discords in the concerns of France: that your Majesty is most moved by the persuasions of his Holiness: that if your Majesty sees that a project which has so much to recommend it and was so warmly pressed upon you comes to be regarded with lukewarmness, you will feel certain that the same will happen in any other matter which may be spoken about: your Majesty's necessities: what you have sold on this account: the objects to which the ordinary favours [of the Holy See] are applied: how much more your Majesty spends upon the same, and the origin of these favours: that in the league there were other members from whom his Holiness might obtain aid: the great cost of the enterprise, since your Majesty has need of forces to preserve what you possess in Flanders, to continue the war in Holland and to oppose the diversions which may be made in any quarter by the heretics of France and Germany who will not sleep, besides the forces necessary to undertake the enterprise with safety, and a powerful fleet capable of holding its own against

England, Flanders and France: the great service thereby rendered to God and the honour his Holiness will gain in this world, since, if he should live twenty years and do nothing else, he will leave behind a great remembrance of himself; and lastly I prayed him to fear less having to render an account to God and the world for having spent a little more money than was fitting on the enterprise than for having prevented its being undertaken by being too close-handed about it. This would be a cause of sorrow to him which he would never lose, and a loss of reputation which he would not easily recover: that the million in the castle [of St. Angelo] would seem to him hot coals, if to save it this opportunity were lost: that your Majesty would regard it as a very small offer, and my fear was that it would chill your zeal: that if his Holiness should see by means of the Grand Duke the sum which your Majesty asks on account of Algiers, he would perceive how different it was from what the Grand Duke had given him to understand.

"After I had left the Pope he added to his offer to furnish a part of it in troops; but I am certain that he will not keep to this when he understands the difficulty and the publicity it may cause.

"He also said to me by word of mouth on the last day I saw him the words relating to the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See in that kingdom, in order that it might be firmly settled with the Queen of Scotland and whoever was to succeed her before putting her in possession of the throne. I told Caraffa, to whom I spoke after having received this paper, that I understood your Majesty would not consent that what was done in your Majesty's time should cease to be done by the Queen of Scotland, and that as to the time of King Henry, before he became a schismatic, there might be some difference which it would be difficult to ascertain with certainty; but that I would report it all to your Majesty.

"Though his Holiness has always taken care to favour and support this party, he will take greater care for the future, for this reason in addition which to him is a principal one: and if the most Christian King should seek in any way to hinder the enterprise, his Holiness will manifest his displeasure as openly as shall be necessary.

"Fifth point.

"As France is the side from which the chief hindrance to this enterprise may be looked for, particularly if the King should make that peace with the heretics which he seeks and desires so much, it is of consequence for its success that his Holiness should remain firm to the princes of the league and favour them and encourage them to refuse under any circumstances to consent to the peace, even though the King should seek to bring them round to it by pretending advantageous conditions, as he will do in order to set himself free and so be able to assist in hindering the enterprise of England. In this case it will be requisite that his Holiness should supply the necessary remedy with his authority and spiritual arms.

"I thought it well to add this section that there might be ground for con-

tinuing to do good offices in favour of the princes of the league as opportunities might offer, and also to have this point settled with the Pope in writing as it is already by word of mouth.

"In the last audience, which was to-day, the Pope told me that the Cardinal of Este had spoken to him yesterday on the part of the King of France, offering him with great confidence to prosecute the war against the heretics and to continue to execute the edicts: but that he wished his Holiness to know that on every side it was apparent that your Majesty was making very great preparations, and though these were said to be for the enterprise of the islands, they were manifestly intended for that of England; and that he entreated his Holiness not to give any assistance whatever to such a thing, since France could in no way tolerate Spaniards setting foot in England. His Holiness reports that he assured the Cardinal that he had not entered into any confederacy with your Majesty in this matter: that he blamed the King for esteeming the neighbourhood of a heretical Queen as a less evil than that of your Majesty; the more so since, even if the subject had been treated of (and things were a long way from this), it would not be with any view of your Majesty remaining there: that what grieved him was his inability to move your Majesty to undertake this enterprise. Would that he could persuade you! for that in that case he would not fail to do so for anything the Cardinal might say to him, and he could not but believe that the King of France would be the first to rejoice at it from the advantage he would thence derive for the conversion of his heretics, and because he, the Pope, would have no occasion then to manifest publicly his displeasure, which if the King acted in another way he should be obliged to do, adding many other reproofs addressed to the King and to his own Cardinal.

"The Duke of Guise has also through the Cardinal of Sens assured his Holiness that even if the King wishes to make peace with the heretics, he will not be a party to it. What is most to be feared is lest the King, who desires so much the peace and to prevent the enterprise of England, should by giving a verbal promise to the heretics not to put anything into execution against them bring them round to make such a peace as would satisfy the catholics and the Pope."

This important despatch presents us with a vivid picture of the policy of Philip II. and his manner of dealing with the Holy See through his ambassadors. The King's first aim in this negotiation is to move Sixtus V. to contribute more largely to the enterprise and to pay down at once a large portion of his contribution. His second aim is to pave the way for securing the succession to the throne of England for himself or at least some member of his family, to the exclusion of the King of Scotland, at the death of Mary Queen of Scots. On the other hand Sixtus V. considered that he had acted very liberally in having offered to give a far larger sum than any of his predecessors had done on a like occasion; and with regard to the succession, though he had no suspicion of any self-interested views in Philip II., he was inclined to defer the settlement of the question to a later period, while at the same time he expressed a general willingness to conform himself to whatever the King of Spain might propose when the expedition had been brought to a successful issue. Indications are also apparent of that haughty arrogance with which Count Olivares, the Spanish ambassador, treated Sixtus V., upon whom, as one practically unacquainted with foreign affairs, he had hoped to impose the views and policy of the King of Spain. When however he

discovered his mistake and learnt to his intense annoyance that the Pope had opinions of his own and the will to enforce them, his anger broke out, and his overbearing insolence towards one whom as a catholic he could not but regard as Christ's Vicar manifested itself only too frequently in behaviour and language which unhappily seems to have drawn down upon him no reproof from the catholic King.[1]

Philip II. appears to have been in no hurry to reply to Count Olivares's despatch of February 24. On 22 July, 1586, he sent an answer of which the following is the official summary.[2]

"That they deceive themselves who give his Holiness to understand that the robberies and outrages of the English would move his Majesty to undertake the enterprise of his own accord, and they speak like people who are at a distance and have not to put their hand to the work.

"His Majesty knows the situation of England, and is aware how grieved many a one would be to see it change its condition, and that the French with many others near and far, being devoid of zeal for Christianity and for the return to catholicity of that realm, would let themselves be influenced by other reasons to endeavour to hinder it.

"His Majesty is more bound to secure his own states and their religion than to take in hand to further it in the states of others.

"As to the piracies from which his Majesty's subjects and kingdoms have lately suffered, it will be enough to send to sea such fleets as he has begun to send and will go on sending, in order to clear the sea from pirates, to protect the way to the Indies, and to render secure the navigation of the merchant fleets and the commerce of his subjects: all which can be done at no great cost.

"That apart from this the English are dying to come to terms with his Majesty, and they are feeling their way to it and making entreaty for it on many sides, and offer great amendment.

"That this being so, and as his Majesty can easily bring it to pass, and has no reason for letting himself be carried away by an ambitious desire to win reputation, since by God's goodness he can rest content with what he has won, his Majesty, so far as his own interests are concerned, can withdraw from this enterprise and avoid the expense and difficulties attaching to it.

"That his only motive in entering upon this negotiation is the service of God, the persuasions of his Holiness and his belief that in his Holiness's time it will be pursued more warmly and effectually than would have been the case in the time of his predecessors.

"And he will not change this purpose, if he receives assistance proportioned to the expenses which the magnitude and the difficulties of the enterprise demand, and to the necessity in which his Majesty is placed of carrying on at the same time what he has in hand elsewhere and of providing what is requisite to hold in check the dispositions which others may manifest.

"That though he would be sorry to contribute nothing more than good will to so holy a work, the other things in which he is employed seem to him more obligatory and necessary for him, as he cannot undertake all.

"His Majesty knows that with reference to the slender revenues of the Apostolic See and in comparison with the aids which other Popes have given to

[1] See Hübner *Sixte-Quint*, Vol. I., p. 359. [2] Infra, p. 265.

similar enterprises what his Holiness offers for this is quite in proportion to his great and generous soul: still it is less than what is necessarily required for so great an enterprise and for the preparations which must in consequence of it be made on every side. Hence to render the execution of the enterprise possible it will be necessary for his Holiness to force himself to enlarge his offer, to shorten the terms for payment, and to grant the other favours which may be of service in placing the shoulder to so great a burden.

"As to the rest, his Majesty is content with and accepts what was set down and what his Holiness answered on the 24th of February last to the memorandum of points which Count Olivares gave to his Holiness; and the clause added, regarding the effectual reintegration of the Apostolic See in the jurisdiction, contributions, rights and actions which it possessed before King Henry's apostacy seems to his Majesty most just."

In a despatch, dated 29 August, 1586, Count Olivares thus acknowledged the receipt of the letter of the King which has just been given in summary. "In accordance with your Majesty's commands in your letter of July 22 I spoke to his Holiness about the affairs of England, and I endeavoured to show him that your Majesty is under no such necessity of undertaking the enterprise, unless you are well aided; though it is like preaching in a desert to preach this in a country where revenge is so deeply rooted in their hearts that for many centuries they do not forget it; and, when this place is ringing so loudly with the numerous acts of insolence perpetrated by the Queen of England in your Majesty's states, it is impossible [in their judgment] for your Majesty not to entertain in your heart the thought of this offence and of vengeance for it, as they entertain it; nor is the Pope one of those who are least subject to this disposition. What I suffered from him the first day, and the state in which I left him, your Majesty will have learned from my letter to Don Juan de Idiaquez, and in accordance with it I sent to Caraffa the summary of which I enclose a copy, and since then I thought it best not to importune him or the Pope; for with his character this is the proper way of acting in matters where time permits, as is clear from all that your Majesty writes to me on this subject.

"The object of the last paragraph [of the summary] was to strengthen and confirm what his Holiness has offered with regard to the successor of the Queen of Scotland, though it was made with the evasions and limitations which your Majesty may see in the notes to that despatch [of February 24]; and I inserted in this paragraph, to gild it, your Majesty's assent to what concerns the Pope's interests, as I thought that your Majesty neither does nor can make any difficulty about it."

The rest of the letter relates to a project formed by the Earl of Huntley, Lord Claude Hamilton and the Earl of Morton with the concurrence of the Duke of Guise for setting the King of Scotland at liberty and restoring the catholic religion in that country. Full particulars concerning it will be found in Don Bernardino de Mendoza's despatches from Paris to Philip II.[1]

The transcripts sent me from Simancas contain nothing more about the Pope's contribution to the enterprise against England. But probably a careful search among the records of Count Olivares's embassy to Rome would bring to light the way in which the Pope was ultimately induced to promise a larger contribution.

[1] Teulet, V., 349, sqq.

This is perhaps the place to invite attention to an interesting letter from Dr William Gifford to Sir Francis Walsingham, Reims, 18 April, 1586,[1] in which the writer expresses very touchingly the longing desire which he felt to live at home in England as a loyal subject of the Queen, if only she would tolerate his religion and relieve him from the crushing tyranny of the penal laws. Dr Gifford, a pupil of the English college at Rome, then professor in Allen's seminary at Reims, afterwards a Benedictine monk and finally archbishop of Reims, was cousin to Gilbert Gifford, who at the very time this letter was written had sold himself to Walsingham to work by treachery the ruin of Mary Queen of Scots through the Babington conspiracy. Doubtless Walsingham had hopes of perverting William Gifford as he had done Gilbert.[2]

In a letter from Count Olivares to Philip II., 2 January, 1587,[3] there is a paragraph containing the following mention of Allen:—"The prior of England, who is at Venice, continues, as he has begun, to urge upon Allen that it will be well to try to convert that Queen to the faith in friendly ways. I have told him not to cut the thread, so far as he can avoid doing so, without engaging or binding himself to any thing, until it is seen whether your Majesty desires to make use of that man, whom Allen commends as a very suitable instrument when deceived himself for deceiving the Queen."

On January 27,[4] Count Olivares again addressed Philip II. in the following terms:—"Allen and Melino [F. Persons] have written for me a paper, of which I herewith enclose a copy to your Majesty. They have ready wit and speech about the affairs of England, and on the other hand they are helped by that great teacher, necessity, and thus find means to draw from every thing arguments and thoughts in proof that each moment, whichever it be, is the most suitable time for the accomplishment of their desires, both as regards the principal affair and Allen's promotion; for every moment lost they regard as a great injury, and it is certain that if the Queen of Scotland should die or continue in her present state, which comes to the same thing, it seems to make it more necessary to have some one in high position on whom all can fix their eyes and hopes, and who will console them in their present affliction that they may not give way to despair."

The paper alluded to has not been sent me, though possibly it may still exist at Simancas. This letter is important as indicating one of the various reasons why Allen's promotion to the cardinalate was thought desirable. The English catholics needed a head to unite them for common action, now that Mary's close imprisonment and the hopelessness of her escape had made it impossible for her to continue to act as such.

Philip II. wrote thus to Count Olivares, 11 February, 1587[5]:—"You will maintain Allen and Robert [Persons] in faith and hopefulness that the recovery of their country will really be attempted, in order that they may the more zealously and earnestly employ the good offices which may be expedient with the Pope; but let

[1] Infra, p. 262.

[2] The letters of Allen to Agazzari supply important information regarding Gilbert Gifford's antecedents. It seems incredible that, if Allen had known that Gilbert Gifford was acting as intermediary between the catholics of England and Don Bernardino Mendoza in the matter of Babington's conspiracy (Teulet, V., 372), he would not have warned the ambassador of his untrustworthiness. Allen was then at Rome engaged upon other matters. There is not a particle of evidence, so far as I know, that he was privy to the plot.

[3] Infra, p. 267. See ib. note. [4] Infra, p. 268. [5] Infra, p. 269.

it be in such a way that they do not think the affair so near at hand as that it will make them expansive in communicating it to others of their nation for their comfort and consolation, and so cause it to become public: for this is the way in which during these past years many things which were well begun for the benefit of that kingdom have come to nought. Go on then counterbalancing and drawing profit from them and in every thing do as you are accustomed with your prudence and dexterity according to what the affair requires and I confide it to you, and you will inform me of what is done."

On the margin of this letter the King wrote with his own hand:—"I am resolved to give that abbey about which I spoke to you to Allen. See whether it will be well to write to the Count, that he may say something to him, while the business is passing through the Council of Italy."

In consequence of this marginal note, Don Juan de Idiaquez on the following day, February 12, made the following communication to Count Olivares.[1] "As a mark of his Majesty's satisfaction with Dr. Allen and moved thereto by your Lordship's good report, his Majesty has determined to bestow on him the abbey which has fallen vacant in Naples by the death of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, brother of the present Marquis de Mondejar. Your Lordship will learn there its value and quality: it is said to be a very pretty piece of preferment. While the patent is being sent by the Council of Italy, I have been ordered to inform you of it, that you may tell it to Allen and put him in good heart, as you will best know how to do."

Allen's Cardinalate.

The immediate promotion of Allen to the cardinalate was the point to which by command of Philip II. the efforts of Count Olivares were now specially directed. Accordingly, 14 March, 1587, he presented to the Pope the following memorandum of reasons which might induce his Holiness to make this promotion as soon as possible.[2]

"The reasons why it is of importance to God's service and the cause of religion in England to hasten the promotion of Allen:—

"The principal reason is the imprisonment of the Queen of Scotland,[3] who is the head of this cause, recognised as such by all the catholics, and the person to whom the negotiations for the recovery of that kingdom were directed. Her imprisonment has emboldened the heretics and depressed the catholics, and cut short the thread of the negotiations within the realm which the Queen was carrying on, many losing heart, and those who remain faithful being divided, from there being no personage whom all can recognise without detriment to their honour.

"If it be possible to carry out the enterprise speedily, there are some necessary preliminaries to be seen to, such as certain preparations which would rouse suspicion if done by any one else, and which will have no authority or force if the doer is only a private individual. On the other hand if it should prove unavoidable to defer the enterprise, it will become all the more necessary to apply without delay this plaster to the wound, so that the afflicted flock may continue faithful when they see by the acts of his Holiness that he grieves for them and thinks of a remedy for them.

"It is also very important to do it quickly, in order that when he goes to join

[1] Infra, p. 269.
[2] Infra, p. 270.
[3] Mary Queen of Scots was already dead. Her execution had taken place February 8—18.

the expedition his authority may have already struck deeper root from his promotion having become known to high and low in England.

"It is also fitting that he should have been some days in the Sacred College and have treated with its members and not be ignorant of its ceremonies.

"In the person of Father Allen every thing which can be desired concurs: for he belongs to no party; he has learning, morals, judgment, great acquaintance with every thing in that kingdom and with the negotiations for its conversion; and the instruments of all these have been and are his disciples, of whom so many have suffered martyrdom that the purple of his hat may be said to have been dyed in the blood of the martyrs whom he has educated.

"His Majesty assures his Holiness and takes it upon himself that it is necessary for the affairs of England to make this promotion without delay and that, if it be deferred, great harm may be anticipated no matter whether the enterprise be hastened forward or delayed, and that the person of Allen is the most suitable that can be. For these reasons his Holiness is entreated to make the promotion as soon as possible, and to trust his Majesty in this, since he has such a deep interest in the principal affair, and also because of his acquaintance with the concerns of that kingdom which he acquired during the years that he reigned there and from his having been obliged since then to keep alive his knowledge by attending to them, and through the many times it has been under consideration to make this enterprise which our Lord has so mysteriously reserved for the days of his Holiness.

"That his Holiness says with much reason that he will not take account of the ember days[1] when he has such great motives for action as the supplications of that flock of catholics to give them a leader who will make up to them, as far as may be, the protection which the Queen used to afford them, to raise to high dignity against the Queen of England[2] from among her own people a declared and principal enemy of hers, and to bestow a reward, extraordinary both in matter and manner, upon a man who has deserved so well of the Apostolic See; his Holiness having courage enough to show the world that he has no regard for any thing when God's service and the public good are crossed by it, so free is he from all human affections.

"That his Holiness need be under no anxiety about having to maintain him; for the abbey which his Majesty is now giving him is sufficient for his support as a poor Cardinal, and it would be inexpedient to make more noise just at first. Whenever it is fitting that he should live in greater splendour, his Majesty will make suitable provision for it, without his Holiness having to do more than promote him; so that in this way they will both share equally in the merit before God, which is the only thing that moves them to exalt this man."

At the bottom of the memorandum Cardinal Caraffa wrote as follows: "His Holiness answers that as soon as his Majesty has every thing in order for the enterprise, his Holiness will be ready to create Mr. Allen cardinal. It does not appear to him advisable to do this sooner, when what is intended would not take place simultaneously with it, on account of the declaration which his Holiness

[1] Infra, p. 271, note 1.

[2] I believe that the true reading of this passage is as I have rendered it, *a la de Inglaterra*. It is very unlikely that the ambassador would write of Allen as a "declared and chief enemy" of England. The *de* may have easily dropped out in transcribing.

would be obliged to make, if he were created at a time other than that fixed by the Constitution. Anthony Cardinal Caraffa by order of his Holiness."

Count Olivares speaks of the delivery of the above memorandum to his Holiness in the following extract from a letter to Philip II., 16 March, 1587.[1]

"With regard to Allen's hat I gave him the memorandum of reasons which your Majesty will see, concluding on your Majesty's part with what is said at the end of it. Neither this however nor the pains which Caraffa and I have taken, each of us separately, have sufficed to make him do it immediately; and when we pressed him with the argument that, even if the enterprise were not carried out, this promotion was necessary for the support and encouragement of that nation, he answered that this was a reason for having done it last Christmas, not seeing that he thereby throws the blame upon himself: finally he says what your Majesty will see. If then the enterprise is accepted on your Majesty's part for this year and the expenses at which your Majesty has been on your side and the preparations made are represented to him, it is probable that he will do it; though he rates lower the ruin of religion in England than the appearance of breaking this Constitution, if he cannot say precisely in the consistory that the promotion is for the enterprise, even though the inconveniences of saying it should be manifest to him. It will be very advisable that the answer to this letter should come with all speed, that the days of his creation and coronation may not have passed, for this might make the thing in some degree easier.

"This Father Robert [Persons], understanding from the time for the promotion of cardinals having passed that Allen's hat is a long way off, keeps teasing me to move the Pope to create him archbishop of Canterbury, which (he says) will partly compensate for the want of the hat, and he enlarges much on the importance of that dignity and how suitably it might be united with the hat. I have shown no favour to this proposition, since the Pope would be diverted by it from the subject of the hat. Your Majesty will send me your commands as to what is to be done in this matter both in case the hat is given and in case it is deferred.

"As to the time when Allen should begin to write some things for the press, and his departure and the manner and pretext for it and the announcement of the enterprise in the consistory and what the Nuncio in France will have to do, I shall await your Majesty's commands; observing only, as I have said at other times, that the moment his Holiness gives the bills for the money, your Majesty must not count upon secrecy, even though he promise it under oath, and the worst is that it will be no longer in his power, and this would have been by conjectures in the time of another Pope, whereas now everything issues from his mouth, and the worst is that he cannot help it. Hence as it is impossible to deny what he says, since it is in itself so probable and is from such high authority, the language which I use is to answer that I write to your Majesty all that he says to me, without going further into the matter, and from the little credit he has as a man whose word can be trusted and from what he did in the affair of Poland and other things, people take it all as empty talk."

Three days later, March 19,[2] Allen wrote to Philip II. to thank him for the benefice which the King had just bestowed upon him. At the same time he states it as his long-formed conviction that no one except Philip was able effectually to raise the church and state of England from their present miserable plight; and

Allen to Philip II., 19 March, 1587. Title to the English crown.

[1] Infra, p. 271. [2] Infra, p. 272.

he assures him that there are very few lovers of piety and their country who do not long to be once more under Philip's sceptre. He advises, for reasons set forth in a paper which he has given to the ambassador, that nothing should be said at present to the Sovereign Pontiff or any one else of Philip's right to succeed to the English throne. To begin the war on this ground would be alike useless and dangerous. "This war," he continues, "has two most just causes, approved by divine and human laws and worthy of being declared just by a bull of the Apostolic See. These are to avenge the wrong done to religion and to obtain reparation for injuries received; the former of which will approve itself to every catholic, and the latter will not appear devoid of sound probability even to the heretics. But when the causes of a war are just, the war itself is just; and whatever is acquired by a just war is lawfully possessed, and kingdoms are no less justly won by legitimate warfare than they are inherited through propinquity of blood: where however both these titles meet, their concurrence is of great avail. And therefore when God has given victory to your Majesty's arms, your Majesty's relationship to the royal house of Lancaster may be justly and seasonably pleaded in the assembly of the estates called the parliament, where the matter can be most easily managed by the archbishop of Canterbury, the born legate of the Apostolic See, to whom belongs of right the first vote of the whole realm and whose lead will be followed by all the bishops and the catholic nobles, who alone, in consequence of the previous death or dismissal of the heretics, will have votes in that assembly. To the furtherance of which, if I am still living, I will do my utmost endeavour: at the same time it is far from my desire that when your Majesty has restored every thing, you should then forsake us, as I remember happened in the former reconciliation of the realm through the grave negligence of those who were then in power, and who afterwards were most justly punished for it; but I wish every thing to be done which will give security to religion and the state. Nor do I doubt that the Queen of Scotland will co-operate with this, and most earnestly desire it; and that she will prefer your catholic Majesty to all other non-catholic competitors, whatever be their claim, and even to her own heretical son. Then the Pope also will spontaneously and willingly approve a right acquired in so many ways, and finally by God's grace all things will yield to your Majesty's power and justice."

Allen concludes with beseeching the King not to be deterred by the possible difficulties of the undertaking; but to put his confidence in God, who has hitherto blessed his arms, and hasten without delay to the succour of the persecuted catholics.

Olivares on Philip II.'s title by descent to the English crown.

The subject of the Spanish King's title to the English crown is discussed at length in a letter of Count Olivares to Philip II., 23 March, 1587.[1] "As soon," he writes, "as the courier had left with the letters, of which I enclose a duplicate, I resolved, with the view of opening the question of the succession, to ascertain the sentiments of Allen and Melino [F. Persons]; for I had never spoken to them of set purpose on this head, though they have at different times and with the best of will touched upon it to me. I began then by observing that it would be a very essential point towards moving your Majesty more effectually to undertake this enterprise, if the Pope could be convinced of your Majesty's title to succeed to that crown, as they had sometimes pointed out to me. In reply to this, while fully

[1] Infra, p. 275.

admitting what they had at other times said, they urged the many inconveniences which would arise from speaking of it at present to the Pope, as your Majesty may see in a paper which they gave me on the 18th of this month; and though your Majesty is aware in substance of the principal inconveniences, and has even partly anticipated them in your letter of February 11th, and though as regards secrecy, on which they most build, I have on various occasions represented to your Majesty that it is hopeless to expect it from the Pope, except by miracle and perhaps in things where secrecy is of no consequence,—nevertheless what has made me take no further steps in the matter without fresh commands from your Majesty is a remark of Melino [F. Persons], which he has also noted in the aforementioned writing, that some one had said that according to the custom of England, if the succession passed on until all those of the first line were exhausted, the crown would devolve to the sons of the Duke of Parma; though he then turned round by adding that the right from having been united to the crown of Portugal would follow the nature of that crown, and that this was the answer made by somebody in his presence to Paget, the one who was in Spain and who had remarked on seeing a printed pedigree at the English college that it reached to the Duke's children: he also said that he had not seen any thought of this in the Duke or in [Cardinal] Farnese, and that in England every body held that it had been incorporated with Portugal. I therefore accepted it as right, and let Paget's remark pass as resting on no solid ground, and I have not alluded to it again though Melino [F. Persons] has been twice with me since then, and Cardinal Deza, the only person to whom I have mentioned it, says that, unless there is something special in England to settle the case, by the common law your Majesty takes precedence of the Duke's sons.

"Still since it appears to resemble the succession to the entailed estates of the Spanish kingdoms, in regard to which it is not enough for two entailed estates to be united in one possessor to exempt each from following its own natural devolution, so far as this is not contrary to the laws of the realm, I cannot bring myself to feel at ease about it; for if in this other way any doubt should arise about the succession, it would be a great inconvenience that your Majesty had grounded your title upon it, instead of taking as the principal ground the right of conquest. Nor does it give me any security that Melino [F. Persons] declares himself atisfied, and still more Allen, nor his saying that he has never heard it mentioned by the Duke or his uncle, for what is not to-day may be to-morrow, and it would be a more seasonable time to disclose it after the conquest, besides other reasons which there are in regard to its falling to the Duke of Parma more than any other person. Hence I have not ventured to touch upon this matter of the succession to the Pope or any one else without a fresh order from your Majesty, the more so because it seems to me for reasons which I will state further on that the delay will cause no injury.

"Since in any case, whatever be the cause which it may please your Majesty to allege, it is very important to have Allen committed in your Majesty's favour, I have moved him to write to your Majesty on the occasion of returning thanks for the abbey and to set forth the reasons why it is neither convenient nor necessary to treat at present with the Pope about this article of the succession, so that your Majesty may be persuaded and at the same time have security that at the proper moment he will undertake this affair with the authority which he will have then

received through your Majesty. And to ensure secrecy I told him to give me the letter open, that I might keep the original and send the contents in cipher, and accordingly he has given it to me, and he expresses himself in it fully enough, as your Majesty will see. But what makes me most confident about him is his goodness and zeal for religion, and that he knows too (which is a certain truth) that it cannot be maintained in security the moment it passes out of the hands of your Majesty or some one belonging to you, and that his family have always been of the Lancastrian party, and that he will be under obligation to your Majesty for the benefits which he will have received from you in his own person and in that of the cause, and that it is by the rule of your Majesty or of some one belonging to you, towards whom there would be a greater inclination felt owing to his presence in the country, his own will be maintained, and that, feeling this in conscience as he does in the first place, he would be insane if he did not second the arms and authority of your Majesty, even though it were not so much to his interest to do this as I have shown that it is.

"As to the time for treating of this point of the succession, although it seems on the one hand very advisable to settle it at once by help of the desire which the Pope shews for this reduction of England, still I cannot succeed in making him out; for when he appears to be most keen for the enterprise, he breaks out with the question whether another would not be better, and last of all on Saturday he spoke of the enterprise of Jerusalem; and this desire of his will have much to do in making him swallow the disbursement of the bills for the money, which in my opinion he does not yet believe in, and the impost which he has to lay upon the clergy, and having to go against his bull in making Allen cardinal out of December; and besides this there is the extremely small chance or rather almost certainty of little or no secrecy, and the suspicion that the Pope will not come to a resolution without consultation, and that Cardinal Caraffa also may be inclined to this, since he may object to take upon himself the responsibility of so important a matter being done on no advice apparently but his, and further, if it be proposed in congregation, there will be many who will not help forward the business, but will close their eyes to your Majesty's right and to the conversion of that kingdom and to the advantages which they will reap from your imperial sway, owing to the evil light in which they view your Majesty's greatness; so that the later it is made public, the less time will they have to speak against and our enemies to hinder the expedition. On these grounds, though from the uncertainty and variableness of the Pope's disposition there can be no fixed rule, I should think it advisable to put off for a long time treating with him on the point of the succession; the more so as a sort of ground work has been laid in the contents of the 3rd section and gloss of the paper of February 24 of last year, which at the very least will make it impossible to say that it is a new thing to propose to name the Queen of Scotland's successor. Again the more forward the Pope sees the state of the enterprise to be, the less courage will he have to manifest a different intention; and if he thinks that no good will come of withdrawing, he will not venture to do it; and he will make an act of virtue more easily through fear of compulsion the moment the army has disembarked; and to save himself from being blamed on account of what he has offered in the other section, he will of his own accord take up its defence without publishing it: besides which as he has shown himself so active in the rest of the enterprise, he will not want to mar it all; and if your Majesty

will be contented simply with the succession of the lady Infanta Doña Isabel, I am of opinion that the affair will run smoothly when brought forward at that time.

"Your Majesty will also be pleased to consider whether it is fitting to lay greater stress upon the conquest or upon your right, or at least upon both equally; for though Paget's opinion be without solidity, it cannot fail to produce some effect, if it should be published in the great printed pedigrees that the heirs are the Duke's sons; and the pedigree I speak of is, I understand, in the English college.

"Taking all this for granted, I will now propose to your Majesty three ways in which this article may be finally treated, that your Majesty may see which of them or what other one you prefer, and also the time at which it should be brought forward for discussion. Allen thinks that, if the Pope declares the war just, this is enough to authorize your Majesty to make your own whatever is taken; for, if in other wars which spring from quarrels among Christian kings, the conquerors, even without any action of the Pope, make their own the lands they conquer, much more may it be done in this war in which so many other qualities concur: and that to make this war just it will be enough if among the faculties which must be given him as legate he receives power to declare the war just and permission to proceed in the way which he describes in his memorandum; though this would be a somewhat venturesome course and a weak title, and I do not know whether general clauses would suffice, and as to particular ones I doubt whether the Pope would do it.

"Or else after having replied by accepting the enterprise to crave the accomplishment of every thing that was offered; and then on getting hold of the bills for the money and the rest, at the proper time, in virtue of the 3d section of [the paper of] February 24th to solicit permission for your Majesty to declare as successor whoever you may think the fittest for the service of God and the good of that realm: nevertheless though there is no want of reasons in support of this, the Pope will hardly grant it without reflection, even though it were with the exclusion of your Majesty's person.

"If at the appointed time it should please your Majesty that more plain speech be used, and you should be content to designate the person of the lady Infanta Doña Isabel and her husband, an expedient might be adopted which without weakening the title by succession would unite to it the title by conquest in such a way that the Pope would have less difficulty in supporting it, and if he refused to do so, your Majesty would still be all the more master of the position, and you would be able to say to him that when his Holiness on the aforenamed 24th of February, in order the better to stir up your Majesty and to remove the difficulties which had suggested themselves to you in this enterprise, thought it right to offer to your Majesty to do on his side whatever might be necessary to prevent the King of Scotland from succeeding to the English crown, and further in regard to what should take place after the Queen of Scotland's death, to consent to whatever your Majesty might think fit, your Majesty accordingly, being informed that there was no one in England whose pretensions you could support without many reasons for suspicion and fear of a return to the inconveniences of past times, had formed the intention of placing there the lady Infanta Doña Isabel and her husband, whoever he might be, for the reasons which you have for doing so; and subsequently to this your Majesty, taking into

account the letter and last will of the Queen of Scotland, had wished to understand the mystery on which it rested and by having recourse to histories and genealogical trees had discovered that the right to the English crown belonged simply to your Majesty, not only after, but even before, the Queen of Scotland, nevertheless your Majesty considering how important it was for that kingdom to have its sovereign present within it and such sovereigns [as could live in it] desires to postpone your private interests and the increase to your empire which this would give and the advantage which might arise from it as a connecting link with the states of Flanders, and is content for the greater service of God to abide by your first resolution, and thus after the death of the Queen of Scotland, whom your Majesty does not seek to disturb, albeit you could do so by your right, in virtue of which also your Majesty could give the kingdom to your daughter, still, in order that our Lord the Prince may not have the opportunity of disquieting the lady Infanta and what belongs to her, it is your Majesty's pleasure that the lady Infanta and her husband should enter upon the succession by the way and title of conquest and not by the way of blood-relationship, for which purpose it is necessary that this right of conquest should come first,[1] since if it [*i.e.*, the declaration of it] were deferred until after the conquest had taken place, it seems that as the conquest would have been made by your Majesty without this compact, it would be a harder measure to deprive our Lord the Prince of his right; and therefore on account of the inconvenience there would be in making public any of these pretensions, his Holiness is requested to despatch this matter by brief and with all requisite secrecy. Should however his Holiness make difficulties about this, as every thing would then be in a forward state, he might be told that in this affair your Majesty is the giver and not the receiver, and that he does not keep to what he has promised, and that your Majesty cannot tolerate this, the more so as your Majesty has gone to great expense in reliance upon this engagement, and that he will get no good by acting thus except to show his ill will and disoblige your Majesty, and other things besides capable of inspiring him with such fear that he will be unable to elude the difficulty by artifice or have time to set the laws of false statesmanship above every thing else, or to hold many consultations, as has been already pointed out; and as for additional reasons, he may be reminded of its importance to religion and a thousand other advantages. Nevertheless though this runs so smoothly and is so conformable to justice and the Pope is already pledged to it, I should think it safer not to bring the question forward until the army is actually in England or near it.

"Moreover since it may easily come to pass that the Pope will try to prevent England from being under any circumstances united to your Majesty's other states,[2] it will be proper that I should have your Majesty's directions what I am to do in this or similar cases which may occur; for there will be no time then to ask for instructions.

"What makes me feel little confidence that the Pope will do speedily[3] what

[1] *I.e.* the declaration of the right to the crown by conquest and the cession of this right to the Infanta must precede the declaration of the right by blood.

[2] Marginal note in the king's handwriting:—"This would not be just in regard to the future."

[3] Perhaps an *en* has fallen out: *en poco*, speedily.

is desired in this matter of the succession whether from motives of virtue or for the many reasons and advantages thence accruing is, besides what I daily see of his natural disposition in things of less importance, his great and manifest regret for having deprived Vendôme [Henry of Navarre] of the right of succession,[1] his earnestness in endeavouring to withdraw the declaration, following in this the counsels of certain Cardinals who stand well in public opinion, and the fact that he never abandoned this desire until I spoke resolutely to him on your Majesty's part, and even then I do not know whether it would have sufficed if Vendôme had done on his side what the Pope wished. Furthermore, except during the first days of his Pontificate he has not treated with favour the leaguers of France, until I told him that your Majesty would not forsake them, and, though in consequence of this he has spoken to them more graciously, I do not feel sure how it would be, if he did not look upon them as the more powerful party, and yet he speaks evil of [Cardinals] Sens and Como for having been with Pope Gregory the authors of these movements. In the affair of Poland your Majesty will see what we suspect; and if this were certain, it could have no other ground than fear of your Majesty's greatness, a very unseemly thing and fraught with dangers to religion and peril from the Turk. And now quite lately I have discovered that he has taken great pains through the medium of the King of France to induce the Queen of England to become a convert to the catholic religion, making her very large offers, though she replied to him that she had no such wish; and he has taken some steps in this matter since he has been negotiating with your Majesty about the enterprise; in regard to which (God forgive it) I do not believe that the name which he will thereby make for himself in this world is his secondary end: all which still more confirms me in the opinion that it will be better to put off the discussion about the succession until such time as it will be possible to speak plainly and when the state of the affair itself will shew him that he cannot take any other line: and this too is a reason for your Majesty not to delay, if possible, the enterprise until he manages to satisfy himself with a feigned conversion of that Queen and so can keep the million. In spite of all the noise which was caused here by the Queen of Scotland's will,[2] and which cannot fail to have come many times to his knowledge, and notwithstanding his facility in saying whatever is in his mind, it must have been with great care and meaning that he avoided saying a word to me on the subject.

"First before every thing must come Allen's cardinalate; and if your Majesty is unwilling to declare positively to the Pope that you will carry out the enterprise this present year, no doubt with the view of ensuring secrecy and obtaining the bills for the money, then in that case it will be necessary on account of Allen's affair that your Majesty take some means of saying that it is your intention to carry out the enterprise this year and that you have made such preparations for it and incurred such great expenses that forasmuch as all this has been done on your Majesty's side and you have been obliged to make these preparations beforehand, so on his Holiness's side, with a view to the negotiations which must be set on foot in England and which do not admit of delay, it is necessary not to defer any longer this promotion, since to do so would cause notable damage, as also would be the case (supposing I should

[1] By a Bull dated Sept., 1585. [2] Infra, p. 279, note.

succeed) if his Holiness were to say that he is promoted for the enterprise, though there is no lack of matter for discourse in the topic of helping that forsaken people; and afterwards the effect will be seen.

"It will be necessary, as I have written to your Majesty, to send immediately the presentation of the abbey for Allen and the rest of the pension laid upon one of the vacant churches; for Rosticuche [Cardinal Rusticucci] told me that the Pope had said to him, when speaking of how I had pressed him to promote Allen, that the other day they talked of giving him 2,000 ducats and now an abbey, but that he did not know whether either gift had been carried out. The root of this humour is, I believe, the delay which he thinks there is in despatching the 4,000 ducats for Michael; and what makes him cautious in granting loans and paying money in advance is, I take it, Sega's 50,000 ducats;[1] about which however he has not said a word to me, from fear, I believe, of not getting them and of risking his reputation if he takes up the matter.

"I also send your Majesty another paper which Melino [F. Person] has given me as from himself and Allen about certain things relating to the enterprise, and which I have annotated, together with his answers to some questions which I put to him for my better understanding of the same. I let it be seen that I am pleased to receive these papers as things which will be useful when the time comes for considering the matter, yet without giving them hopes that it will be soon; and while reading this paper I remarked to them that there is nothing lost in continuing to make rough drafts of the treatises which they may think opportune; for when the time is come it will be easier to change and adapt these than to write new ones.

"At my last audience I reminded the Pope of the message which I had sent him by Cardinal Rusticucci, how that this affair between the King of France and the Queen of England must be feigned, and while admitting the suspicion as just, he thinks that they have committed themselves too far for it to be feigned."

Of the two papers mentioned in this despatch as the joint production of Allen and Persons I have only a copy of the memorandum relating to the succession, though as both were enclosed by Count Olivares to Philip II. they are both probably among the documents at Simancas. The memorandum concerning the succession is as follows.[2]

Allen and Persons on the succession to the English crown.

"This is what we, William Allen and Robert Persons, have been able to discover touching the descendants of the house of Lancaster by the study which we have made of this matter here in Rome since the late news of the death of the Queen of Scotland.

"In the first place, as we have not had here the English histories and chronicles with the different genealogies which we should have had at Paris and elsewhere, we have not been able to make that exact calculation and examination of the things in question which would have been otherwise feasible. Still what follows will be substantially sufficient.

"It would have been exceedingly desirable for God's service and our country's good that the succession of his Majesty and his most serene house by the line of Lancaster to the crown of England had been so clear, unentangled, fresh and near that no possible doubt, contradiction or difficulty could have arisen about it. And yet if it had been so, his Majesty must not think that even then with

[1] Infra, p. 281, note 3. [2] Infra, p. 281.

England what it is, that is, in the hands of heretics and with other neighbouring princes as jealous as they evidently now are, he could have obtained his right without arms; though with these even at the present time he can easily by God's grace obtain it, nor have we met with any difficulty which gave us scruples of conscience or which ought to give them to his Majesty, since there are many other most just considerations, which we will set down at the end of this paper, capable of compensating abundantly for every difficulty and defect which may exist in the descent of the house of Lancaster; with regard to which, as this line of descent takes its rise from more than 200 years ago, it is not surprising if it should involve some doubt, obscurity and uncertainty. What appears certain is the following.

"First, whereas hitherto it has been always said that there are three lines claiming to succeed to the crown of England (as may be seen in the genealogical tree printed some years since by the Bishop of Ross, a Scotchman) namely, one descending from the house of Lancaster alone, as the lines of Castille and Portugal; another descending only from the house of York, as the line of the Earl of Huntingdon in England; and [a third] from the union of these two families, as the three lines still remaining in England and Scotland which have their source in Henry VII., we find that in reality there are only two lines in all, namely, that of Lancaster and that of York; for that which is said to be mixed and made up of these two lines is not really such, since Henry VII. was not of the royal house of Lancaster, his descent being from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by his third wife named Catherine Swynford, who had nothing whatever to do with the inheritance of the house of Lancaster, which came to the said John by his marriage with his first wife named Blanche, who had only three children, Henry afterwards King and called Henry IV., though he was the first king of the house of Lancaster, Philippa and Catherine,[1] who married the Kings of Portugal and Castille and from whom his Catholic Majesty descends. Thus there is no line in all England and Scotland which can justly claim the crown as representing the house of Lancaster; and this seems to be and is a thing clear and vouched for by all the histories; so that it is a great error in the aforementioned tree of the bishop of Ross to assign one wife only, viz. Blanche, to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and in consequence to assume that all his children descend from her. Polidore Vergil, in book 29 of the History of England, in the life of Edward III., p. 394, speaks of his second wife Constance, daughter of Don Pedro, called the cruel, King of Castille, whom he married in the year 1369; and the English chronicles make mention of his third wife, Catherine Swynford aforesaid.

As to what the bishop of Ross says, at page 6 of his book on the right of the Queen of Scotland to the English crown, concerning Henry III.'s two sons Edward [and Edmund] how that Edmund was really the firstborn, but that being crook-backed he was put after his brother and made Earl of Lancaster, besides that it is in flagrant contradiction to everything which he seeks to establish in that book, since if the assertion were correct the whole of the succession would undoubtedly remain in the line of Portugal alone, it seems to us destitute of all foundation; first because we can find no ancient author of credit who affirms it, and secondly

[1] This is a mistake, for Catherine was the daughter of John of Gaunt by his second wife Constantia, daughter of Don Pedro, surnamed the cruel, King of Castille.

because we find two grave authors who deny it. The first of these is Matthew of Westminster, an Englishman, who in his history entitled *Flores Historiarum*, in the life of King Henry and Eleanor his wife [after saying that Edward their firstborn son was born on the 17th of June, 1239] and baptized on the 21st by Cardinal Otho, the Pope's legate, subsequently writes that in the year 1245 on the 17th of January Edmund the second son was born; so that six years intervened between the birth of these two; a fact which it was quite in the power of that author to know, he being a contemporary and able to be acquainted with both these princes. The other author or writer of credit is Polidore Vergil, an Italian, who lived in England and wrote his history in the time of Henry VII. Since this King caused himself to be crowned as of the house of Lancaster and moreover gave instructions to Polidore to write his history, it may be presumed that this author would not have inserted in it anything prejudicial to the house of Lancaster unless it was very clear and true. Now in two places in the life of Henry III., pages 303 and 320, Polidore clearly asserts that Edward was the firstborn and not Edmund; and again at the beginning of the life of Henry IV., the first King of the house of Lancaster, page 429, he says that some persons wished Henry to avail himself of that fiction, for so he terms it, to justify his right to the crown, but he adds this did not meet with the approval of the greater part of Henry's friends, and so it fell to the ground. He makes the same statement at page 320 at the end of the life of Henry III. The same author in the above-mentioned place in the life of Henry IV. clearly asserts that the said Henry IV., the first King of the house of Lancaster, obtained the kingdom unjustly and by violence; and in another place also, viz., in the life of Richard II., page 412, he holds that Edward IV., the first King of the party of York, justly recovered the kingdom from Henry VI., the grandson of Henry IV. This too was the opinion of Philip de Comines, the most prudent counsellor and historian of Charles Duke of Burgundy and of Louis XI., King of France. This Comines, who lived at the time and knew both the one and the other of those two Kings, writes in book 10, page 354, of his Commentaries these words concerning Henry VI. who was deposed by Edward IV.—"Edward overthrew Henry, who had been for a long time sovereign, and in my opinion justly." The same Philip de Comines in book 9, page 336, speaking of Henry VII., whom he knew well and who was at that time King of England, says: "He could not claim for himself by any just title the English empire"; and yet Polidore writes that Henry VII. was a descendant of the house of Lancaster and its heir; so that the right of those two houses seemed very doubtful to the most prudent men of that time.

"We have also seen a manuscript genealogical tree in Italian about twenty years old, as it seems, in which it is said that the two daughters of John of Gaunt, sisters of King Henry IV., who were married in Portugal and Castille, were not the daughters of John of Gaunt's first wife Blanche, heiress of the house of Lancaster, but of another later wife. This is manifestly false as may be seen from all the histories and particularly from Polidore[1] in book 20 in the life of Richard II., page 415.

"In the bishop of Ross's tree and also in Polidore's history in the life of Henry IV., page 438, it appears that this King had besides his four sons, of whom

[1] This is an error. Vergil rightly describes these two princesses as the issue of John of Gaunt's first and second marriages respectively. See preceding page, note.

there is no descendant remaining, two daughters called Blanche and Philippa,[1] the first of whom was married to the Duke of Bavaria and the second to the King of Denmark. We do not know whether the Duke of Bavaria and the King of Denmark now reigning are descended from these daughters; but, be this as it may, we think it is a thing which they do not know or reflect upon; and such we hope it may always remain: and for this reason it will be expedient to keep the subject of these successions most secret, until the enterprise is terminated and his Majesty's succession established without contradiction in England.

"And as these descendants of the daughters of Henry IV., if any of them remain, can claim to succeed before the descendants of the sisters of the said Henry, married in Portugal and Castille, so too in the line of Portugal itself and among the descendants of that line those who trace from Don Edward III., son of the King Don Emmanuel,[2] can according to strict rule by the municipal laws of England claim to succeed before the descendants of the Empress Isabella, daughter of the said King;[3] though on the other hand it may be said that as the succession to the crown of Portugal is now legitimately incorporated according to the common law and that of Portugal in the person and blood of his Catholic Majesty, all the rights thence flowing are also united to that house. But this is enough to show that if the question of the succession by way of descent from the house of Lancaster alone be discussed and talked about generally before the enterprise is completed, much opposition will arise from various princes; all which would be cut short by the enterprise itself and the establishment of his Majesty's legitimate succession; a result which would follow without any difficulty from the enterprise, especially if the subjoined reasons and rights are taken into account.

"First, because there is no one in all England and Scotland who can justly claim to succeed by the house of Lancaster, as has been shown. Secondly, because all who claim there by the house of York are unfit through heresy and other defects. Thirdly, because no one outside the kingdom is known to claim by the house of Lancaster except the line of his Catholic Majesty. Fourthly, because, if any other should also seek to claim by the same way, they have no means of recovering their right and expelling the usurper who now occupies the kingdom, nor would they be accepted by the English Catholics themselves. Fifthly, because the Queen of Scotland has ordained by her will and letters that his Majesty should be her heir and successor: a thing which Queen Mary also of good memory is known to have greatly desired in her time, viz., that his Catholic Majesty should succeed her. Sixthly, his Catholic Majesty, besides the cause of the catholic religion and the injuries which he has received from England, has in the vengeance due for the blood of the Queen of Scotland, which she herself commended to him, a most just ground and necessary cause for going to war, and therefore, if he seizes upon the kingdom in so just and praiseworthy a war, the title of conquest will be legitimate. Seventhly, the losses inflicted on his Catholic Majesty by the heretics of England in the time of the present Queen and the expense to which he has gone in this war and others in Flanders and elsewhere

[1] Infra, p. 284, note 4.

[2] The children of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma by the Infanta Maria, daughter of Don Edward III.

[3] Philip II., son of the Empress Isabella, sister of Don Edward III.

are so great a cause in themselves that if he were to have the kingdom in payment and compensation for them it would not be an unjust cause. Eighthly, the decree of the Lateran council gives to all catholic princes the kingdoms and lands which they can take from heretics, if there is no catholic heir remaining: which decree will be confirmed in this particular by the bull of excommunication issued by different Pontiffs. Lastly, to complete and confirm the whole affair there will come in addition the voluntary election and acceptation of his Majesty on the part of the commonwealth of catholics in England, who from regard to all these causes and considerations, and chiefly in return for the benefit of the restoration of the catholic faith will with the greatest unanimity and joy embrace his Majesty's succession; and about this we have no doubt whatever; so that nothing remains for the happy completion of all this affair except that his Majesty dissipate all the other difficulties by carrying the enterprise into effect as soon as possible, since every thing depends on the speed with which this is done."

The news of the judicial murder of Mary Queen of Scots appears to have reached Rome towards the end of March. Dr Allen wrote at once, on the 30th of March, to Philip II.[1] pointing out to him that for various reasons the enterprise had now become easier of execution, and urging him to undertake it without delay. About the same time he addressed a letter of similar purport to Pope Sixtus V.[2] In it he takes occasion to praise Sir William Stanley for surrendering Deventer in the Low-Countries to the Duke of Parma and passing over with the troops under his command to the service of Philip II. The example, he has no doubt, will be followed by many in England, if only by the favour of God and his Holiness the enterprise on behalf of the catholic religion be carried into effect.

On March 31st Dr Allen received from Count Olivares the following paper of instructions for an audience which he was about to have of his Holiness.[3]

Allen's instructions for an audience of Sixtus V.

"Points on which Father Allen will be prepared against the time when the Pope may speak to him; given on the last day of March, 1587.

"1. To remove from his Holiness the suspicion which he has formed through evil reports that the Queen of Scotland did not die in very catholic fashion, owing to his having been told that the Queen warmly recommended her son to continue friends with and dependent upon the Queen of England; for this report is according to reason false, and there are so many grounds for presuming that she died not only as a catholic should but holily.

"2. To take a good opportunity of giving him to understand that, according to what is commonly and reasonably believed, the endeavours made by the King of France to prevent the death of the Queen of Scotland were feigned or very cold, and that the Queen of England had an understanding with the King of France.

"3. That the Queen of Scotland was well aware of her son's obstinacy in heresy and the little hope there was of his conversion, of which it seems that there is now [less] hope than ever for many reasons and indications which may be mentioned.

"4. If he should hint that, whenever the enterprise is undertaken, the King of France might be expected to assist it or at least to put no hindrance in the way,

[1] Infra, p. 286. [2] Infra, p. 288. [3] Infra, p. 289.

[Dr Allen] will say that his Holiness neither can nor ought to put any confidence in the French both on account of the evident intelligence which there is between them and the Queen of England, and of which there have been so many signs, including last of all the death of the Queen of Scotland, and because of the jealousy and suspicions in regard to his Holiness which would thereby be excited in the catholics of England, not to mention the natural and ancient aversion of the two nations for each other.

"5. If his Holiness should enter upon the question of the succession, he will say that the thought of it in case of the Queen of Scotland's death had often come up among the catholics, after they had learned by experience that there was no hope of her son's conversion: they had not however wished to bring this point forward for discussion, as they relied on God's providence, his Holiness's fatherly care and the good will which his Majesty had always shown them that, as so much had been done for the reduction of their country, there would be no neglect at the termination of the enterprise in establishing there such an order of things as would secure it from falling again into the hands of the heretics; which after all is the chief end of the catholics.

"6. If his Holiness should compel him to enter into greater details, he will say that for a long time past the common opinion of the catholics has been that the succession devolves upon his Majesty by the lines of Portugal and Castille, though up to the present time they have not discovered any signs that his Majesty has had any such thought. Although the catholics have always held this opinion and view in the event of the Queen of Scotland's death, they have also judged it advisable to keep silence on the subject, for if on the one hand it is calculated to move his Majesty and animate him to the enterprise, on the other it would arouse the opposition of his rivals, who to hinder it would join with the heretics who have fixed their eyes on the King of Scotland, the Earl of Huntingdon and the King of Denmark, princes whose power is so great that, if they get the start, they will take possession of the crown and be more difficult to expel than the Queen their predecessor.

"7. That it is in every respect expedient not to talk about this matter until the enterprise is accomplished, and that they feel sure that his Holiness and his Majesty will easily come to an understanding about it.

"8. If his Holiness should touch upon the affairs of Scotland, he will say that it would also be advisable for the good of Christendom that, the King of Scotland being as he is a heretic, his Holiness and his Majesty should take some good resolution for the reformation of that kingdom to be carried out at the time of the enterprise of England or afterwards.

"9. If he should ask about the abbey of St. Lorenzo in Capua, he will say that he has sent powers to take possession of it, and that he knows well the share which his Holiness has had in moving the King to confer upon him that favour."

Allen however does not seem to have been quite easy about the effect which the death of the Queen of Scots might have upon Philip II. in reference to the enterprise, as appears from the following paragraph of a letter of Count Olivares to Don Juan de Idiaquez, dated June 15.[1]

"I forgot to say that Melino [F. Persons] and Allen seeing the season so

[1] Infra, p. 292.

advanced and having received a letter from Don Bernardino de Mendoza in which he speaks of the death of the Queen of Scotland as a great loss to the enterprise, are persuaded that his Majesty has grown lukewarm about it; and they do their best to convince me that it is not only no loss, but that by her death many difficulties have disappeared, which could only have been removed with great labour while the enterprise was proceeding, and with still greater trouble after our Lord had given it success."

Philip II. to Olivares. Allen's cardinalate.

On June 24 Philip II. wrote as follows to Count Olivares about Allen's cardinalate.[1] "As to Allen's hat, ask his Holiness from me to confer it immediately on the ground that through the death of the Queen of Scotland, who was the hope of the English catholics and of those provinces, they may all possibly lose heart, unless they see some one who they may hope will bring relief to their troubles; and that this danger will be averted if they behold in that dignity and near to his Holiness a man of their nation in whom they have all such confidence and experience; and this would be a good motive to put forward in publishing it. But besides this you will tell his Holiness for himself only that considering the relations which it is expedient to maintain with certain persons in England with regard to the enterprise it is already time (and indeed rather late than early) for him to make this appointment, and you will support the request with the other reasons which you know, taking care always to preclude any [public] suspicion that it is done with a view to the enterprise.

"A short answer has been sent to Allen's letters, as you will see from the copy. You will say to him whatever you think seasonable, and you will seek by his means to arrange all that is proper, and you will do the same by means of Melino [F. Persons] to whom you will return thanks on my behalf for his good behaviour: and you will keep me informed of whatever happens in the affair."

The letter to Allen just alluded to is of the same date, June 24, and runs thus:—"I have received your letters of March 19 and 30, and from them, as well as from what my ambassador, Count Olivares, has written to me, I have understood the desire you have to serve me. Though this is not new to me, still I return you thanks for it, and I refer myself to the Count in regard to what I wish and am procuring for the exaltation of your person. He will inform you of it; and you may rest assured that I shall take all reasonable care of you and the things which concern you, and I hope to find you deserving of it."

Count Olivares on receiving Philip II.'s letter of June 24 made the following memorandum of it to be submitted to his Holiness.[2]

"His Majesty commands me to say that the necessity for not delaying Allen's promotion is so great that it cannot be put off any longer without cutting the thread of every thing; and therefore he entreats his Holiness to do it immediately; and he further orders me to send him a courier express with the news, and to assure his Holiness that even though he does it at once, it will be for the things which have to be arranged by his authority rather late than a day too soon; and that, if our Lord should be pleased mysteriously to prevent this enterprise from taking effect, his Majesty will have already lost more than four or five millions, and his Holiness nothing, but have gained instead a very worthy and deserving subject for the college.

[1] Infra, p. 292. [2] Infra, p. 293.

"Although this promotion is for the purpose specified, his Majesty very much desires that the reasons publicly given for it at present should be the encouragement of the catholics, by letting them see that they have a patron and such a patron at his Holiness's ear, and the appeasing of the dissensions which are beginning to show themselves among the catholics of that kingdom through the want of a head since the Queen of Scotland's death, his Holiness's wish being to exalt Dr Allen in her place; for thus people will think that all has been done for that kingdom which will be done; and it is his Majesty's wish that in every other point all possible dissimulation and secrecy should be observed."

F. Creighton, S.J., and the Scotch catholics.

It is not surprising that the Scotch catholics, both as catholics and as Scotchmen, clung to the hope of the conversion of their King to the catholic faith, and in consequence to his ultimately succeeding to the crown of England. The following paragraph of a letter of Count Olivares to Don Juan de Idiaquez, July 10,[1] alludes to this. It should be compared with a letter of F. Persons to F. Creighton, 10 May, 1596, printed below at p. 381.

"Allen and Melino [F. Persons] finding in this William Cliton [Creighton], a Scotchman, this whim which is now current among his countrymen at Paris, that the King of Scotland can be converted and that it is fitting that the reduction of England, which his Holiness will have to make, should be to secure the succession of the said King, have thought it better for the present not to undeceive them with regard to this fancy, that they may not excogitate commotions; but they go on temporizing with them; and at the same time, knowing how much better his Majesty's rule will suit the English, and also the inconveniences of being ruled by the Scotch, they employ themselves of their own movement in writing books in proof of this to be scattered through England when God shall cause the moment to arrive, assuming as they do from what Creighton has told them about Scotland being succoured that the whole enterprise cannot long be deferred. I asked Melino [F. Persons] for a summary of the reasons which they think of putting into the book, and he gave me the one which I enclose; though the chief of them amount to what I said to his Holiness in the month of February of the year 86, and will be found in the gloss to the third section, with which I drew from his Holiness the answer which he then gave me to it."

The succour to be given to Scotland of which F. Creighton spoke referred no doubt to the negotiations still going on between Philip II. and Lord Claude Hamilton, the Earl of Huntley and the Earl of Morton. See Philip II.'s letter to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, 31 March, 1587,[2] in which he promises to give these noblemen 150,000 crowns three or four months after they had taken up arms and set the King of Scotland free.

On 30 July Count Olivares wrote again to Philip II. His letter contains the two following paragraphs.[3]

"It has been impossible to press for Allen's hat with the urgency requisite, in order not to embarrass the rest of the negotiations. His Holiness appears disposed to do it; but he notices that nothing has been said to him about the time of executing the enterprise, and that I have had no command from your Majesty to treat about his going or doing any thing. If I should receive orders from your

[1] Infra, p. 294. [2] Teulet, V., 494. [3] Infra, p. 295.

Majesty or the Duke of Parma that he should do any thing, I will use it as an opportunity of putting pressure on his Holiness, and this failing I am thinking of some other way of making him act more quickly.

"I gave Allen your Majesty's letter.[1] He is most grateful for it and for the new favour which your Majesty has bestowed on him and for what you are soliciting his Holiness to do for him; and both he and Melino [F. Persons] are in the best of dispositions to serve you. Allen sends in answer to your Majesty's letter the enclosed reply;[2] and as he wrote it in the first instance with the intention of its going in ordinary characters, it is brief, but for greater security I now send it in cipher."

Two or three days later Count Olivares presented to Pope Sixtus V. the subjoined memorandum[3] of a message from Philip II. to his Holiness with the view of expediting Allen's promotion.

"The following are the last orders which I have received from my Lord the King, sent by him on the supposition that his Holiness has been pleased to raise Allen to the cardinalate in consequence of his Majesty's urgent petition, which he lately commanded me to present, owing to the necessity there is of his beginning to dispose things for the successful execution of the enterprise against England.

"His Majesty now orders me to take steps that the said Allen should choose three of his countrymen, on whose fidelity he can rely and who are persons of skill and well esteemed by the catholics of that kingdom, and that he should give them letters to the principal catholics of England divided among these three persons, and that he should inform them in the said letters of the promotion which has been conferred upon him by his Holiness for the consolation and service of the catholics of that realm, concluding with the request that they will give credence to whatever else such a one shall treat about with them on his behalf. He is then to send them furnished with this despatch wherever the Duke of Parma may be, who will give them instructions how to pass into England and about the form and order in which they are to treat with each one and to communicate to each whatever it is fitting for him to know and do with reference to the enterprise, charging them all to endeavour to execute every thing diligently in conformity with these instructions and above all to observe secrecy. The letter in which his Majesty gives this order to Count Olivares was written on July 6. The Count laid its contents before his Holiness on August 1, and by his command delivered it over to the most illustrious Cardinal Caraffa."

Allen created Cardinal.

In a letter of August 7[4] Count Olivares gives Philip II. an account of the presentation of the above memorandum and the effect it had in procuring Allen's promotion to the cardinalate. It is as follows.

"As I saw from your Majesty's letter of July 6 that you do not object to my signifying to his Holiness the nearness of the enterprise against England, so far as may be necessary to bring to a conclusion what you command me in the despatch of June 24, and since nothing had been done about Allen's promotion which, as your Majesty in the same despatch points out, it was unadvisable to delay, I invented the order from your Majesty which is contained in the enclosed paper, and in which I observed without binding myself to a fixed time that your Majesty took it for granted that he had been created Cardinal: and this has been

[1] Infra, p. 239. [2] Infra, p. 294. [3] Infra, p. 296. [4] Infra, p. 295.

so efficacious, coupled with my having caused Caraffa to read to him what I had given him in writing in regard to this matter on your Majesty's part in the paper of July 18,[1] that he has made him a Cardinal in to-day's consistory, declaring at the same time that it is to supply the loss of the Queen of Scotland, without any mention of England or of your Majesty, and asking the opinion and will of the Sacred College, which gave its assent with the greatest applause and satisfaction that has ever been seen in making a Cardinal.

"Although not necessary for this affair, I cannot but tell your Majesty two things of consequence for understanding his Holiness's temper of mind: the first is that he was pleased with himself and made merry with Caraffa in very exaggerated fashion at having taken for the motive of this promotion the necessity of supplying the loss of the Queen of Scotland, and expressed great surprise that neither Caraffa nor I had suggested it to him, though I have done so a hundred thousand times and given it him twice in writing, as your Majesty has seen from the copies which I sent you: the other thing is that while he made so much of the importance of secrecy and dissimulation, he yet wished Allen to go and await the news at my house, and that they should fetch him from it. With all this the principal matter is up to the present moment most secret, and the Pope contrary to custom is silent, and to my mind it is a miracle that as yet it is not proclaimed and published: but I fear notwithstanding that it will not suffice for every one to deny it, the more so as it will be difficult for the Pope to persevere in doing so.

"The new Cardinal sends me this letter for your Majesty. The original still remains by me. He sends me word that it would be of importance for many reasons to make the preparatory arrangements of which I wrote in the paper which I gave his Holiness and which goes with this."

The acts of the consistory[2] in which Allen was created Cardinal bear out what Count Olivares says about the satisfaction with which this promotion was received by the members of the Sacred College. Sixtus V. on the same day, August 7, wrote with his own hand a letter to Philip II.[3] announcing what he had done, and urging the King to press forward with the enterprise. The new Cardinal also addressed to Philip II., August 7, the following letter,[4] which Count Olivares transmitted to him in cipher.

"This new dignity, which our most holy Lord has conferred to-day upon our lowliness and which I regard as having come after God from no other source than your Majesty, deserves that I should as soon as possible and before any one else give thanks for it to your most clement Majesty. I therefore prostrate at your feet return you the greatest thanks which my mind can conceive not so much for the great adornment bestowed upon my person, which (God is my witness) I have never wished for except in relation to the good of the church, your Majesty and my country, as that I desire and hope by this addition of sacred dignity to have greater opportunity and means of serving your Majesty and carrying into effect your [?] just designs for my unhappy country, which if it perish nothing will be ever sweet to us in this dignity or in life itself. But you will know the rest from your most exalted and wise ambassador: this only let your clemency be sure of, that I have dedicated to your sacred Majesty all my services without exception in life and death."

[1] Infra, p. 293. [2] Infra, p. 297. [3] Infra, p. 298. [4] Ib.

Philip II. seems to have taken his time in replying to Cardinal Allen's letter. The answer is dated Madrid, 11 December, 1587, and is as follows.[1]

"You may judge how pleased I was with the letter which you wrote to me informing me that his Holiness had promoted your person to the dignity in which you are, for you know how I desired and solicited it. I am confident that it will be to the great service of our Lord God and the Holy See, and that you will employ yourself in our service with the good will of which you speak: and though it is not new to me to hear this, still I thank you much for it, and you may be sure that I shall always be as careful and mindful about your person and concerns as you have seen in the past: all which you will hear also from Count Olivares my ambassador, to whom I refer myself."

Suggestions for filling up offices, ecclesiastical and civil, in England.

The following paper[2] was probably drawn up by Cardinal Allen and Count Olivares some time in 1588, before the sailing of the Armada.

"Suggestions as to the way of filling up the churches and offices of the King and kingdom of England, if God gives the success which is hoped for from his mercy.

"In the kingdom of England there are twenty-four bishopricks and two archbishopricks.

"If God gives success to the undertaking, Cardinal Allen will ask for the archbishoprick of Canterbury; and his Majesty has ordered that, when the enterprise is made public, his Holiness shall be solicited to confer it upon him.

"The Cardinal also says that it will be necessary to fill up the other churches immediately upon their submitting themselves, and for this reason especially that it may be possible to hold a parliament. He is making notes of suitable persons, as they occur to him; and at the time that he is despatched to England his Holiness should be asked to grant him some form of faculties, empowering him to fill up the sees for the first time with persons agreeable and acceptable to his Majesty, and he engages not to act in this against the wishes of the Duke of Parma or such other person as his Majesty may signify.

"Owen Lewis, bishop of Cassano, and some of his friends, when they have entertained hopes of the undertaking succeeding, have endeavoured to make interest for his appointment to the archbishoprick of York, which is the other metropolitan see of England. But Allen judges that it would be better filled by a certain Thomas Metham, a priest who is now a prisoner in England, and has been many times in prison and with great danger to his life on account of religion, or else by John Bilolsolo [Wilson ?[3]] also a priest, who goes about England secretly, employed in the same kind of work as those who have been martyred.

"The Cardinal thinks it advisable, considering the bishop of Cassano's turn of mind and his endeavours to stir up opposition against him and the favour he enjoys with many Cardinals, not to leave him behind in Italy, for fear he should come to Rome to countermine and form new intrigues, as he has begun to do; and to this end, since he is a Welshman, to give him the best bishoprick in Wales, David [St Davids] by name, or else Herfort [Hereford] or Barsenter [Worcester] which are on the borders of Wales, with some occupation to keep him in play at a distance from Rome and London also.

"And he thinks that it will be proper to act in the same way for similar

[1] Infra, p. 302. [2] Infra, p. 303. [3] Ib., note 2.

reasons towards Griffith Roberts who is also a Welshman and is now living in the state of Milan.

"He says too that it will be well to fill up the deaneries of the said churches, as they are principal and great dignities, and then by degrees the other posts as quickly as persons can be found for them; so that none may remain vacant, and that every one may help.

"The first of the great offices of the realm is that of the High Chancellor, who presides in the council of State and in the highest judicial council, and appoints to many offices and small benefices and is consulted about the greater ones and the bishopricks.

"As to this office, the Cardinal seems inclined to hold it himself in the first instance, if this should be agreeable to his Majesty, until some fit person is found; since for the purpose of putting things in order at the beginning and promoting the service of God and that of his Majesty no one can be found better informed and under greater obligations to his Majesty.

"Another officer is the Treasurer, who holds the privy seal.

"Another is the Grand Marshall, who has charge of the prisons of the kingdom and appoints their governors. This office was held by the Duke of Norfolk when he was executed. His son is in prison, and would seem to have a right to it, if he should be alive and have the requisite qualities.

"Another officer is the Master of the Court of Wards, who besides having to take care of the revenues of his wards, which belong to the crown until they are twenty-one years old, receives from them certain dues, and the wards cannot marry without his consent under pain of losing their estates or dower. And thus it happens that during the time the Master has the care of the property of his wards, he treats it badly, sells the marriages and misuses the charge entrusted to him. I am told that Englefield held this office in his Majesty's time.

"The gain in this to the Sovereign is very small indeed compared with the loss to the subjects, and it would be a most glorious way for a new prince to solemnize his entry, if he were to abolish this evil tax, or even commute it, and then make fresh dispositions for the education of wards, the improvement of their estates and the relinquishment of their marriages to their relations and guardians; all which he might effect by means of suitable laws conformable to what is practised in other well-ordered kingdoms, while reserving, if it be thought desirable, for the royal license matters of great consequence, but so that only the King could move therein as fiscal and in more gentle form according to the style used in Spain, or in any other way which may be preferred.

"The High Admiral has under him all the naval forces and the vessels; and the wrecks in all England belong to him; and he has officers at every port, and a great salary, besides what he very commonly makes by keeping fewer men in the ships than the number for which he receives pay.

"As to the household, the office of High Steward is said to be a very great one: for besides being the superior in the government of the household, he has extensive jurisdiction, especially criminal jurisdiction, over men with titles, as well as other great preeminences: on which account, they say, the office is not given ordinarily except for a limited period, as was done in the time of the present Queen once for three or four months, so as not to confer on any one such great influence and authority.

"The High Chamberlain, besides having to serve the King's person and superintend the offices of the chamber, has also to look after those of the household whenever the office of High Steward is vacant. He has also jurisdiction over and is charged with the custody of the woods and forests, parks, lakes, hunting and fishing, with extensive jurisdiction and dues.

"The Grand Master of the Stable has only charge of the horses with their stabling and breeding arrangements."

Court of Wards.

Allen was in advance of his age in the above suggestion for the abolition of the Court of Wards. In 1610 the Earl of Salisbury nearly succeeded in bringing about an arrangement by which wardships, the marriages of infants and widows and other onerous and oppressive services should be done away with in return for a permanent increase of the King's income. But James I. and the House of Commons could not agree about the price, and so the project fell through. The Court of Wards was finally abolished in the first parliament of Charles II., 1660.

Sailing and defeat of the Armada.

On 7 August, 1587, Allen was created Cardinal by Sixtus V. in the expectation that the long-prepared enterprise of England would at length be carried into effect. It was not however until the month of July in the following year that after innumerable delays the Armada took its final departure from the shores of Spain. At the beginning of October the news of the earlier disasters which had befallen it had reached Rome, but the full extent of the calamity was still unknown there. Count Olivares clung to the hope that something might yet be accomplished by way of Scotland, towards which the shattered survivors of the fleet had been seen to bend their course. On October 3, 1588, the Count addressed the following letter to Philip II.[1]

Proposal to send Allen to Flanders.

"Cardinal Allen, as I wrote to Don Juan de Ydiaquez on the 20th of last month, is still wishful of going nearer to England, being moved to this by the desire of doing better service to the cause and to your Majesty; and as it appears to me that he can do nothing here for this undertaking, since (as I then wrote) neither he nor any one else can influence the Pope, while in the other course he will find profit and pleasure, and since it is no longer possible to conceal the enterprise, which was the chief reason for his journey being delayed, if our Lord has so far favoured the cause as to enable the Armada to make some sort of a beginning by way of Scotland or elsewhere, it will be better for him to be where he can push forward the negotiations in England and set on foot those which opportunity may suggest. And if on the Armada's return to Spain it should be expedient to proceed by the way of negotiations, in regard to which the people of the land would put more trust in him, and the Duke of Parma might make use of his opinion in judging of the proposals made and the advices which might come to him from within the kingdom, he would greatly console and encourage the catholics there and keep them hopeful, as they would not then think that your Majesty had turned your back upon the undertaking. It would also in great measure do away with the suspicions which the good have conceived on account of the Pope's behaviour, and the ground which the bad have had for spreading abroad that his heart is not in this enterprise, since both the one and the other will regard it as a declaration on his part; and even though he should say that he does not send him, as he will easily do to Frenchmen and others, nobody will believe it, through the little faith they place in him. He will also be of

[1] Infra, p. 306.

use in giving your Majesty trustworthy information and light about many things, as I am truly persuaded he will from his goodness and the obligations under which his country and he himself in particular are to your Majesty.

"Besides the fact that winter is about to begin and that it is necessary to provide quickly for the things which I have mentioned, I have been more easy in not waiting for a fresh order from your Majesty because this course is not contrary to the commands which I have already received: and as it will very much forward all that is intended, and less jealousy may be excited in the Duke of Parma by his going in this way instead of after having consulted your Majesty, I have written to the Duke what your Majesty will see in the enclosed copy.

"I have given him 3,000 crowns which is about what will be enough for the journey and the things which he needs for it, as he has no money, not having made any nor committed any irregularity; and though he has lived in much poverty, since he became Cardinal, he finds himself with 2,500 crowns of debt: the concurrent causes of which are the scarcity here, the loss in exchanging money and the fact that no one has given him anything, since he does not fill any of the offices which others turn to their account, nor does he seek after those means of which men who have not his regard for propriety avail themselves. Thus he could neither go forward nor backward, and that he might not drop from hunger I was forced to help him with your Majesty's money. He has assigned for the payment of his debts what is now due and what will become due between this and the coming feast of St. John from his pension and from the abbey which your Majesty gave him and which is worth much less than what was supposed; and so he will have nothing to live upon when he arrives in Flanders, unless your Majesty is pleased to assist him. If your Majesty has not yet filled up the vacant church of St. Omer, it might be given to him, and it would be very well filled up, and your Majesty would be free from this burden: and if it should seem to your Majesty that this would cause dissatisfaction in the people of the country, I do not believe it, as he is so well known and beloved there. To cut short the difficulty it might be given him *in commendam* by a brief of the Pope either without restriction or for a limited period, which might then be prolonged from time to time, and the Cardinal would be well placed there for whatever might arise."

On the same day, October 3, Count Olivares wrote the following despatch to the Duke of Parma,[1] and enclosed a copy of it in his letter to Philip II. which has just been given.

"As soon as the Armada left Lisbon, his Majesty ordered me to make application to his Holiness that Cardinal Allen might be directed to leave for Flanders in order to pass over, in conformity with your Excellency's commands and at the time you should determine, as legate for the enterprise. His Holiness however has made difficulties about it, clearly, as far as one can judge, to defend his money bags. Since declaring his mind, as your Excellency will have seen from my letters, so resolutely and even obstinately on this matter, when conferring with Cardinal Caraffa, who has had the management of the affair, he has not only come round to his going, but even urged it and praised it as a thing most proper to be done, since it appears to him that if the Armada should return or make any progress the Cardinal would be nearer, and that in this case the patent

[1] Infra, p. 307.

and faculties of his legation might be sent him by a courier, while if our sins should be the cause of nothing being done this year, his presence at a nearer point would be necessary to keep up the spirits and hopes of the catholics of the Island. For these reasons and as his Majesty's order to procure his departure is still in force, and his staying here is useless either for the purpose of helping to influence his Holiness in the matter of money or of concealing the projects which have already been carried into effect, I have considered his going advisable without waiting to consult his Majesty afresh, lest the winter should begin; and so his papers are being got ready, after which he will set forth.

"I will provide him with money enough to take him to Flanders, where what he has will not be sufficient for him, the more so as it has been assigned for a certain time in payment of his debts, as I have written in detail to his Majesty; to whom also I have suggested that, in order to free himself from this burden, and as the situation of St. Omer is so suitable, and it has (I believe) a Spanish garrison, so that the Cardinal would be in greater security, that church might be given him for his support, if the vacancy is not already filled up: and I do not think that this would cause dissatisfaction to the people of the country, as he has been almost brought up in the province, and moreover to prevent this it might be given him by brief *in commendam* for a limited time, which could be prolonged in case of necessity. Your Excellency will see what is best to be done in all this. At Milan he will ascertain by what road he can travel most safely. Your Excellency will be able to send him orders before his arrival as to the part of Flanders in which you may think it best for him to stay, as well as whatever else you may judge proper for the service of our Lord and of his Majesty."

The following letter of Count Olivares to Philip II., October 9,[1] carries on the history of this affair.

"On hearing the advices which have been received that the Duke of Parma, being convinced that the Duke of Medina was on his way back to Spain, had left the port where he was waiting,[2] his Holiness showed the same demeanour and disposition as that which I described in my letter of September 26: and though I have returned to importune him anew to help your Majesty I can draw nothing from him better than what I did before nor can the persons of whom I have availed myself obtain anything, and so I fear that nothing can be drawn from him, even though the letter which I proposed to your Majesty should come; and it is impossible to imagine all that his Holiness has manifested on this occasion in the matter of lucre and evil spirit.

"Allen has shown me a paragraph of a letter written to him in cipher from Bruges by one of the two Jesuits he sent from here and whom he praises as a man of great prudence. In this the Jesuit tells him that he has obtained through the sailing of the Armada a knowledge of things which could not otherwise have been had, and that means have been found for the enterprise to a great extent easy and safe, and that the Duke was satisfied of this, and that on receiving news of the Armada and a reply from your Majesty he would begin to put them into execution: all which besides the infinite consolation it has caused me confirms me in looking upon Allen's going as most fitting, and I therefore continue to solicit his despatch, without however giving any indication of this to the Pope.

[1] Infra, p. 308. [2] Dunkirk.

"Father Robert Persons, the Jesuit, will go with Allen. In all the dealings which I have had with him here I find in him great fertility of resource and very good discretion. The Cardinal also has much judgment, though he adapts himself ill to the frauds and deceits here current, as he takes quite an opposite course.

"I keep him well 'in remembrance of what he owes your Majesty, and he shows that he knows it perfectly. I took a good opportunity of saying to him the other day that my chief sorrow at the failure of the enterprise is that it has not been the occasion of manifesting to the world that your Majesty was not moved by a covetous longing for more kingdoms, as the ambitious and earthly-minded give out, but solely by God's glory, as will appear when God wills it to be effected, since your Majesty will order things there in such a manner as to leave nothing further to be desired. May our Lord do this, and guard your Majesty's catholic person as I desire."

The despatch of September 26, alluded to above, will be found in Hübner's *Sixte-Quint*, III., 257, with a French version at p. 39. Count Olivares relates in it to Philip II. the vain attempt which he had made to obtain from the Pope the million or even 500,000 ducats promised for the enterprise. His Holiness, resting upon the letter of the convention, professed his readiness to pay as soon as the conditions agreed upon were fulfilled, but not before. The Count was obliged to fall back upon the spirit of the document; and finding the Pope inflexible, breaks out in his despatch into his customary insolence of language, and not content with abusing the Pope, takes occasion to inveigh also against the neutral members of the Sacred College.

The two Jesuits mentioned in the letter would seem to have been Father John Gerard and Father Edward Oldcorne, S.J. Father Gerard has himself recorded[1] that when the Spanish Armada was nearing the coasts of England Cardinal Allen sent him to England for various matters connected with catholic interests. On 15 August, 1588, he was admitted as a novice into the Society of Jesus at Rome together with Father Edward Oldcorne, his companion on the homeward journey, and afterwards a martyr. The two after passing through Basle must have travelled straight to Bruges, from which place Father Gerard apparently wrote to Cardinal Allen the letter in cipher which he received on or before October 9. From Bruges the two seem to have gone to Reims, where they remained in the college from September 21 to September 26.[2] Afterwards they passed through Paris to Eu in Normandy, and took ship for England about the middle of November at the earliest.

On October 17 Count Olivares addressed the following letter[3] to Philip II. on the subject of Cardinal Allen's journey to Flanders.

"After Allen's going had been settled, as I wrote to your Majesty, with signs of great pleasure on the part of his Holiness, when the poor man went to speak to him about certain things relating to the journey, he treated him like a negro in regard to his going, saying that he was very sorry for it, that he esteemed it an evil and that it was not with his good will, so long as the result of the Armada was not known and no assurance had been given that he would have all proper conveniences while there, using at the same time while speaking to him very evil

[1] *Life of F. John Gerard, S.J.*, by F. John Morris, S.J., p. 27.
[2] *First and Second Douay Diaries*, p. 220. [3] Infra, p. 309.

terms in every direction; and afterwards on another day he entered into conversation with Caraffa, but without telling him anything about the affair, and it was nearly as bad. Hence, since it seemed to me that when Allen was gone he would say to every one, and even at table, the same or worse, which would discredit the Cardinal's person and his journey, and as I had no orders from your Majesty in reference to the present case, I thought it better not to press the matter further or to go on with it; and so at my last audience which was on the 15th instant I said to the Pope that as his Holiness had now formed a different judgment about this journey, and considering the inconveniences just mentioned which would arise from its being disliked by him, I did not wish him to go, for if the Cardinal should leave out of favour with him and even under his displeasure a contrary result would be produced to what was intended; and that I would write about it to your Majesty. Thereupon he answered that such were his sentiments, but that he would give way if I were urgent with him, using more temperate language than he had done to the Cardinal; and on his commanding me to speak, I stated to him all those reasons in favour of the journey which I lately wrote to your Majesty as having moved me to incline towards his going, as well as those which there were for his promotion and which, as it appeared to me, it would be inexpedient to make public; and this I did without insisting upon his going. His Holiness let things rest there, and in the morning of the following day he sent for Allen, and told him that I and Caraffa had been so importunate about this journey and had given him such reasons for it that he could hold out no longer, but was resolved that it should take place; that he [Allen] was to go and tell me this at once; that he was to give him a memorandum of the despatches which would be wanted from him, and that all things were to be put in order for his departure. Moreover Cardinal Deza, whom I asked on going to the palace to tell his Holiness of the advices which I had received by way of Irun that the Armada had returned to Spain, was kept by him (as he tells me) for an hour, though his dinner was getting cold, while he gave him an account of what had passed the last few days, with the additions which are his wont, speaking at the same time in exaggerated terms of what an evil journey it was and how contrary to his will, nevertheless that he had commanded all things to be put in order for Allen's departure, and that as I wished it he would send him, and that he was to tell me so immediately; which he did yesterday when all this took place.

"I answered his Holiness this morning by the same Cardinal, who was going to the consistory, that if his Holiness was persuaded by the reasons which I had given him to approve of the journey, let him go with God's blessing; but that if he were moved to this decision by what he considered to be my importunities or any other like motive, and that he was sending him against his will, let him on no account go. His reply was that he had already said his say about the journey and that he had nothing more to add and that it was for me to choose: hence if nothing new occurs, the affair will be kept on foot until your Majesty sends me an answer to this letter, or I can judge from your reply to the first letters which I wrote on this subject what your Majesty thinks most advisable, for I dare not without some new light go against the stream and risk disturbance and evil behaviour on the part of his Holiness.

"In case Allen's journey is put off, Robert [Persons] will go, such being Allen's desire, for he has more authority and practical ability than any of the

others who are there, as I have already mentioned to your Majesty; and I am sending Don Juan de Ydiaquez by sea a copy of the cipher which they will use with me, that they may write to him in it and arrange the way of sending letters.

"I will write to the Duke of Parma that Allen has been detained, and I will try to put it in such a form that if your Majesty orders him to go, his detention may be cloaked, and his going may seem to be a continuation of the first movement, and I will send your Majesty a copy of what I shall write to the Duke on this head."

F. Persons goes to Spain.

The project of sending Cardinal Allen to Flanders was never carried out. He remained at Rome until his death. On the other hand "6 November, 1588, Father Persons went from Rome towards Spain (so Mr. Baines in his diary)"[1] where he lived until 1597. In the spring of that year he returned to Rome, and was soon afterwards appointed rector of the English College. During the winter of 1590-1591, while he was at Porto Santa Maria near Cadiz, he succeeded in converting to the catholic faith ninety-three English soldiers, who were serving as prisoners on board the royal galleys. It was with reference to them that on the 4th April, 1591, he wrote from Seville to Don Juan de Ydiaquez the following remarkable letter[2] regarding the treatment which the English catholics in general had always met with at the hands of the King's ministers, and the great impolicy of such conduct.

Conversion of ninety-three English prisoners.

The letter is headed thus:—"Copy of a letter to Don Juan de Idiaquez about the soldiers converted on 3 March, 1591," to which Father Christopher Grene, S.J., the transcriber, has added "copyed out of F. Persons owne wryting."

"Besides what I wrote some days ago about the conversion of the English in the galleys, I am again writing a few lines to his Majesty about the signs which there are that their conversion has been very genuine, and this for the reasons which your Lordship already knows or which I will tell you at my return; and though I am well aware that his Majesty will show you the letter itself, still I have wished to send a copy of it for greater security.

"As to the substance of the affair I have nothing to add to your Lordship, unless it be to tell you plainly, with that confidence which I commonly make bold to use towards you, that I have been amazed at the lukewarmness with which the willing submission of the English, which they have offered with so much love and such great danger and loss to themselves has been received.

"It will be a very good thing for them, so far as their temporal interests are concerned, to send them back to their own country, when their expected ransom arrives; and as to their spiritual welfare, I trust in God that wherever they go the greater part of them will always remain firm in the faith; which is the only thing which affects me, if I have had any share, and it is a very small one, in their conversion. But whether it will be better for his Majesty's service is a point which ought to be considered. Certainly I for my part feel sure that if our enemies had a like opportunity of doing honour to themselves and damaging us by means of our own people, they would not let it slip in this way, but would use it with the greatest diligence and ostentation.

Spanish distrust of the

"Most certain it is that to think it possible to get the upper hand in England without having a party within the realm is a great illusion, and to

[1] Father Christopher Grene's Note. Stonyhurst MSS., p. 179. [2] Infra, p. 329.

English prejudicial to the cause.

think to have this party without forming it and keeping it together is no less an illusion; nor is there any thing so opposed to the accomplishment of this as the distrust with which up to the present time the English, even those who are catholic, have been treated on all occasions: and I could relate these to your Lordship one by one, if what took place at the time of the Armada, when it was manifested before the whole world, did not suffice for all; since on that occasion, though his Majesty had more need then than ever to avail himself of his party, no account was made of it, nor was any confidence placed in any living person of the nation either within or without the realm, though there were many who could have given assistance and who had before then offered their lives to serve his Majesty.

"This was deeply felt by all the good men of the nation, as it seemed to them that their most faithful affection for his Majesty did not deserve to meet with a distrust so notorious to the whole world. It also gave them much pain to hear that some of his Majesty's principal ministers were in the habit of saying (and this I know to be the truth) that they did not understand there were any catholics in England, and that if any one should say that he was a catholic, they would be very cautious in believing him, and that if any should wish to be converted, they would not receive them without caution, etc.

"From this your Lordship sees what would have happened to the poor catholics, if the victory had been on our side; and this must necessarily have happened to them, not only because the ministers knew and loved them so little, but likewise and chiefly from the distrust in which they held all the good men of the nation, who could have enlightened them about the rest. And since God, as I take it, would not let His servants be thus outraged by our own people after they had suffered what they have suffered from the heretics, He let the expedition meet with the fate which we have seen; and I have no hope of any thing better, until means are used more proportioned to the holy end of the sincere reformation of that kingdom, which is the object aimed at, than those which were employed on that occasion; though there is no doubt of his Majesty's good intention.

"I write this to your Lordship on the occasion of the distrust which has been manifested about receiving into his Majesty's service the English who have been converted in the galleys, and I do not say it to prevent the question being very carefully considered from the point of view of security: on the contrary I desire this above all things; but at the same time I maintain that no credence should be given to those who, in order to appear prudent and careful, seek to raise doubts and suspicions about all strangers; for this is not always prudence or piety, but is often an infirmity and springs from ourselves and is the cause of great evils, especially of enmities; for where there is suspicion and distrust there is neither love nor fidelity, nor is there anything in the world so calculated to make men desperate as to be treated with distrust in return for good will, and the more universal or national this treatment is, so much the worse.

"As I have begun to speak on this subject, I will mention also this in particular. During the thirty years Elizabeth has reigned in England there have come to serve his Majesty in Flanders and elsewhere a great number of English catholics, who might have done great things and inflicted great injury on the Queen, and many of them were men of quality who lost what they possessed as a consequence

of joining this side, and others remained in England on the watch to follow them, if it should turn out well with them: but they have never met with confidence in any thing of importance, and so they have all in fact come to nothing, and this has been the case not only with individuals but with companies and regiments of soldiers also, and all through the little love for them and care on the part of the ministers to treat them well and maintain them; although indeed those who are of the party of our Morgan and Paget have sought to ascribe it to a higher source, namely, the distrust which his Majesty and all this nation entertain towards even the catholics of England—an opinion indeed which has been refuted by the Cardinal and others as your Lordship is partly aware, and which has been a very fountain of discord.

"I have written more on this head than I had thought to do, but not more than the importance of this affair of the converted English deserves; in regard to which, as it is a new case and one which has never happened before and is very notorious on all sides, great attention will be paid to what his Majesty will do in the matter; and if little account be made of them, your Lordship need not fear that others will follow their example, or that those who are in England will expect to be better treated when the Spaniards arrive there; and I take it that this alone will cause more distrust and despair in our friends there than any thing else which has happened up to the present time. May God guide all for the best.

"There is no need to write more on this subject in general, nor to weary your Lordship any more with additional papers, since those which we have written are more than enough. Your Lordship said to me in the Escurial that it would be either this year or never: and since we are already in the former and I see such a small amount of preparation, it makes me think that perhaps God wills the latter. May His will be done on earth as it is in heaven! One thing only I have to beg of your Lordship very earnestly: it is that, if his Majesty has no speedy employment for Colonel Stanley, leave be granted him to return to Flanders or France, where his Majesty may be pleased to find him some occupation: for this would be to give him life again and much consolation, while on the contrary to keep him here doing nothing is to put him to a thousand deaths. And since I am sure that to do this will be of service to his Majesty and will greatly content the good gentleman, who deserves it for his great fidelity to his Majesty, I renew my prayer to your Lordship that this be granted with all the urgency I can use in asking for it."

Cardinal Allen and the archbishoprick of Malines.

The suggestion which Count Olivares made to Philip II. in the autumn of 1588 to nominate Cardinal Allen to the bishoprick of St. Omer was not acted upon. It may however have led the King to think of presenting him to the more important, but far poorer, see of Malines, when that metropolitan church became vacant by the death of archbishop John Henchin or Hauchinus, 5 January, 1589. At any rate Philip II. addressed a letter to Pope Sixtus V. from Aranjuez, 10 November, 1589,[1] in which he presents and nominates "the very reverend father in Christ, our most dear friend, William Allen, an Englishman by nation, Cardinal of the holy Roman church," as a fit and proper person, to the vacant archbishoprick. A delay seems to have occurred in the delivery of this letter to the Pope, for at the beginning of the following year Allen though quite aware of the nomination had no official knowledge of it, as appears from his reply to the

[1] Infra, p. 436.

congratulations of the metropolitan chapter of Malines, Rome, 1 February, 1590.[1] Two days earlier he had alluded to his appointment in a letter to Lord Paget, who was then at Brussels.[2] From these letters it appears that the Pope had consented to his going, and that the only thing which made the Cardinal hesitate to accept the see was the state of temporal destitution in which it was then placed, without revenues and overloaded with debt. The Cardinal however was still ready to undertake the burden, if Philip II. would supply what was necessary to enable him to support fittingly the proffered dignity, but not otherwise. The spring and summer of 1590 may have easily passed away while this question was being discussed between the King and the Cardinal. On 27 August, 1590, Sixtus V. died, and after the thirteen days pontificate of Urban VII. Gregory XIV. was elected to succeed him on the Papal chair, 5 December, 1590. Cardinal Allen could not of course be absent from these two conclaves, and during this time the question of his acceptance of the see of Malines must have remained in abeyance. The following letter of Count Olivares to Philip II., 28 April, 1591,[3] carries on the history of the affair.

"I spoke to Cardinal Allen in conformity with your Majesty's commands about getting the bulls for the church of Malines and his going to reside there; and he not only appears ready to do what your Majesty may direct, but he shows a desire that his life may not come to an end without his having rendered some service to God in the dignity to which He has raised him, and to your Majesty for the favour you have bestowed on him; and he knows too that as he will be in a place where there is a garrison of Spaniards, he will be in no danger from the machinations which the Englishwoman may set on foot against his life. He only remarks that when he is there, where so many English will resort to him and where he must necessarily live with some degree of splendour, he ought to have larger means; for Malines, he supposes, is at the present time worth nothing, and what he has, with the 100 crowns a month which will cease when he leaves Rome,[4] though his style of living is narrow and pinched, has not been enough to allow of his buying cloth to hang his room nor a bed to sleep on, for the one he uses is mine, and with all this he owes some money, as I can also in part testify. He is at present very much occupied with the revision of the bible which Sixtus V. made, as he is one of the Cardinals to whom the Pope has referred the matter, and he is the one who has the best knowledge of the subject and is the stoutest in resisting changes. I believe that it will be finished this summer: at least brought into such a state that it can be sent to the universities for their opinion. Conformably with this and the profit which your Majesty considers will be derived from his presence at Malines, you will command what is most for your service."

Philip II. appears to have acquiesced in the suggestion of Olivares, and Cardinal Allen was allowed to remain quietly at Rome until the autumn of that year. On October 15 Gregory XIV. died, and his successor Innocent IX., who was elected on the 29th of the same month, followed him to the grave on December 30. Clement VIII. was chosen Pope on 30 January, 1592. Now at length it would seem that Cardinal Allen would be free to undertake the care of the church of Malines. But for some unexplained reasons, which probably a careful search at Simancas would unveil, the King ceased to press the dignity upon the

[1] Infra, p. 317. [2] Infra, p. 315. [3] Infra, p. 332. [4] Infra, p. 332, note.

Cardinal. On 30 March, 1593, Lævinus Torrentius, bishop of Antwerp, received a letter from Philip II. announcing to him his nomination to the archbishoprick of Malines.[1] Torrentius wrote, April 24,[2] to Cardinal Allen to tell him of what had taken place. The letter describes very vividly the destitute state of the see of Malines and the impossibility of his accepting the appointment, unless he were allowed to retain for a time the bishoprick of Antwerp, as administrator, and thus have the necessary means for his support. He has written, he says, to the King about it, and he asks the Cardinal to plead his cause with the Pope. The appointment of Torrentius to Malines made no quicker progress than Allen's had done, until at length the bishop heard to his great joy that the project of the Cardinal's nomination had been again taken up by the King, to be cut short however once more and for ever by Allen's death. One thing is evident that the Cardinal was never actually archbishop of Malines; much less received episcopal consecration to that see. Other points will doubtless be cleared up when the Spanish archives relating to that period have been more carefully examined and their contents brought to light.

Allen Cardinal of England.

The affair of the see of Malines, though without any direct bearing on Allen's political life, has sufficient points of contact with it through Philip II. to allow of its being treated by the way in this connexion. But to return to our immediate subject there were two reasons, as we have seen in documents already given, which chiefly moved Philip II. to recommend and Sixtus V. to promote Dr Allen to the dignity of Cardinal. The one was that he might in virtue of his exalted office act as the head of the English catholics, to whom all even the highest in birth and rank would not hesitate to bow as their guide, peacemaker and patron in their religious and political concerns, and especially in their relations with the Sovereign Pontiff: thus supplying what Mary Queen of Scots had been to them during her life and consoling them for her loss. The second reason was that he might act as Papal Legate in the enterprise of England and reorganise the English church and state on catholic principles, if the Armada should prove successful. The failure of the enterprise caused the second end of Allen's promotion to fall through; but there still remained in its first motive sufficient grounds to render his exaltation seasonable and necessary, and to justify to the full that honourable and exceptional title, which was bestowed on him both in Papal documents and common parlance, "the Cardinal of England."

It was no want of humility in Cardinal Allen, who had never sought honours but had been sought by them, that led him to form a very high conception of the dignity of Cardinal, quite apart from those adjuncts of princely birth, extraordinary learning or great wealth which in some cases, like the setting to the jewel, may enhance the lustre of the dignity but are not the dignity itself. It sprang rather from his lively faith which, recognising the incomparable majesty of Christ's Vicar as such, saw in the Cardinalate a participation and reflection of that supernatural majesty. Thus in his touching reply to the letter of congratulation which the cathedral chapter of Malines sent him on his nomination to that see[3] he tells them that he had not been "moved to accept the formidable burden of the pastoral office" by any desire for "an increase of dignity, since (as you know) I though unworthy have had a greater dignity conferred on me than can

[1] See for this whole affair the Historical Introduction to the *First and Second Douay Diaries*, pp. lxxxvi.—lxxxix.

[2] Infra, p. 347.

[3] Infra, p. 317.

receive any increment even from this title [of your archbishop]." The whole of Cardinal Allen's letter to Mr. Thomas Throgmorton[1] may be referred to as bringing into relief his sense of the high position to which he had been raised: but the two following passages in it are especially noteworthy. "This I say is your error, that you suppose the things spoken, attempted and done by Morgan and his faction against me not to be done against the common cause and the service of God, the church and our country; all which you might well think if I were a private person and not a public, not only in respect of the place where I am, but in respect of all Christendom besides and of all persons whomsoever that count themselves subject to the See Apostolic. And I think yourself would not deny but that contumelious, disordered and seditious speeches against the Council or any of the councillors of England were punishable as offences done against the public."[2] And again: "When it pleased God of His Providence to induce the Pope and King to put me in this place, for Morgan and his faction to be so bold to address a special messenger, the poor unfortunate prior of the Carthusians, under pretence of other businesses of his order and house, to deal openly with his Majesty against me and under pretence of either my insufficiency or ill dealing in the common affairs to make supplica that another might be exalted to the like dignity and opposed against me and my doings and followers, was not this a matter of comely quality or can it be otherwise accounted than a plain treason against the common cause."[3] And so too in a fragment of a letter of the Cardinal to Mr. Charles Paget he says: "Whereof [viz., our common cause] you must needs give me leave to be the leader, because so it hath pleased God, his Holiness and his Majesty to account me, and not for my own private, but for the advancement of that service, have put me in this room. Whereby it followeth that all those that seditiously conspire my disgrace do band themselves directly and traitorously against the good of their country and against the service of the highest Princes in Christendom, by whom only we expect succour and relief for our so unfortunate state."[4]

Such was Cardinal Allen's conception of the dignity to which he had been raised; and he used his position not to advance himself or his family to power or wealth, but for the good of his countrymen, especially through the return of England to the unity of Christendom. This was the one lifelong object of his labours. It was in this hope that he lived and worked, and it was in this hope that he died.

Cardinal Allen's death.

Cardinal Allen's death took place at Rome, 16 October, 1594. The Duke of Sesa, who succeeded Count Olivares as Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, has left an interesting account of the Cardinal's last moments in the following letter to Philip II., 24 October, 1594.[5]

"Cardinal Allen died on the 16th instant as I have already sent word. His illness was a retention of water which lasted some fifteen days, during which time he was always himself, and he has left behind a great example of patience and conformity to God's will. His Holiness sent Diego del Campo, his private chamberlain, to visit him several times in his name, and he made him a present of 500 gold crowns for the doctors, as he knew that he was in great need: and it is known for certain that the Cardinal in returning many thanks to his Holiness

[1] Infra, p. 320 sq. [2] Infra, p. 326. [3] Infra, p. 327.
[4] Infra, p. 319. [5] Infra, p. 362.

for this favour and all the others which he had received from him told Diego that if he should be found worthy to see God he would repay the debt there by praying for his Holiness, but that in this world he knew not how to satisfy his obligation except by reminding his Holiness to look well how he trusted heretics and their promises and to take care he was not deceived; that he himself was now anointed and was expecting death from hour to hour, so that his Holiness might be sure that no human end had moved him to send his Holiness this reminder but only the pure service of God and of his Holiness, and the long experience he had had of the deceits of the heretics. I visited him several times during the course of his illness, and two or three days before his death, when the doctors had quite given him up, he spoke to me alone with great tenderness, saying that what he felt most was that he had come to the end of his life without having been able to fulfil the desire which your Majesty had shown of sending him to Flanders, where perhaps he might have been of some use in helping the good catholics, whom, though he knew it was unnecessary to recommend them to your Majesty, since you were so careful to protect them, he yet begged me to beseech your Majesty not to abandon; for that he was dying in full confidence that by means of your Majesty's crown that kingdom would one day be reconverted to the obedience of the Holy See; and among other things by which he has shown this confidence which he feels, he has left by will certain chasubles of small value which he had in his chapel to the parish church where he was born, when the people should become catholics, and that meanwhile they were to be kept in the chapel of the English college here, in which he ordered that he should be buried.

"He further said to me that he besought your Majesty to forgive him the faults into which he had fallen in your service; for after God and the Holy See he was under greater obligations to your Majesty than to any one else; and that if God in His mercy should receive him into glory he would endeavour to make up there for what he had not been able to do here by praying for your Majesty's salvation and the preservation of your royal crown.

"What most grieved him was to die in debt and he therefore humbly besought your Majesty to be pleased to bestow upon his heirs the four thousand ducats which had been assigned for his journey to Flanders, with which and with what could be obtained for the few objects of value in his house he thought that his debt could be paid, as the bishop of Cassano, one of the executors, would explain to me in greater detail.

"That he also commended to your Majesty his relations and English servants; as the few whom he had been able to receive into his house were persons who have suffered for the catholic religion, and some of them of quality. I send your Majesty herewith a memorandum of them and their abilities and also the substance of what is in his will and an account of his debts and a letter which he caused to be written to your Majesty on the day of his death and which, as he was unable to sign it, he asked the bishop of Cassano to sign in his name.

"He transferred in his lifetime, in virtue of faculties from his Holiness, to a nephew, an ecclesiastic whom he had in his house, his sister's son, Thomas Hesketh by name, 700 crowns of pension on Pavia which Gregory XIV. gave him, and his Holiness has also bestowed on him the abbey of Sta. Maria of Capua, the nomination to which falls this time to the Duke of Trayetto, but the Pope claims the appointment as belonging to the Holy See, owing to the Cardinal having died in

the court of Rome, since only benefices of royal patronage are exempted from this reservation. Nevertheless there will be a lawsuit, and according to an account which the said nephew has shown me, the value of the abbey one year with another does not reach 1,500 Neapolitan ducats, and the charges and pensions upon it are more than 1,200 ducats, so that it has never been worth to him more than 300 ducats net, and the said nephew has nothing else besides what has been mentioned.

"His brother Gabriel, for he has no other living now, and he is here present and has been left his heir, that he may take care to satisfy his creditors, has had assigned to him by his Holiness an entertainment here in Rome of 25 crowns a month. He has another entertainment from your Majesty in Flanders of 40 crowns a month, but he says that many payments are due to him, and therefore as he could not support himself in Flanders from not having anything else, he was obliged to come to his brother's house about a year ago, and as he is a man advanced in years and a bachelor, for he has never married, he wishes to stay here to live in greater quiet and enjoy the favour bestowed on him by his Holiness, if your Majesty would be pleased to order that the pension on Flanders be paid here and also the sums still due to him, and I understand that if this were granted him he would be quite content, as he asks for no more than to carry out his brother's will and to pass his life in quiet.

"There is another relation, a priest, who served him as chamberlain, Richard Haddock by name, who is said to be a learned and virtuous man and he is left without anything. The Cardinal particularly recommended him to me after his brother and nephew, and I consider him a man worthy of being nominated to some moderately endowed church in Naples.

"There seems no reason why I should keep back from your Majesty almost the last words which the Cardinal spoke:—that the greatest pain he suffered was to see that after God had given him the grace that by his persuasions so many had borne imprisonments, persecutions and martyrdom in England, he had deserved by his sins to end his life on that bed. His death was much felt by his Holiness and all the college, for he was always much beloved, and his virtue and good parts well known. May God give him heaven, and preserve the catholic person of your Majesty."

The following petition[1] addressed to Philip II. by F. Joseph Creswell, S.J., on behalf of Cardinal Allen's relations will illustrate the Duke of Sesa's letter.

"The relations of Cardinal Allen pray his Majesty to grant them the 4,000 crowns assigned to the Cardinal for his journey to Flanders, since they can in no other way pay the debts and fulfil the testamentary directions of the said Cardinal.

"They also pray his Majesty to be pleased to continue the grant which he has made for several years past to the widow Elizabeth Allen, the Cardinal's sister-in-law, of eighty ducats a month in Flanders to support her and her children, and that he will order it to be charged upon some fixed revenue. Also that his Majesty be pleased to transfer to Rome or Naples in favour of Gabriel Allen, brother of the Cardinal, the entertainment of 40 ducats a month which he gives him in Flanders.

"Also that his Majesty order some provision to be made for the support of Richard Haddock, priest, a relation of the Cardinal,[2] who is left destitute by the Cardinal's death.

[1] Infra, p. 371. [2] Infra, p. 371, note 2.

"If his Majesty is pleased to bestow upon them the 4,000 crowns, they can assign 2,000 crowns for the dower of the two nuns, nieces of the Cardinal, and 2,000 crowns for the dower of the third, who is about to marry, and in this way they will receive this favour immediately from his Majesty, and at the same time the Cardinal's testamentary dispositions will be accomplished.

"After the Cardinal's death, the Pope has granted Gabriel Allen, brother of the Cardinal, 25 ducats of entertainment a month.

"I have already given your Lordship[1] a special memorandum for Roger Baynes, who was the Cardinal's secretary and steward, and who desires to enter his Majesty's service."

There are several other documents relating to the family and servants of Allen, which, as they are in Latin or Italian, I have thought it unnecessary to translate. In Allen's correspondence with F. Agazzari, S.J., rector of the English college at Rome, he more than once mentions "his kinsman, William Hawkesworth," at that time a student in the college. He was Allen's first cousin; for Allen's mother, Jane Lister, was sister of Rosamond Lister who married William Hawkesworth of Hawkesworth, whose second son is the William Hawkesworth of Allen's letters. William Hawkesworth, the father, was alive in 1585. Jane and Rosamond Lister were daughters of Thomas Lister of Westby. I am indebted for this information to the Reverend Thomas E. Gibson of Southport, Lancashire, who refers to Glover's Visitations of Yorkshire.

I may take this opportunity of mentioning that Dr Allen's prebend in Cambray cathedral was the twelfth, *pro medico seu pro clerico, saltem subdiacono, in medicina graduato, ad collationem capituli.* Allen was admitted (presumably by proxy, as he was then in Rome) 18 May, 1576, *cum dispensatione de defectu qualitatis medicinalis.* On his promotion to the cardinalate he was succeeded in this prebend by Thomas Bailey *cum dispensatione Apostolica super defectu qualitatis medicinalis,* 6 *Sept.*, 1588. These facts were kindly supplied to me by M. l'abbé Dancoisne of Lille.

In concluding this Introduction, which has already reached an unanticipated length, I may be allowed to remind the reader that my object has not been to defend, as an advocate might, the wisdom and prudence of every one of the acts of Allen's political life. What I have endeavoured to do is to show that on the whole they flowed naturally from the principles current in his day, from the zeal for God's glory and the salvation of souls which consumed him, and from obedience to those who had a right to command and direct him, especially to the Vicar of Christ. He may in some of his works, such as the letter in defence of Sir William Stanley, have pushed true principles to extreme conclusions and have been too unsparing in his condemnation of certain acts or omissions as plain mortal sins; or he may have used language in his "Admonition" which might have been softened to advantage. But do we not sometimes, even at this present time, when a varnish of cultivation makes the strong language of former days distasteful, hear things said at seasons of popular excitement, at meetings in preparation for elections, in parliament itself, which those who say them must feel to be exaggerated, and yet defend on the ground of the necessity of speaking plainly about an antagonist's shortcomings. They say, Do not make too much of our words; look at our acts; judge us by our policy in the main; by it we are ready to stand

[1] Infra, p. 371, note 3.

or fall in the opinion of our countrymen. If this plea is fair, may it not be urged, if necessary, on Allen's behalf? If the plea is sound with reference to the present time, is it not sound also in reference to the past? Not indeed that there is much necessity for urging it. There was nothing bitter or sarcastic in Allen's spirit. If there had been, he could not have failed to raise up against himself many personal enemies. But he had none, and even those who politically opposed him did not withhold from him the tribute of their esteem and even affection. All then that I ask on his behalf is that he may be judged by the policy which he pursued, the principles on which he acted and the means which he used to carry those principles into execution.

There is another point to which before concluding I would earnestly call the reader's attention. The political life of Allen, to which alone this Introduction has been devoted, was only one phase, and not the most important of his manifold and many-sided activity. The success denied him in his political undertakings was granted to him abundantly in his missionary work. He had not the happiness of seeing England as a kingdom brought back to the unity of Christendom by the arms of Spain, but none the less innumerable souls were restored to the catholic faith by his labours and the toils and blood of his disciples. Allen in the college which he founded and governed, Allen as a theologian and controversialist, Allen as Cardinal taking part in the government of the universal church, Allen as the father and harbour of refuge to his exiled countrymen, Allen as another Moses guiding, bearing with and encouraging the people of God who had left the Egyptian darkness of heresy and were journeying through the desert to the promised land—all these are pictures as true and real as that of Allen urging Pope Sixtus V. and Philip II. of Spain to the enterprise of England, and ready to undertake the work, which God seemed at one time about to lay upon him, of regrafting his beloved country into the unity of Christendom. All these phases of his life must be studied with equal care, if we would understand his character and work; for they are all manifestations of one spirit and exhibit under various forms that burning zeal for God's glory and the salvation of souls which never permitted him to rest. "The quarrel is God's," he wrote to Prior Chauncy in 1577, "and but for His holy glory and honour I might sleep at ease and let the world wag and other men work."[1] And when at length the hour was come for him to rest from his labours and he lay dying, "his greatest pain," he said, "was to see that whereas God had given him grace to persuade so many to suffer prison, persecution and martyrdom in England, his sins had merited for him to end his life on that bed."[2]

[1] Infra, p. 37. [2] Infra, p. 364.

LETTERS AND MEMORIALS

OF

CARDINAL ALLEN.

LETTERS AND MEMORIALS

OF

CARDINAL ALLEN.

Nicolai Fizerberti de Alani Cardinalis vita libellus.

Printed at Rome, 1608.

AGEBATUR annus a partu Virginis salutari sesquimillesimus trigesimus secundus cum hæretica labes tanquam procella ac pestis sanam Christi doctrinam fidemque Romanam, singulari Anglorum fide receptam parique mille et amplius annorum constantia et pietate confirmatam, in Anglia primum invasit perniciosissimisque erroribus inquinavit. Eodem ipso anno in Lancastrensi provincia Angliæ nobilissima Gulielmus Alanus, veluti desponsus jam a Deo ac destinatus tum antiquæ religionis defensor tum novarum opinionum oppugnator acerrimus, ejusdem benignitate propitia et evidenti in lucem editus est. Alanus nascitur.

Patrem habuit Joannem Alanum, et suæ familiæ honestate et sanguinis affinitatisque cum primariis illius provinciæ familiis conjunctione nobilem. Matrem vero Joannam Listeram, Eboracensi regione oriundam, ingentis virtutis fæminam et quæ multas et claras cognationes in Alanam gentem traduxit. Parentes ejus.

Sub horum disciplina et paterna cura, modestiæ pudoris cæterarumque virtutum ejusmodi semina sparsa feliciter excepit ut in omni reliqua vita eorum fructus ediderit uberrimos atque plenissimos. Grammaticæ et humanarum artium tyrocinia prima posuit sub publico quodam illius provinciæ magistro tanta alacritate felicitateque ut suorum æqualium studia ingenio industriaque multum superaverit.

Hac indole atque hac discendi continua progressione cum decimum quintum explevisset annum ad Oxoniense gymnasium a patre deducitur; in quo a domesticis impedimentis et materna indulgentia liberior relictus solutiori animo in libris ac literis totus delitescit. Non enim communi adolescentium more majorem vivendi libertatem ad otium, ineptias, voluptatem licenter contulit; sed magistris Oxoniam adit.

obedire, collegii in quo erat disciplinam exacte servare, in scholis disputationibus omnique exercitatione literaria assiduum ac diligentem exhibere se, a quovis discere aut quemvis docere haud se indignum reputare, operosum denique semper, numquam otiosum esse, id ei curæ et cordi ante omnia fuit. Quibus sane studiis ac vitæ instituto non juvenile tantum et ad vitia lubricum, sed etiam reliquæ ætatis tempus omne a casu et prolapsione tutum conservavit. Quamvis enim illi nec in pulchri corporis forma externæ deerant, nec in primo ætatis flore ac robore internæ deesse poterant seu blandæ voluptatum libidinumque illecebræ seu acres gloriæ stimuli honorumque cupiditates; his tamen omnibus ita restitit ut nec illis expugnari adolescentia ejus nec his perturbari et suo pelli loco animi constantia potuerit. Verumtamen ad hoc tam divinum beneficium assequendum non ea tantum quæ diximus, sed hæc etiam permagno fuere adjumento, naturæ nimirum suæ bonitas, præceptoris Morgani viri maxime catholici cura diligens, demum cultura Oxoniensis academiæ, quam erat adeptus studiorum magistram, a pravarum opinionum morumque corruptela adhuc ferme intactam.

Postea vero quam rei literariæ ac præcipue philosophiæ studiis summa contentione ardoreque animi septem ipsos annos (tot enim illius academiæ institutum ad philosophiæ totius cursum conficiendum præscribit) insudasset, magister artium declaratur, honoremque illum sibi a reliquis delatum percipit ut logicam philosophiamque publice interpretaretur. Nec multo deinde post academiæ procurator est electus. Duo quidem sunt pari potestate et gradu qui ad magistratum hunc singulis annis assumi solent; estque hic magistratus secundum procancellariatum in illa academia summus, nec quæstuosus minus quam honoratus; ut magis mirum videri possit in tam florenti tunc academia bis Alanum perbrevi temporis intervallo communi reliquorum (ut assolet) voce ad hunc honorem fuisse vocatum.

Fit magister artium.

Procurator academiæ.

Secutum illud tempus est quo Elisabetha regina in solio Angliæ collocata et de mutanda religione cogitans edicto sanxerat ut e clero omnes, ex academicis illi qui vel munere publico fungerentur vel lauream ambirent scholæ conceptis verbis jusjurandum darent, se non alium quam reginam Anglicanæ ecclesiæ principem et caput habituros. Procella hæc Alanum Oxonio statim, mox etiam Anglia expulit. Nam cum, ubi Alanus esset, ibi nunquam prætermitteret aut eos confirmare qui in catholica majorum fide adhuc permanebant, aut illos qui desciverant revocare atque ab hæresi avertere, tantum ac tam vehemens magistratuum odium in se commovit ut fuga sibi prospicere fuerit coactus. Etenim altius in eorum animos hæc Alani audacia penetravit; non enim has cogitationes suas privatas esse, non ad paucos extendi. Quid relictum Principi si privatus religiones præfiniat? Si edictis publicis sua consilia præferat? Quid alios deinceps facturos, si ab ipso initio talia primus audeat Alanus? Reprimendam quam primum istam confidentiam; quæ si inulta relinquatur, brevi apud populum potiora fore unius temerarii

Oxoniam relinquit.

Fugit ex Anglia.

dogmata ac præceptiones quam jura jussaque regum ac magistratuum, atque majorem vim habituras paucorum conspirationes ad regiam religionem evertendam quam totius reipublicæ potestatem ad eandem stabiliendam retinendamque. Secessit autem Alanus Lovanium, nobile et celeberrimum cæterarum artium sed theologiæ in primis gymnasium, quodque quam multorum tunc Anglorum qui se ex illis turbinibus ac religionis naufragio jam eripuerant (in quibus Sanderus, Hardingus, Dormanus, Rastaldus et alii) gratum erat receptaculum et sub tutela maximi Catholici Regis portus tutissimus.

Dum illic hæret, partim sua sponte partim provocatus aliorum exemplo qui per id tempus multa scripsere præclare de rebus controversis et maxime contra Juellium Anglorum hæreticorum antesignanum, librum confecit de Purgatorio, lingua (ut alii) patria, sed ea doctrinæ et eloquentiæ laude conscriptum ut permagnam inde nominis famam et apud omnes æstimationem sibi collegerit. Scribit de Purgatorio.

Per eos dies nobilis quidam juvenis[1] Anglus, qui Alani curæ concreditus Lovanii erat, corpore paulatim diffluente extabescebat. Cui dum assiduus in omni officio persolvendo adstaret, eadem prorsus tabe, latenter quidem ab initio (erat enim viribus satis firmis optimaque corporis habitudine) non leviter tamen ut mox apparuit inficiebatur. Attractum enim virus adeo in medullis visceribusque implicatum insidebat ut, præterquam quod morbum illi nullo temporis cursu sanabilem attulerit, præsens omne medicamentum ita sit aspernatum ut celerem mortem allaturum se minaretur, nisi effugium aliquod aut longior mora a nativa cœli solique bonitate impetrari forte potuisset. Itaque medicorum consiliis obsecutus Alanus atque in Angliam reversus tam diu apud suos, ignotus quidem at non inutilis, latitavit donec recedente vi morbi plurimumque imminuta comperisset meliuscule habere se et ad labores sustentandos esse firmiorem. Etenim cum perniciosa quædam opinio in nonnullorum catholicorum mentes irrepsisset (ut sunt perfaciles homines ad ea credenda et amplectenda quæ magnopere cupiant et commodis suis convenire arbitrentur) qua persuasum erat illis, in præcipuo hoc suo metu tantoque rerum ac vitæ proposito periculo, licere sibi ad hæreticorum conciones atque conventus sine graviori piaculo et ab ecclesia catholica dissidio accedere aliquoties; Alanus vero e contra non solum adventantes ad se intra domesticos parietes, verum postquam exire domo per valetudinem ei licuit etiam quoslibet conventos hortari vehementer et multis rationibus docere pergit tantam esse criminis hujusce atrocitatem ut qui se eo contaminaverit nulla ratione manere in catholica communione possit. Quocirca ob liberatos hoc modo in Lancastriæ provincia ejusque confiniis quam plurimos ab hæreticorum coitionibus et ab hac capitali opinione tantum illic malorum incurrit odium ut ad aliam provinciam ab ea longe disjunctam quam primum demigrare sit coactus. Nec tamen ideo destitit incepto: nam et domum in qua Tabe laborat. Ab ecclesiis hæreticorum avertit multos.

[1] Christopher Blount.

mansit totam tenuit in officio, et sæpius in Oxoniensem non procul positam excurrens academiam statim ibi non paucos, plures reliquo tempore, a stipendiis hæreticorum ad Christi signa agnoscenda sequendaque traduxit.

Scribit de Sacerdotio et de Indulgentiis.

Interim vero in hac quiete ac secessu libros duos de Sacerdotio et de Indulgentiis ad scrupulos omnes ex quorumdam animis evellendos anglice composuit. Sunt enim plerique in cæteris sane non male affecti qui tamen in similibus quibusdam catholicæ doctrinæ mysteriis ita hærent anxii atque incerti, curiositatene quadam an obstinatione sententiæ suæ dum plus sapere volunt quam sapere concessum est, ut donec tenuissimus de his scrupulus in eorum animis resideat a reliquis pariter omnem cohibeant assensum.

Translatus deinceps Alanus in Norfolciensem provinciam haud frustra in illius Ducis domo ipsa atque vicinia laboravit. Nam ad Romanam ecclesiam aliquos adjunxit, atque ut plures una eademque adjungeret opera summam quandam perbrevem rationum collegit literisque mandavit, quibus et hæreseos vanitatem ac fidei catholicæ præstantiam ac firmitudinem ante omnium qui videre vellent oculos clarissime proposuit. Rationes istæ mox late sparsæ eo quod brevissimæ, omnium manibus tritæ quia facillimæ et apertissimæ, valde in Calvinianismi damnum eo quod firmissimæ, tanta indignatione et stomacho eos qui cum imperio erant cumulaverant ut præsenti eorum iracundiæ Alanum cedere et perceleri abitu non sibi solum sed multo magis aliis quam plurimis consulere visum sit omnibus consultissimum.

Colligit breves de fide catholica rationes.

Rursus deserit Angliam divina tectus manu.

Decedit igitur ille, sed ut non sine fructu, sic cum divinæ in eo tuendo misericordiæ præclarissimo documento. Nam per eos dies quibus navis expectandæ ei fuerat, in Oxoniam excurrit, atque æqualem ibi quondam suum ab hæreticorum societate et suggestu abstractum ecclesiæ catholicæ restituit; dumque eum secum conatur abducere, adeo parentum ejus animos (magis de sui commodi spe et inani filii gloriola quam de salute solicitos) offendit ut quo filii profectionem impedirent Alano ipsi insidias tendere minime dubitaverint. In quas certe non incidisset tantum, quin et inhæsisset, nisi divina benignitas tales tenebras ei cui Alani capiendi cura fuerat commissa offudisset, ut quamvis ille Alanum optime nosse sibi videretur, in eandemque cum ipso cœnam tunc incidisset, mirum tamen dictu, contuitur sæpius sæpiusque alloquitur et eum nihilominus tamen tanquam ignotum abire a se patitur.

Romam adit.

Post triennium in Belgium reversus sacrisque sacerdotalibus initiatus in cœnobio quodam Mechliniensi (hæc civitas metropolis est Flandriæ) theologiam interpretatur. Quo munere postquam functus aliquandiu esset, cepissetque jam hominem nonnulla cupiditas videndi Romam, audita doctoris Vendivilii (tunc regii professoris Duaci, post Turnacensis episcopi et consilii regii præsidis) profectione, ei se socium viæ adjunxit. Petebat hoc tempore Vendivilius Romam ut suas quasdam de infidelibus ad Christum convertendis cogitationes cum Pio

Quinto Summo Pontifice communicaret. Cujus mentem cum inani conatu, propter graviora quæ illi in manibus erant negotia, per totam hyemem tentasset, cumque Alanus insimul viæ tædio et infirma corporis habitudine defatigatus quiescendi commorandique locum Romæ frustra quæsivisset; ineunte vere una ambo de reversione cogitant, seseque ad eam cæteris omnibus in præsens omissis comparant atque accingunt.

Commoto autem gravius pro eo quo erat zelo Vendivilio quam ut se continere potuerit, conqueritur inter eundum quod tam piis postulationibus suis tam pii Pontificis aures non patuissent, seque paulatim interim totum Alano aperit. Alanus autem virum bonum non modo pluribus verbis delinivit, sed vehementer etiam excitavit. Nam quando nos Christi charitatisque lege arctiori vinculo astringimur nostris quam alienis, vicinis quam remotioribus, Christianis quam ethnicis; quando etiam commodius utiliusque opera nostra poni potest in iis ab hæresi reducendis quibuscum patriæ, linguæ, morum societatem habemus quam in illis informandis qui longe gentium absunt nec ulla nos peculiari communione attingunt; magnopere illi auctor erat et hortator Alanus ut quas de infidelium conversione cogitationes, altas sane illas valdeque difficiles, concepisset, eas ad suorum vicinorumque populorum salutem, multo certe faciliores et charitatis fructu uberiores, converteret. Atque infusa profecto in Alani mentem cogitatio ista ab ipso cœlo fuisse videtur. Nam tantam vim habuit apud Vendivilium hæc illius oratio et ad tristitiam mitigandam et ad consilium approbandum amplectendumque, ut plurima inde bona in Flandriam Holandiam cæterasque vicinas provincias derivata sint: atque ipsa quidem Anglia quicquid nunc pene habeat in se sementis catholicæ id omne huic Alani consilio ferre acceptum debeat. Nunquam enim, quoad vixit, prætermisit Vendivilius conari, movere omnia ad catholicæ fidei conservationem et in toto Belgio augmentum. Neque Duacum reversus quievit ante quam Alanum illuc ad se vocatum et in doctorum numerum adscriptum honorifico ac regio stipendio augendum curasset; insuper ad Anglorum seminarium illic fundandum, confirmandum, amplificandum omne illi adjumentum ac præsidium non modo in præsens sed in posterum quoque tempus attulisset et procurasset.

Solatur Vendivilium.

Utilitas consilii Alani.

Appulsus Alanus in optatum a se diu quietis ac studii portum primos stipendii sui proventus conferens in futuri seminarii quod animo conceperat usum, domum satis spaciosam et quæ plurimos capere posset conduxit. Quæ res admirationem illam quam ab initio moverat tum facere desiit cum ex Lovanio aliisque citimis locis nonnulli ab Alano evocati in eam domum tanquam parvum aliquod collegium acciperentur. Ex his autem qui primi ad ipsum commigrarunt aliqui erant ipso non minores opinione, certe ætate et canis superiores; et tamen hi omnes proprio judicio suo, impellente nemine, se sub auctoritatem adeoque imperium ejus non gravate subjecerunt; grande documentum hoc facto exhi-

Incboat seminarium Duaci.

bentes tum submissionis ac modestiæ suæ, tum judicii singularis quod de Alani integritate prudentia suavitateque faciebant.

Impedimenta removit.

His sociis jecit Duaci prima nascentis seminarii sui fundamenta, at non sine multa difficultate: operosa enim esse solent magnarum rerum initia. Itaque nisi ipso ab initio multa ille ratione atque prudentia sua et his satisfecisset quos inceptí magnitudo ac difficultas deterrebat et illorum placasset animos qui suis rationibus non leve damnum illatum iri per seminarium suspicabantur, inanis et cassus labor ejus ac studium omne extitisset. Lætus ergo ille valdeque erectus initii hujusce tam felici eventu, multo nunc magis de aggreganda multitudine quam de pecuniarum proventibus erat solicitus. Qui quidem etiam si id temporis essent valde exigui vel verius nulli, utpote quos ipse aut ex sua mercede non ita magna conferre aut a quorundam bonorum virorum moderatis eleemosynis colligere poterat, nefas tamen sibi duxit pertimere ne ad vitam necessaria defutura essent his quos in sanctissima causa divinum plane consilium spontaneaque voluntas unum in locum et in communem vitæ consuetudinem congregasset.

Pulchrum initium seminarii.

Ad primam erecti seminarii vocem quæ late per Anglian mox intonuerat permulti ex utraque academia, indole ac genere clari, quasi ex torpore et diuturno somno sunt excitati; qui non ita multo post non solum famæ constantia confirmati, sed multo magis secretis Alani literis inflammati et invitati Duacum absque mora frequentes advolarunt. Hos ille omnes mira susceptos alacritate tanta cura charitateque perpetuo prosecutus est, ut non pater indulgentior in amplectendis filiis, non magister diligentior in informandis discipulis, non necessarius benevolentior in omni officio persolvendo esse potuerit. In gubernandi vero ratione ea semper utebatur æquitate ut vita singulos non affectu, meritis non privato officio metiretur; ea itidem prudentia ut in tanta humana fragilitate æque erranti aliquando veniam ac recte agenti gratiam ac laudem habuerit propositam. Etenim cum errata illa quæ in tam sanctum cœtum ut plurimum irrepunt levissima esse soleant, hæc fere ille non tam animadversione digna quam silentio judicavit; ne videlicet qui per tot incommoda ac difficultates, contradicente semper magistratu ipsisque invitis plerumque parentibus, se ad ejus fidem disciplinamque contulissent, ideoque omni illecebra et humanitatis incitamento animandi essent et alliciendi, hi majoris cujusdam severitatis molestiis et novis incommodis impositis aut omnino deterrerentur aut languidiores tardioresque efficerentur. Atque illi rursum quamvis genere erant dissimiles, ætate varii, impares conditione, tamen ita fuerant in se invicem animati, ita Alano addicti, debiti, obstricti universi, ut in eo per omnem reliquam vitam colendo, observando, amando vel obsequentissimi cujusque studium vel piissimi officium æquarint certe aut superarint. Dum enim eorum unusquisque tanti seipsum facit quanti ab Alano æquo judice se æstimatum videt, dum illius voluntatem servat pro lege, ad illius præscriptum libens gaudensque se totum conformat, quemadmodum rarissime

a quoquam peccatum est sic leviter semper et aut cum minima aut nulla offensione. Nam apud hos et in hoc seminario, moderante Alano, solius pudoris et conscientiæ vinculum id perfecit quod vix alibi et apud alios vim et coercitionem, parietum septa, jussa ac vetita magistrorum, multorum manus et oculos præstare posse videmus.

Sic positis firmissimis seminarii fundamentis, Summo Pontifice ascito auctore et Philippo Catholico Rege mæcenate, ut in cujus ditione esset ejus præcipue patrocinio niteretur, eam dabat operam sedulam Alanus ut ea caveret omnia quæ obesse, ea adhiberet quæ prodesse illius rationibus possent. Modus gubernandi seminarium.

Pacis ac concordiæ inter suos tam serio amicus fuit ut nil pejus oderit quam factiones ac partes. Delatoribus aures adeo non præbuit ut eorum accusationes raro ac molestissime audiret; quin et eos ipsos, tanquam violatores christianæ charitatis ac potissimos turbarum omnium ac dissensionum in societate communi administros et architectos, odio haberet singulari.

Quæ ad pietatem et mores et studia pertinebant ea omnia optime ac valde salutariter habebat constituta. Singuli dies suas horas precum statas; singulæ hebdomadæ jejunium duplex; festi dies et dominici omnes confessionem, communionem, concionem denique certam habebant constituta.

Doctores divinæ legis varii, etiam philosophiæ, immo vero et aliarum scientiarum (nam ratio omnium habebatur) præterea græcæ et hebraicæ linguæ audiebantur quotidie.

Disputationes atque aliæ literariæ exercitationes publice et e superiori loco et inter mensas et privato examine habebantur assidue; nam nec minimum quidem temporis abibat inutiliter.

Sacrorum autem Bibliorum lectio tam frequens erat et continua sine intermissione ut integrum utrumque Testamentum, Vetus duodecies, Novum decies et sexies, triennii ferme spacio sit decursum. Reliquorum vero scripta quæ ad historiam resque ecclesiasticas pertinent quæque contra hæresim aut pro ecclesia faciunt, puta Bedæ, Waldensis, Augustini contra Donatistas, Cypriani de Unitate ecclesiæ, Hieronymi in Vigilantium et Jovinianum aliorumque similium privatim ac diligenter legendo conterebantur.

Et quia ad Anglicanæ vineæ culturam nom tantum exactior illa subtiliorque doctrina, sed plus eo scripturarum controversiarumque intelligentia perfectaque cognitio, etiam charitas et zelus domus Dei, demum prudentia ac probata vitæ consuetudo proficiebant; multum in omnes partes Alani sermones valebant, cum ad fraudes hæreticorum detegendas ac veritatem manifestandam, tum ad præproperos revocandos segnioresque incitandos, denique ad virtutis amorem inserendum, aut funditus econtra extirpandum quicquid speciem habere mali in quoquam videretur. Comparabat ille aliquando inter se nostram catholicam cum illorum hæretica ecclesia; quam illa plena majestatis, quam hæc expers omnis dignitatis;

quam in illa eluceat cæremoniarum splendor, sacramentorum præstantia, divinitas sacrificii, quam in hac econtrario conspiciatur umbra sine sacramento, secta sine sacrificio, sola fides sine opere, ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ ratio sine decoro. Addidit adhuc ad reddendos adolescentes animosiores Anglicanam gentem maximam olim, nunc prope nullam religionis habere rationem; olim ecclesias ut frequentissime sic sanctissime ab omnibus adiri, nunc raro et a paucis, idque non pietatis zelo sed sæpius aut vi aut metu aut vanitate aut consuetudine; olim adhiberi pastores doctissimos, castissimos, vigilantissimos, nunc ferme imperitos, sordidos, sensus ac libidinum servos; ecclesias, monasteria, sanctorum quondam domicilia et majestate ornatuque veneranda, nunc deformata et omnibus ornamentis spoliata in lustra et popinas converti; et vincula illa carceresque facinorosis ac furibus destinata nunc sacerdotum custodiis innocentiumque suppliciis desponderi.

Doctiores ex Anglia avocat.

Excurrunt deinde in Angliam intimam alii Alani conatus. Nam nobiles viros literis lacessit et ad catholicæ fidei studium impellit; doctiores ad se elicit et invitat; indoctos corrigit instruitque; postremo ut quoscumque absentes quibus potuit charitatis officiis demeretur, ita omnes ad seminarium suum vel fortuito vel aliqua sua suorumve causa accedentes, tum benignissime accipit, tum instituit diligenter, tum singulari benevolentiæ significatione prosequitur discedentes; atque hac profecto ratione, his officiis studii et amoris plenissimis, quamplurimos lucratur Christo; seminarii vero nomen apud omnes efficit honoratum valde, ipsumque brevi etiam copiosissimum.

Scribit de Imaginibus, Prædestinatione, Sacramentis, etc.

Neque hoc interim spacio a scriptione aut a scholis feriatus est; nam et docuit quotidie, et scripsit de Imaginibus, de Prædestinatione, de Sacramentis et alia.

Non defuere Duaci viri auctoritate et virtute præstantes qui his seminarii principiis valde faverunt, suamque in illud liberalitatem memorabilem exercuerunt. Sed et ipsemet Deus suæ singularis providentiæ documenta in illius necessitatibus et hoc tempore et alias opportuna alicujus viventis aut morientis liberalitate sublevandis edidit illustria. Nam Morganus ille, cujus mentionem antea fecimus, e vita discedens pecuniarum quam habebat summam non contemnendam seminario reliquit universam, qua sane non mediocriter et præsens inopia ejus et gravis Alani solicitudo sublevata est.

Pontifex et Rex Hispaniæ conferunt seminario.

Cæterum excrescens in dies cum scholasticorum numero seminarii sumptus non solum majori sed etiam certiori vectigali indigere videbatur. Id quod non ita multo post, supplicante Alano, amplum ac honorificum accepit partim a Gregorii XIII. longe optimi sanctissimi liberalissimique Pontificis, partim a Catholici Regis potentissimi et de Anglorum gente optime meriti benignitate; hujus annua, illius menstrua in ejus usus pensione constituta. Insuper ab eodem Pontifice potestas diplomate confirmata facta Alano est ut quoscunque sui seminarii Anglos sacerdotio aptos judicaret eos quando vellet et cui vellet episcopo vicino

initiandos sisteret, inauguratos vero perampla ligandi ac solvendi facultate donaret, et in Angliam suo ablegaret arbitratu.

Ex hac re statim est consecuta tanta rerum animorumque in Anglia mutatio ut plane constiterit cum Pontificis mente atque Alani studiis Dei Optimi Maximi judicium voluntatemque consensisse. Nam simul ac pauci aliqui ex hoc novitiorum grege adolescentes, instructi rebus ad tantam militiam necessariis, pedem in Anglicano solo Alani auspiciis fixissent, et suæ virtutis animorumque altitudinis multa in privata consuetudine, aliqua in judiciis publicisque congressibus, non pauca in carceribus, vinculis et patibulis præclara exempla edidissent, non modo fluctuantium animi, aut quasi somno voluptatis et ignorantiæ dormitantium, erecti primum experrectique sunt, sed ipsimet hæretici qui leviculum seminarii initium vel ob innatam sibi superbiam irriserant vel ob parvitatem ipsius contempserant, nunc confusi ac perturbati vehementer propriis diffidere viribus et nonnihil de statu religionis suæ timere cœperunt. Fructus seminarii.

Tali suorum virtute, adversariorum perturbatione, omnium motu doctus Alanus clare animadvertit plurimum e re catholica fore ut, quando spes tam magna uberrimæ messis ostendatur, multæ sint operæ quæ ad istud Domini opus urgendum acrius graviusque incumbant. Hoc vero neque rectius perfici quam si plurima variis in locis habeantur seminaria; neque seminarium uspiam facilius aut utilius institui posse quam Romæ, quippe ubi rectissimæ quæque disciplinæ maxime quæ ad fidem et religionem spectant optime discantur, sitque Anglorum hospitalis domus quasi non parvum novi seminarii jam comparatum fundamentum. Seminarium Romanum.

Commodum acciderat ut per id tempus Odovenus Ludovici, post episcopus Cassanensis, vir prudens ac pius, nec minus particeps cum Alano in his consiliis capiendis quam adjutor in perficiendis, Romæ fuerit. Ejus enim opera auxilioque non solum parato sed etiam efficaci usus Alanus paulo post obtinuit ut, octo illis sacerdotibus qui sumptibus hospitalis tunc temporis vivebant cedentibus, tota domus in scholasticorum usum salvo jure peregrinorum concederet. Addidit autem veteribus hospitalis vectigalibus Pontifex nonnihil ex sua liberalitate ut majori multitudini sustentandæ essent satis.

Alanum hæc et alia ejusmodi enixe molientem tumultus Belgici gravissimi et conjurationes iniquorum Duaco ejecerunt; extinxissent autem ni is fuga perceleri de eorum manibus se eripuisset. Nam ereptum illi tam tulerunt graviter ut omne virus suæ feritatis in ejus perniciem conceptum in seminarium, ejus reliquias, evomuerint; atque brevi post illud publico edicto (si edictum illud appellari meruerit quod ab imperita et iracunda plebe, vesano quorundam furore concitata, bonis omnibus invitis profectum est) civitate expulerint. Erat nempe illis persuasissimum, præside profugo ac sine sede, cæteram multitudinem non habentem quo confugeret dispersam et vagam quam citissime ad nihilum redac- Duaco ejicitur Alanus.

tum iri. Neque vana hæc fuisset cogitatio, nisi misertus Angliæ Dominus singulari providentia et bonitate sua parvam hanc fidei catholicæ sobolem in magnum ejus et perpetuum bonum aliquando futuram conservasset, dum eam virtutem Alani precibus, eam mentem Franciæ principibus infudit ut Anglis non solum tutum in præsens receptum, sed plurima in posterum insignia humanitatis beneficentiæque officia præter multorum expectationem exhibuerunt.

Rhemis receptus Alanus et seminarium.

Vix dum Parisiis Rhemos Alanus concesserat, cum ecce qui e suorum numero primi evaserant ex Duacensi flamma viginti et amplius per multa pericula et viarum incommoda (erant enim omnia militibus plena) eo tandem perveniunt: hos, seminarii illius primum futurum semen, non sine multo sudore multisque difficultatibus (erat namque in timore et suspicione civitas) admitti primo, deinde retineri curavit; donec tandem eximio Guisiorum Principum beneficio ac patrocinio ita stabiliti et confirmati sunt ut annis plus minus quatuordecim, quibus illic postea per summam tranquillitatem permanserunt, et multam in se illorum principum egregiamque liberalitatem sint experti, nec ulla unquam populi Francici veri amoris indicia atque officia desiderarint.

Legatus autem Reginæ Angliæ qui Parisiis residebat, etsi iniquissimo tulerit animo locum quiescendi Rhemis seminarium invenisse, multaque sit ab ipso initio contra id molitus, tantum tamen apud Regem efficere non potuit ut eo concedente quicquam in illud grave injuriumque statueretur.

Interea vero temporis plurimi se ad numerum alumnorum ascribunt ac nomina profitentur, partim commoditate loci et securitate illecti, partim commoti Alani nominis existimatione quæ ubique et apud omnes erat summa; sed maxime inducti immensa quadam et bene cognita viri charitate, quæ complexa omnes neminem advenientem, in quo ingenii lumen ac bonæ indolis ac doctrinæ vestigia cernebantur, respuebat. Atque inde factum est ut cum per id tempus ex quinquaginta paulo minus qui Duaco venerant seminarium constaret, non longo post admodum intervallo ducenta circiter capita percenserentur numerando. Memoratu sane dignum incrementum vel eo magis quod singularis in illo Dei bonitas manifeste eluxerit. Nam cum in tam multorum capitum accessione nihil omnino aut proventibus seminarii aut privatæ Alani rei esset adjectum, tamen ut nec antea illis paucis quicquam superfuisse sic nec his in quadruplum postea multiplicatis ad vitæ usus necessarios aliquid defuisse certius est cœlestis favoris et patrocinii argumentum quam ut de eo dubitari aut possit aut debeat.

Alumni seminarii Rhemensis ducenti.

Per eos ferme dies Romanum Anglorum hospitale opera (uti dictum est) Odoveni, re tota ex animi sui sententia transacta, conversum est in collegium scholasticorum. Quod cum novis legibus et institutis esset ordinandum, atque ea disciplinæ ratio introducenda quæ ad Angliæ bonum esset accommodatissima, non alia quam Alani requirenda sententia nec cujusquam æque ac illius adhibendum consilium videbatur. Nemo enim erat illo aut in rebus Anglicis versatior, aut

in naturis Anglorum periclitandis exercitatior; nemo vel patriæ amantior vel judicio incorruptior. Is igitur Romam a Gregorio XIII. nulla interposita mora vocatus est. Alanus vocatus Romam.

Hoc primum tempore duo e Societate Jesu Angliam ingressi sunt, assentiente et suffragante Alano. Gnarus enim ille quantum valere tum ad exemplum tum ad commovendam multitudinem ipsa fama ac nominis celebritas soleat, non modo notissimos quosque et opinione homimum doctissimos ad se ex Anglia studiosissime semper evocavit, sed etiam censuit eos iterum in Angliam utilissime posse remitti qui nomen antea apud suos habuerint quorumque labores scholastici jam dimanassent ad hominum ibidem existimationem. Quandoquidem igitur Campianus ille, qui aliquot ante annos se ad eam Societatem adjunxerat, is erat cui perpetua et constans commendatio eximiam doctrinæ ac virtutis opinionem domi forisque apud omnes conciliaverat, valde e re catholica futurum non dubitavit ut ipse in Angliam primo quoque tempore mitteretur. Cumque ei socius consiliorum perinde ac periculorum esset adjungendus, visum suis est ut Robertus Parsonius ei accederet, vir ut religionis nomine commendatus, sic prudens providensque ad suorum normam habitus. An. 1580. Jesuitæ nunc primum Angliam ingressi.

Ille quidem Alani ad Urbem accessus atque hic rursum Jesuitarum in Angliam discessus timore incerto at gravi magistratum Anglum impleverat. Cui ut in omnes partes esset provisum, non solum nova ac severa edicta in Jesuitas ac seminaristas promulgat, sed eosdem etiam libello edito passimque sparso multis calumniis et criminibus falsis onerat, nec tantum adumbratis flagitiorum titulis sed legum suarum laqueis implicat et constringit. Huic libello alio suo, cui Apologiæ seminariorum titulum præfixit, Alanus ita respondit ut ignoratum sit suorumne innocentiæ an propriæ moderationis ac prudentiæ clarius in eo atque gravius documentum dedisset. Apologiam seminariorum scripsit.

Accidit circa hæc tempora ut apertissimum Rhemensium in se voluntatis testimonium Alanus perciperet. Canonicatum enim, qui in ecclesia principe vacaverat, fuisse in eum singulari Cardinalis Guisii studio judicioque collatum tanta gratulatione prosequuti sunt socii omnes illius amplissimi collegii ut quo magis testarentur voluptatem animi sui et quantopere Angliæ causa cuperent Alanum ipsum (ut liberior et expeditior seminarii rebus vacare animo et corpore posset) novo ac singulari privilegio a publicis ecclesiæ suæ oneribus ac muneribus solutum et liberum esse voluerunt. Rhemenses in Alanum benevoli.

Hoc inter alia memoratu et notatu dignum, in tanto numero alumnorum ac tam multorum annorum cursu unum Rhemis inventum esse, Richardum nomine, qui (ut ipsemet confessus est) illusus ambitionis et voluptatis falsa specie quam sibi animo formaverat, quandocunque posset aliquid efficere quod his qui cum potestate in Anglia sunt gratum foret et acceptum, non solum percepta in seminario beneficia contempsit, sed quasi expers factus humanitatis, tum in Alani Richardus sceleratus in Alanum et seminarium.

caput a quo omnia acceperat tum in seminarii exitium cui omnia debebat pestem nefarie machinatus est. Nam cibis omnibus veneno infectis una in cœna simul omnes necare nequissime cogitavit. Sed mature in apertum per sceleris conscium prolato facinore, non ad extremum perditus, culpam agnovit, deprecatusque pœnam magna Alani voluntate dimissus est.

Interim vero magistratus Anglus, quandoquidem adolescentes continuo ex Anglia exire, sacerdotes in Angliam frequentes redire animadvertit, majori acerbitate utendum ratus non jam minas et legum pœnarumque terrores proponit singulis; sed carceres, tormenta, quæstiones in multos exercet; aliquos etiam cruce, sectione, flammis in terrorem aliorum enecat. Quæ quidem crudelitas, maxime humanæ inimica naturæ, cum male apud exteras omnes audiret nationes, ut a justa aliqua vel prope necessaria causa proficisci videretur, libellum quendam Justitiæ Britannicæ indicem fronte ostentantem divulgant; in eoque nituntur ostendere eos omnes catholicos qui mortis sententiæ in Anglia addicuntur reos criminis læsæ majestatis legitimoque judicio convictos interire. Quod cum non modo falsum esse constaret, sed fore etiam si crederetur perniciosum ita ut in causæ catholicæ arcem nulla re gravius posset invadi, huic turpi infamiæ cupiens Alanus obviam ire quam citissime alium librum paucorum dierum labore confectum edidit, in quo tum sacerdotum catholicorumque vexationes necesque injustissimas, tum insignem adversariorum malitiam fraudes atque calumnias breviter quidem sed apertissime retexuit.

Respondit Justitiæ Britannicæ.

In aliud deinceps discrimen vitæ Alanus incidit. Nam consuetudo ejus cum Joanne Austriaco, Belgii prorege, arctior et communicatio per literas paulo frequentior gravem ac vehementem suspicionem in Anglorum animis commovebat. Cujus suspicionis timor ut aliqua amoveretur ratione omni enitendum ratione putabant. Amoveri autem non posse certius aut prudentius quam si via iniretur qua unus et alter e vita tolleretur; nisi enim his sublatis nunquam se in tuto, nunquam sine metu futuros. Summæ difficultatis hoc consilium esse; attamen tentanda omnia publicæ securitatis gratia. Imo vero rem recte considerantibus oblatam nunc quasi divinitus occasionem quæ non erat negligenda. Habere namque se in carcerem conditum Egremundum Raclefum, militem non malum, strenuum profecto ac manu promptum, neque capitis modo reum sed supplicio jam addictum; tentaturum hunc quodcunque facinus, modo impunitas ei et præmii spes ostendatur. Si ex sententia res et perinde ut cupiunt succedat, se extra periculum et extra curam fore; sin minus, noxam illam omnem Raclefi solius periculo castigatum iri. Neque fuit Raclefus tardus ad arripiendam conditionem et omnia promittenda, non tam sperata mercede quam libertate ac salute non expectata lætus. Nec certe ratio constat qua ille motus manus ab Alano tunc abstinuerit cum ad Austriacum tendens eum visitandi gratia Rhemis adiiset. In Alano vero ea fuit firmitas animi et constantia ut licet haberet plurimorum literis

Vita Alani iterum tentatur.

Egremundus Raclefus.

consilia Raclefi et quæ acta cum illo erant notissima, adeuntem tamen ad se non modo non repulerit sed in longum ac secretum admissum colloquium benigne et amice objurgatum dimiserit.

Dum his studiis hisque periculis Alanus defungitur, non laboribus parcens sed animo et corpore noctes ac dies excubans suis, morbum contraxit gravem et præsentis periculi eo magis plenum quo magis vera causa tanti latentis mali ignorabatur. Non enim calculus aliquis, non tumoris vitium, non alia quævis impedimenti ratio apparebat, cum tamen ille decem diebus ipsis nullam prorsus urinam reddere valuerit. Sic ergo morbo sua pertinacia omne medicamentum superante Spadanas tandem aquas, his qui tali laborant morbo salutares, ex consilio medicorum adire constituit. Neque ab ingresso semel itinere destitit, quamvis cedente interim malo naturæ muneri in ipsa morbi nocte undecima urina paulatim effluere incœperit, ac proprio suo impetu perque modica quædam intervalla de integro emanare. Morbus Alani gravissimus.

Rhemis discedens Alanus non sine multis alumnorum omnium lacrymis curæ communi seniorum seminarium commendatum reliquit. Ad aquas autem illas nondum per multos constiterat dies cum literis ac precibus patrum Societatis Jesu Romam accersitus est, ea causa ut discordias quasdam, quæ in illo Anglorum collegio patribus istis cum scholasticis qui sub eorum disciplina erant intercesserat, ille pro ea qua apud omnes valeret auctoritate existimationeque sedaret atque componeret. Multa jam ad Alanum fuerant perlata litteris ac rumoribus de dissensione hac, neque levem inde animo molestiam traxerat. Itaque cum ad tantæ charitatis munus ab ipsis nunc patribus erat invitatus, non modo libenter ac statim assensus est, sed tanta voluntate se ad iter accinxit ut quamvis valde adhuc esset et corpore infirmo et imminutis viribus, tamen confestim se dare in viam adeo longam et molestam, et causam pacis religionis patriique commodi omnibus suis commodis adeoque saluti ac vitæ præferre non dubitaverit. Romam iterum vocatur.

Postea vero quam Romæ paucissimorum dierum adhortatione et diligentia hac in re quæ voluit ac ut voluit (quod antea vix credibile quibusdam est visum) effecisset, atque animos illos varie distractos ad priorem et nulli ingratam concordiam obliteratis offensionibus reduxisset, nihil illi longius videbatur quam illud anni tempus videre quo, transactis hybernis mensibus et refectis aliquantulum ex ægritudinis et itineris molestia viribus, reverti ipse Rhemos ad suos consolandos et ad solita sua munia in seminarii ac patriæ usum bonumque obeunda posset.

Verum hanc sitim suam pro suorum desiderio accensam quo minus reditu sedare potuerit variæ res effecerunt et obstiterunt; sed illud in primis quod non post multos menses a Sixto Quinto, longe prudentissimo et maximo Pontifice, ad novum nec ab eo aut expectatum aut concupitum Cardinalatus honorem extra tempora stata, sine altero solus et ad majora destinatus, fuerit ascitus. Alanus Cl..... Cardinalis.

enim, qua erat modestia et submissione animi magis quæ cœli quam quæ terræ sunt quærentis, nec hunc nec alium honoris gradum aut prehensavit unquam aut præoptavit; quinimo (nisi nos vana aliquando a viris magnis ac fide dignissimis accepimus) ipsum hunc honorem a Gregorio XIII. alias ei oblatum non modo avide amplexus non est, sed etiam refugit, atque ut res Angliæ tunc temporis se habebant nonnullis in contrarium adductis rationibus est deprecatus.

Ut se gerit Cardinalis.

Sed qui dignitatem hanc perquisivit nunquam, is tamen acceptam pro gradus amplitudine sustentandam putavit. Noverat enim honorem omnem perinde laboris precium esse atque virtutis præmium, eumque honore omni esse indignum qui honore uti aut nolit aut nesciat. Quare novis ille cogitationibus erat districtissimus, qua nimirum ratione adeptam dignitatem pro amplitudine tueri, atque non solum in his quæ ad se suumque officium pertinerent non deficeret, sed ea etiam præstaret quibus (quoad fieri posset) præiret aliis ac præluceret.

A senatu et consistorio, ad quod singulis ex consuetudine hebdomadis Cardinales a Pontifice per viatorem accersiti consilii capiendi causa solent convenire, neque abfuit Alanus unquam neque novissimus advenit. In sententia vero dicenda eam adhibebat modestiam ut non alium offenderet; eam libertatem ut suam non læderet conscientiam. Cumque in duabus Congregationibus præcipue, Indicis et Germaniæ, Pontifex illius opera uteretur, in id diligentiam conferebat ne minor sua sedulitas fidelitasque in consulendo quam moderatio in contendendo videretur: quin procul ipse ab omni invidia et ostentatione non erat aut æmulatione collegis aut contentione unquam contradicentibus molestus. Quibus rebus evicit ut cum virtus ac prudentia sua Pontificibus indies notior esset ac probatior, tum consuetudo collegis gratior et conjunctior.

In sacris Bibliis Sixti Quinti nomine Clementis Octavi jussu editis ac promulgatis Alani operæ, judicii, diligentiæ pars non exigua fuit. Cumque Congregationis Indicis cura altera illa vel maxima fuerit ut non modo Biblia sed veterum quoque Doctorum volumina a depravationibus, quæ misera recentiorum temporum cæcitate et malitia irrepserunt, expurgata prodirent quam emendatissima, Alani solicitudini commissa sunt ea quæ a Divo Augustino sunt scripta omnia. In quod pensum opusque vastum ac multiplex dum omni cogitatione ac studio cum aliis quibusdam qui ei suberant incumbit, mors, quæ magna conantibus semper immatura, celeriter nimis et laborum et vitæ finem illi attulit.

Cura publica Angliæ.

Sed nec istæ nec aliæ quamvis gravissimæ et late patentes cogitationes causæ fuere ut cogitationem rerum Anglicarum vel ad punctum temporis abjiceret. Nam has ita infixas animo gerebat semper ut de nulla re magis quam de earum ratione noctes diesque meditaretur. Quem enim sæpissime non appellavit eorum qui plurimum poterant? Quem neglexit eorum apud quos ipse aliquid polleret? Omnes monere, orare, obsecrare nunquam destitit ut in aliis maximis curis partem aliquam suarum cogitationum in Angliæ salutem conferrent; quæ Christiani orbis

pars ejusmodi est ut nec bene illa habere se nec male affecta esse queat quin eandem suam sive felicitatem sive miseriam cum aliis quamplurimis communicet necessario.

Præterea collegium aliud excitare in animo habuit ad sacerdotes accipiendos, tam eos qui, exacto in seminariis studiorum suorum curriculo omnisque doctrinæ fundamentis præclare jactis, ea essent ingenii bonitate ut brevi tempore nec magno negocio ad summam eruditionis perfectionem perventuri viderentur; quam illos qui post præclare positam in Anglica messe operam exilii causa aut periculi devitandi solum vertere cogerentur. Atque hoc quidem collegium maxime utile ac necessarium etsi maxime cupiebat, tamen multa erant quo minus illud perficere potuit impedimento. Nam præter angustias rei suæ familiaris et voluntates quorundam ab eo paulum aversas, etiam ii a quibus præcipuam opem expectare poterat, aliis exhausti necessariis sumptibus, illud subsidii quod erat necesse conferre nequiverunt. Collegium aliud cogitat.

Cæterum nec Rhemensis seminarii eum cœperat oblivio; cui, ne longa hac intermissione et moderatoris destitutione gravioris aliquid incommodi subeundum esset, Richardum Baretum præsidem constituit. Erat iste Baretus vir optimus, doctrinæ et pietatis multæ, et qui Romæ aliquot annis, Rhemis diu sub Alani disciplina vixerat; sed erat natura paulo severior et iracundior. Quos quidem fervidi animi motus antea latentes cum in imperio ac potestate prompserat liberius (rara enim in dominatu moderatio et potestas sui) offendit multos scholasticorum et tantas turbas movit ut iis sedandis multæ Alani literæ, objurgationes, castigationes vix suffecerint. Immo nisi ea fuisset apud scholasticos Alani auctoritas, is rursum in Alanum eorundem amor ac reverentia ut nihil potuerit majus esse magisque ex animo, neque has ille rixas sustulisset tam facile, et multo sane difficilius tumultus illos compressisset quos graviores molestioresque eadem prope tempora, at plures causæ, in Romano Anglorum collegio renovarunt. Quibus tamen omnibus tollendis mitigandisque quia ea facilitate et celeritate semper usus est Alanus ut aliorum errata in ejus maxime gloriam concessisse viderentur, incertum omnino relictum est incautiores alii aut proniores ad irritandos animos an Alanus felicior ad eosdem placandos molliendosque extitisset. Cura seminarii Rhemensis.

Jacta paulo ante in Hispania fuerant duorum seminariorum, Anglicæ juventuti recipiendæ erudiendæque, fundamenta; ampla certe illa ac singularia maximi Regis ejusque populi in Anglorum gentem benevolentiæ beneficentiæque testimonia. Ad hæc augenda magis atque ornanda datur ab Alano opera ut Pontificio diplomate confirmata honorificis privilegiis et indulgentiis essent decorata. Seminaria Hispanica.

Cum ista communi et collegiorum publica etiam privatorum ratio erat copulata. Ita enim respexit universos ut singulos curare non omitteret; atque ita sibi faciendum non solum ex officio, sed maxima suadente ratione existimavit. Nam cum patria necessitas omnium quotquot essent industrias desideraret iisque Cura privatorum.

opus haberet, ea singulorum ratio habenda videbatur ut ne minimi cujusquam opera esset negligenda.

Remotos atque absentes per se et per alios commodando et commendando, etiam ubi opus esset defendendo, sublevavit. Romam vero et ad se accedentes qua poterat humanitate maxima aut mensa tectoque recipiebat, si tales essent qui suscipi mererentur; sin minus, quatenus liceret ipsique expeterent re sua, consilio autem semper adjuvit; atque hac ratione meliores eos multo quam cum venerant et sibi catholicisque amiciores domum remittebat.

In pace inter discordantes privatim concilianda, inque iis controversiis quas sæpius in collegiis ortas meminimus dirimendis tali usus est prudentia, moderatione, solertia, ut, quod difficillimum, id perpetuo sit consecutus, ut, nec hac nec illa parte plus justo læsa aut aliquo modo offensa, pariter ab utraque diligeretur.

Qualis in familiares.

Qui in famulatu ei fuerant ac domestica consuetudine, hos non servos sed filios nominabat; quasi ipse videlicet viri ecclesiastici personam sustinens, non tam eorum se dominum quam patrem reputaret. Tanquam igitur veri filii sibi essent, ita omnem illis suum amorem curamque impertiebat; necessitatibus illorum quatenus per facultates dabatur consulebat; singulis ex consuetudine mensibus eos per confessionem sacram noxis expiatos divino pascebat pabulo. Denique si quid in quoquam erat reprehendendum, id etsi quandoque palam (quod ita convenire videbatur) tamen rectissime cautissimeque semper faciebat. Nam non tantum verbo signove non notavit quenquam, aut quod latebat aperuit; sed nec verborum adjunxit aut contumeliam ullam aut acriorem acerbitatem: ut is plane iniquissimus videri posset qui iniquo animo ferret id quod ab eo indicatum non tantum latenter et intra modum sed dolenter et invitissime animadverterat.

In deligendis illis quibus rerum familiarium præcipua cura erat committenda sedulam adhibebat diligentiam. Electis, uti fidelissimis, fidem amota solicitudine tribuebat; atque hac ratione se a domesticis tricis maxima ex parte liberavit et famulis utebatur fere optimis, multo sane diligentioribus. Nam in probis ac prudentibus vis conscientiæ et fides adhibita majus vinculum est quam metus ullus aut suspicio aut custodes mille. Jam vero quia ipse se etiam adversus eos qui inferioris loci et conditionis erant benigne et humaniter gerebat, neque quicquam per ministros suos de liberalitate sua diminui patiebatur (nam quod illis quacunque ratione debebatur id absque fraude suo tempore præstari sedulo præcepit) neque cujusquam querimonias audiebat ipse; et qui de illo sermones sive domi sive foris per suos habebantur non maledicentium erant voces aut queritantium, sed vere laudantium et reverentiam simul et amorem suum non simulate testantium.

Vita quotidiana.

Quotidianæ vitæ ejus ratio sic erat disposita ut nihil in ea perturbatum nihil præposterum reperisses. Erat multæ vigiliæ, somni parcissimi. A sacro quod

ipsemet quotidie faciebat vel adeuntes audiebat, vel lectioni scriptionive, in qua maxime assiduus fuit, operam dabat. In prandio et cœna incuriosus, neque longus, magis animum lectione quam cibo corpus pascens satiansque. Vacuum ei tempus quod erat relictum, si a prandio, sæpius eam consuetudinem retinuit ut per loca a tumultu et frequentia remota curru circumvectus valetudini prospiceret: si a cœna, id hilari lætoque cum familiaribus sermone quo magnopere delectabatur, sed ita ut majestatem servaret, consumebat. Erat enim illi in more positum severitatem orationis condire mira jucunditate, et comitatem semper sic adjungere gravitati ut excellere in utroque videretur. Postremo ut diem continuo ab horis statis ac missa exordiri, sic recitatis litaniis eundem rursus concludere nunquam intermisit.

Finem ei vitæ eadem quæ ante octo annos illum oppresserat urinæ retentio apportavit; cujus quidem jam appropinquantis aliqua antecessere indicia. Nam in meiendo difficultatem sensit aliquotiens, atque usum plane omnem quarti dextræ manus digiti sex ante mortem mensibus amisit. Quibus rebus quasi a divino admonitus numine, de nulla re sæpius ac libentius cum quibusdam familiarium disseruit quam de suo celeri e vita excessu; ut facile constiterit et sentire ipsum et lætari vehementer quod corporis hujus effracto carcere brevi ei libero tanquam in patriam foret revertendum.

Decessit omnibus christianis præsidiis bene munitus, tanta animi alacritate, constantia, tranquillitate, ut adstantes omnes consolaretur, ipse nullius consolatione indigeret. Decessit autem mane, orto jam sole, ægritudinis suæ mensisque Octobris die decimo sexto, humanæ salutis anno M.D.XCIV.

Pietas omnium in Alanum.

Clemens Octavus, Pontifex Maximus pariter ac religiosissimus, ut Alanum vivum amore ac beneficiis, sic mortuum piis lacrymis et honore prosecutus est. Fuit enim ejus exitus bonis cunctis gravis, Angliæ immaturus, suis luctuosissimus, notis pariter atque ignotis molestiam exhibens. Hoc testata sunt bonorum suspiria; suorum tristitia; miserandi qui secuti in Anglia sunt casus ac dissidia; denique omnium ordinum in ejus funere exequiisque cohonestandis studium, mœror, frequentia.

Habitus corporis et animi.

Fuit ejus species et corporis habitus ad pulchritudinem et dignitatem compositus egregie; vultus et facies quæ opinione et indicio virtutis non fallaci gratiam et amorem facile conciliarent. Candor vero animi fuit ejusmodi ut cum in verbis et actionibus omnia ad conscientiam, nihil ad ostentationem referret, certe ut fidelem non negaveris, ita virum bonum dixeris necessario.

Virtutes Alani.

Incredibilis in illo erat verecundia ac modestia; quæ apud bonos viros persæpe ei commodo, semper certe laudi fuit.

Integritas vero ejusmodi quæ nec odio nec amore impelli nec retardari ab officio timore potuit.

Proximos amabat amore vere christiano, suos singulari; eo tamen qui contra rationis officiique præceptum nihil unquam tribuerit necessitudini.

Ea constantia ac moderatione præditus fuit ut parem animi firmitudinem similemque vultum in omni fortuna prætulerit. Honores nec appetivit nec adeptus amplissimos incessit inflatior aut arrogantior.

Liberalitatem exercuit veram et commemorandam, non iis donans qui donare maxima possent; sed nihil adeo unquam habens suum quod non omnium itidem calamitosorum esse videretur.

In naturis hominum internoscendis perspicacissimus, in rebus æstimandis scientissimus, in scribendo cum primis prudens et eloquens est habitus.

Memoria illi magna; judicium singulare; sermo gravis, urbanus, elegans, et (quæ laus præcipua est) ingenuus et verax.

Pietas ejus, justitia, castimonia, zelus, notiora sunt omnibus quam ut plura hic dicere sit necesse.

Magnitudo animi fecit ut humana omnia pro nihilo duceret; ut patriam spesque maximas Christi et fidei causa relinqueret; ut fastidium diuturnitatemque morbi ferret æquissime; ut ipsa morte nec charorum sibi hominum immoderate et sua levissime commoveretur.

His virtutibus, hac valetudinis gravi et continua imbecillitate implevit annum sexagesimum secundum: quæ ætas robustis et recte valentibus longa potest videri; Alano vero eo brevior quo major spes, si paulum modo supervixisset, et multa per eum Angliæ bona parari posse quæ nunc vix aut tarde sperantur, et multa incommoda prohiberi quæ deinceps evenisse nimio cum mœrore nostro recordamur. Sed felix Alanus qui divinam in se misericordiam tam benignam experiri meruerit ut in corpore infirmo vegetam mentem gesserit; in voluntaria paupertate aliorum necessitatibus subvenerit; exul et procul a patria patriam dilexerit unice, patriam juvarit maxime; vivens inter alienos observatus sit et cultus tanquam a suis; abiens e vita decesserit Romæ, prævisa ac præsensa morte, in medio amicissimorum suorum, atque pari omnium ordinum dolore et officiis studii eximii plenis honestatus et honoratus. Miseri vero Angli quos quasi pupillos et orfanos post se reliquit: atque ipsa infelix Anglia quæ in uno homine unoque die tantum perdiderit quantum alii omnes vix videntur reliquo tempore restituturi. Sed bona spe ducimur illum sempiternæ felicitatis portum, quem contento cursu quantum conniti viribus animoque poterat semper petierit, jam ingressum et posse nos eo fovere et amare ardentius quo est ipse nunc charitate perfectior, et velle pro nobis Christum rogare eo impensius et efficacius quo est Christo jam propior atque conjunctior. Nos igitur vicissim tanti viri memoriam ita colamus, ita conservemus ut, ad virtutum illius contemplationem excitati, et quæ fecerit imitemur et quæ docuerit exequamur; ut hoc modo grati digni similiter efficiamur quibus eo intercedente a Dei bonitate concedantur bona illa quæ nobis in hac vita salutaria esse possint et in altera cum illo æterna.

II.

Draft[1] of the Queen's writ to the sheriff of Lancashire for the apprehension of Allen and others. 21 February, 1567—8.

From the original in the Public Record Office, London. Dom. Eliz. vol. 46, n. 32.

Vicecomiti Lancastr.

T and W we greete you well. Whereas we have ben credibly infourmid that certen parsons, who having ben late ministres in the Church wer justly deprived of their offices of ministery for their contempts and obstinacy, be yet or lately have bene[2] secretly mainteynid in pryvat places in that our county of Lancaster (whose names are here subscribed[3]) where they do not onely contynue their former doings in contempt, as it seemeth, of our authorite and good ordres provided for an uniformitee, but also do seditiously[4] pervert and abuse our good subjects to our no small greef: lyke as we think it convenyent for the service of Almighty God and for the love we beare to our good and obedyent subjects to have such evell membres rooted out to thend the good may the better prosper: so have we thought good to will and commaund yow furthwith upon the recept heerof, to thend that none may pretend ignorance herin,[5] to take ordre and cause too be openely published in the chief market townes of that our countye in tymes and places of most resort thithr that our pleasor is t[o] have the said parsons and every of them[6] apprehendid and committed to ward. And then whosoever shall meynteyn or keepe in his house or otherwyse deale [with any the][7] said parsons after the publication of that[8] our pleasor, the same shalbe attached and[9] punished as a breaker of our commaundement and furder ordred as his contempt shall deserve to the example of others: and this our plesure we will you further see duely executed.[10]

On the back of the paper.

Alen who wrote the late booke of Purgatory.
Vause[11] ones warden of Winchester.[12]
Murrey chaplen to Bonner late bushop of London.
Marshall ones deane of Christchurch in Oxford.
Hargrave late vicar of Blackbourne.
One Norreys tearming him self a phisician.

Endorsed.

M. XXI° Februarii 1567. The Q ma^te^ to the sherif of Lancashire named Edward Holland, Esq.

[1] With corrections and additions in Lord Burleigh's hand. [2] *or lately have bene* added by Burleigh. [3] *subscribed* substituted by Burleigh for *included*. [4] *Seditiously* Burleigh's addition. [5] *To thend that none may pretend ignorance herin* added by Burleigh. [6] *And every of them* interlined by Burleigh. [7] MS. worn away; the words conjecturally supplied. [8] *That* substituted by Burleigh for *this*. [9] *Attached and* added by Burleigh. [10] *to the example of others: and this our plesure we will you further see duely executed* Burleigh's addition. [11] Vaux. [12] *Winchester* a mistake for *Manchester*.

III.

Dr. John Vendeville to President Viglius. November or December, 1566.

Printed in Tierney's Dodd. Vol. II. *Append. p.* cccxxx.

Literæ domini Joannis Vendevilli, Regis Catholici Senatoris, ad Præsidem Viglium, de adjuvandis quibusdam studiosis Anglis. 1568.

S.P.—Fecit singularis tua pietas, amplissime domine Præses, eximiumque ecclesiam Dei juvandi studium, cum alias sæpe tum institutione præstantis collegii in academia Lovaniensi, tam evidenter declaratum ut ego re non indiligenter expensa judicarim me recte facturum esse, si de re quadam pia hic ad Dei gloriam jam inchoata ad Amplitudinem vestram aliquid scriberem: nam et per Dei gratiam me non frustra scripturum esse, et ut Amplitudo vestra propter aliquam causam neque patrocinium neque auxilium hac in re sibi præstandum judicet, me tamen apud virum pium et timentem Deum hoc meo facto peccare non posse. Mi domine, res ita habet. Jam inde a sex aut septem mensibus visum est duobus aut tribus viris piis et zelum domus Dei habentibus fore perutile, ad juvandas multas animas tum in hoc Belgio tum in aliquot regionibus vicinis iisque olim tum de hac Gallia Belgica tum de Germania et bona parte orbis christiani optime meritis (inferendo in eas evangelii lucem discussis paganismi tenebris per Bonifacios, Guillebrordos et alios) si hic in unam domum colligerentur aliquot Angli theologiæ studiosi, magnæ indolis et spei, religionis causa hic commorantes et magna inopia pressi ac in studio theologico provecti et alioqui liberaliter instituti, iique hic lecto adjuti et suppeditato istis victu tenui et frugali diligenter instituantur et exerceantur in controversiis ac non vulgari cognitione historiæ et antiquitatis ecclesiasticæ, ut universæ quidem theologiæ cognitionem habeant non contemnendam, quam et jam plerique eorum habent, sed in eam quam modo dicebam theologiæ partem deinceps diligentes incumbant, ut per Dei gratiam in ea excellant vel certe multum possint; ac deinde, biennio plus minus ad eum modum instituti et exercitati, in Anglia religionis catholicæ negotium agant etiam cum vitæ periculo; ac si Dominus Deus tandem Angliam respexerit, palam magno celerique successu religionem orthodoxam in patria restituant plurimasque animas lucrifaciant quarum singulæ tam sunt pretiosæ in conspectu Domini. Visum est etiam fore perutile si aliquot nostrates theologiæ studiosi, fortunæ tenuis, qui jam triennio aut quadriennio theologiæ studuerint suntque magnæ indolis et spei, eis adjungantur, qui ad eum modum instituti et exercitati illorumque exemplo excitati in eadem disciplina præfici possint ecclesiis parochialibus, vel pastoribus magno auxilio esse, incredibili (ut videtur) multarum animarum fructu. Porro cum tale quid fieri visum esset vehementer expedire, tentati sunt animi quatuor aut quinque piorum virorum, qui et possent et pro sua pietate viderentur non recusaturi, aliquam notabilem eleemosynam in eum usum conferre. Atque adeo Dei beneficio jam aliquousque progressa res est, et satis feliciter incepta.

Nam jam inde a festo S. Michaelis conducta est domus ampla satis et percommoda scholæque theologiæ admodum vicina; jamque in ea sunt quinque aut sex Angli magnæ indolis et spei, partim viri, partim adolescentes viginti trium aut viginti quatuor annorum; item duo nostrates: et præsidem habent virum doctissimum et pientissimum, D. Gulielmum Alanum, theologiæ licentiatum, Anglum, et nuper hic factum catechistam publicum universitatis et magistratus rogatu; virum in controversiis exercitatissimum, solideque et vere eleganter doctum, quique negotium religionis catholicæ proxime superioribus annis in Anglia diligenter egit cum evidentissimo vitæ suæ periculo, et multos tum nobiles tum ignobiles ab errore in viam revocavit, ut testantur Angli qui sunt in Belgio. Illi itaque jam inde ab aliquot septimanis cœperunt una vivere in ea quam dixi disciplina et frugalitate eaque ratione institutionis et exercitationum quam dixi. Quæ cum ita sint, amplissime domine Præses, et eleemosynæ addictæ procul dubio non sufficiant, humillime supplico per Christum Dominum ut Amplitudo vestra dignetur operam dare ut ab illustrissimo domino Duce [Albano] in hunc usum tam pium summam aliquam ducentorum aut trecentorum coronatorum ex bonis confiscatis vel aliunde impetret.

IV.

A diploma from the chancellor of the university of Douay to William Allen, B.D. fixing a day for publicly conferring on him the license in divinity. Douay, 31 January, 1570.

From the original, on parchment with the seal torn off, in the archives of the see of Westminster. II. 1.

Matthæus Galenus Vestcapellius, artium ac sacræ theologiæ magister et ejusdem regius ordinariusque professor, ecclesiæ collegiatæ D. Petri præpositus ac academiæ Duacensis cancellarius, eruditissimo viro, artium magistro ac sacræ theologiæ baccalaureo formato, domino Guilielmo Alano, Anglo, S.D.

Periculo eruditionis tuæ serio pro ratione officii nostri facto, comperimus te dignum qui ad gradum sublimiorem eveharis. Itaque vetus ac solemne majorum institutum secuti censemus te in licentiatorum facultatis theologicæ numerum cooptandum; quo et tu virtutis industriæque præmia commerita referas, et alii fide majore docentem te aut alioqui consulentem audiant, publico videlicet academiæ nostræ testimonio ornatum; ad quem actum condicimus horam decimam hujus crastini in scholis theologorum. Datum Duaci, sigillo auctoritatis nostræ de more præsentibus impresso, anno Domini 1570, mensis Januarii die ultima.

V.

Brief of Pope Gregory XIII. Rome, April 15, 1575.

From the original in the archives of the see of Westminster. II. 11.
Printed also in Dodd, vol. II., *p.* 247.

Gregorius PP. XIII^{s}.

Ad futuram rei memoriam. Intelleximus nuper opus quidem æque bonum ac pium et sanctum in universitate Duacensi partium Flandriæ, seminarium scilicet unum aut collegium satis numerosum adolescentium ac juvenum Anglicorum catholicorum, esse institutum. Quare volentes pro paterna nostra atque propensa erga tam laudabile et salutare inceptum charitate, ut illud facilius ac commodius sustentari ac provehi possit, aliquod opportunum subsidium afferre eidem seminario seu collegio, stipendium et provisionem centum scutorum auri in auro quolibet mense ad nostrum et Sedis Apostolicæ beneplacitum et donec revocata fuerit duraturam præsentium tenore constituimus et assignamus; mandantes sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ camerario ac thesaurario et depositario generalibus nostris quatenus singulis mensibus provisionem prædictam centum scutorum auri in auro in manibus doctoris Alani ipsius collegii moderni et pro tempore existentis rectoris realiter et cum effectu persolvi mandent et faciant. Nos enim solutionem hujusmodi in eorum rationibus et computis admitti jubemus: contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die XV Aprilis, MDLXXV. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Tertio.

CÆ. GLORIERIUS.

Endorsed.

Die vigesima sexta Aprilis 1575. Hæ literæ apostolicæ admissæ et registratæ fuerunt de mandato Ill^{mi} et R^{mi} D. mei Aloysii Car^{lis} Camerarii, lib^{o} p^{o} Signaturar. S^{mi} D. N. pp. fol^{o} ccv apud me infrascriptum Cameræ Apostolicæ notarium.

ANDREAS MARTINI.

VI.

Dr. William Allen, the professors and the students of Douay College to the Cardinal of Como. Douay, 13 June, 1575.

Printed in Theiner Ann. Eccles., Tom. II., *p.* 135.

Ill^{mo} et R^{mo} domino, Cardinali Comensi, domino nostro multum observando.

Intelleximus hisce diebus, ill^{me} domine Cardinalis, ex literis conterranei et patroni nostri D. Audoeni,[1] referendarii apostolici, nos servos tuos humillimos plurimum Amplitudini tuæ debere, qui in magnificentissimo isto pecuniario beneficio, quo[2] sua Sanctitas

[1] Dr. Owen Lewis. [2] *quod?*

nobis nuperrime designavit, commodissime ad rationes nostras procurando tantum ostendisti curæ, solicitudinis, pietatis quantum ardorem tuum studiumque maximum promovendæ ubique et in omnibus Christianæ reipublicæ palam ac manifeste declarat. Hac tua tam excellenti in nos charitate promeritus es non de nobis solum, sed etiam de universa gente nostra, quantum tibi reddi a nostra tenuitate nunquam poterit; ideoque nobis ad divina præsidia confugiendum est et assidue petendum ut quæ tam eximiæ beneficentiæ præmia in terris debentur, ea Deus Opt. Max. olim in cœlis uberrime persolvat. Quoniam autem ad Sanctitatem suam scribere nostra humilitas non præsumit, et tamen oblivionis atque ingratitudinis notam pertimescimus, omnino cogimur rogare vehementissime Amplitudinem tuam, hanc nobis addente tua priore humanitate nimis magnam audaciam, ut digneris Sanctitati suæ nostro nomine, qui ad beatissimos pedes prosternimur et jacemus, demississimas et humillimas gratias agere; simul autem et orare, pro tua qua plurimum apud Sanctitatem suam merito tuo potes gratia, ut beneficium suum amplissimum nobis licet indignissimis servis suis Angliæque nostræ jam licet immeritissimæ stabile et diuturnum esse velit. Videbit certe, non dubitamus, Celsitudo vestra lucrum hinc in dies incredibile animarum; quin etiam, ut speramus, aliquando et propitio Christo non ita multo post ex hac vestra quasi fiscella mosaica, Duaceno seminario, duces plurimos reversionis nostræ. Quo quidem munere quia nihil potest in rebus humanis a Deo immortali aut vobis contingere gloriosius aut nobis optabilius, præter [c]ætera fausta et beata vobis omnia, hoc quoque præcipue Dei clementiam comprecamur ad cumulum meritorum vestrorum erga nos id tandem posse accedere, ut corona gloriæ vestræ nos cum gente nostra simus in adventu Domini. Deus te ecclesiæ suæ quam diutissime servet incolumem. Duaci, idibus Junii, anni MDLXXV., e collegio Anglorum.

Ill^me^ et Rev^me^ Domine,

Ill^mæ^ Dominationis tuæ devinctissimi clientes,

GULIELMUS ALANUS, RECTOR, ET SUI.

VII.

Dr. William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Douay, 13 June, 1575.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. II., *p.* 134.

Ill^mo^ ac R^mo^ domino, Cardinali Comensi, domino meo multum observando.

Ego, illustrissime et optime Cardinalis, illius divini beneficii nuper a sanctissimo Gregorio vere domino ac parente nostro in hoc Duacense Anglorum catholicorum collegium benignissime collati magnitudine ac admirabili utilitate ita omnes bonos intime affectos, ita me imprimis mirifice recreatum sentio, ut nec hac communi meorum adjuncta epistola nec quovis vulgari verborum aut literarum officio erga tam excellentis boni authores mihi ullo pacto satisfacere videar. Summæ enim istius beneficentiæ fructus non modo ad maximum solamen diuturni exilii multorum, sed ad universæ

gentis nostræ communem in Christo et ecclesiæ salutem, nec tantum ad præsens tempus, sed ad diuturnitatem atque ad omnes posteros, spectabit; ut nesciam an quicquam in hoc genere vel ad Dei æternum honorem luculentius vel ad summi pastoris veram ac solidam in Domino gloriam cumulatius vel ad ecclesiæ bonum utilius esse queat. Non mediocriter sane jam tum cum minimis et incertis adjumentis hoc seminarium sustentabatur afflictam patriam juvisse prudentes ac boni facile animadverterunt; Pontificis vero optimi ac maximi nunc auspiciis felicissimis auctum, propagatum, constitutum admirabiles ecclesiæ fructus pariturum confidimus. Hoc toto quinquennio, sapientissime Cardinalis, commigrarunt huc ex vicina Anglia vel jubentibus vel conniventibus vel nonnunquam etiam invitis parentibus ingeniosissimi adolescentes plurimi, viri etiam ætate ac doctrina præstantes multi, hæreseos quoque ac nefarii schismatis pertæsi, adeoque prophanorum sacrorum ministri nonnulli; qui omnes tanto studio ac ardore catholicam disciplinam ac institutionem sectantur, et tam acriter prioris ignorantiæ suæ vias horrent et abominantur, aliosque tam lubenter a perditis sectibus et moribus revocant ut nihil unquam viderim lubentius. Et hoc ipso quidem tempore quo Christus per summum suæ providentiæ ministrum Gregorium XIII., quo nomine nihil unquam fuit genti nostræ salutarius, communes nostrorum hominum labores ac dolores consideravit, escamque misericors et miserator Dominus dedit timentibus se, quasi quadam futuri boni præsensione, longe plures quam antea huc ad nos concesserunt. Quare si ullam nunc rempublicam, si ullam ecclesiam Britannia mea haberet, et si ipsa pro se loqui posset, prostrata ad beatissimos pedes de hoc immortali bono Sanctitati suæ gratias ageret pariterque oraret supplex ut reliquias florentissimæ olim ecclesiæ suæ in Duacenum hoc seminarium Sanctitatis suæ nomine collectas, quod benignissime cepit, tueri ac propagare velit. Tibi autem, illustrissime domine, sanctissimæ voluntatis pontificiæ sanctissimo consiliario, interpreti, ministro, qui tanto in homines inopes et exules favore, pietate, propensione, rem omnem tam necessario nobis tempore confecisti, quantæ debeantur gratiæ jam pridem ex literis amplissimi D. Audoeni[1], referendarii apostolici, intelligo ac perpetuo agnoscam; qui vir cum ab ineunte pene ætate morum ac doctrinæ singularisque prudentiæ admiratione et reliquæ vitæ familiaritate mihi fuerit conjunctissimus, hoc nomine tamen charissimus jam diu fuit, quod in hoc seminario inchoando summus et suasor et adjutor extitit. Cujus propterea amplissimæ observantiæ officia in tuam Celsitudinem talia semper fore confido, ut per ipsum intelligere possit quam immortalia beneficia calamitosis hominibus totique genti nostræ hac incomparabili charitate contulerit. Deus ac Dominus noster, Jesus Christus, vitam ac misericordiam Sanctissimo Domino nostro quam diutissime largiatur, et tibi, illustrissime Cardinalis, ejus et ecclesiæ sancto ministerio incolumitatem diuturnam concedat. Duaci XIII. Junii, 1575.

Tuæ illustrissimæ Dominationis in Christo humillimus servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS, presbiter.

[1] Dr. Owen Lewis.

VIII.

Brief of Pope Gregory XIII. to Dr. William Allen. Rome, 30th August, 1575.

From the original in the Archives of the See of Westminster. II. 11.

Gregorius PP. XIII^s^.

Dilecte fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Exigit pastoris universalis cura nobis divinitus injuncta ut omni studio enitamur oves, quæ a Christi ovili aberrarunt, commodis rationibus omni diligentia adhibita reducere. Hinc est quod nos tibi, de quo in his et aliis specialem in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, in universo Angliæ regno ac illius provinciis universis ac extra illud utriusque sexus personas dicti regni vere pœnitentes, quæ peccata sua alia quam Anglica lingua commode non poterunt confiteri, a quibusvis excessibus et delictis quantumvis gravibus et enormibus, etiam in literis in die cœnæ Domini legi solitis comprehensis, injuncta eis pro modo culpæ pœnitentia salutari, in foro conscientiæ duntaxat absolvere, ac cum eis eorundem delictorum occasione, si censuris ecclesiasticis ligati divinis se quomodolibet immiscuerint, contracta irregularitate dispensare, ac ab eis omnem inhabilitatis maculam tollere et abolere, eosque in pristinum et eum in quo antequam in præfatos errores inciderent erant statum restituere reponere et plenarie reintegrare: nec non in eodem regno illiusque civitatibus et diocesibus universis, ut aliquibus probis et catholicis sacerdotibus, quos ad id eligendos duxeris, eandem facultatem delegare possis, qui in dicto regno eadem prorsus facultate in foro conscientiæ duntaxat absolvendi uti valeant, apostolica auctoritate tenore præsentium tibi ad beneplacitum nostrum concedimus et indulgemus: in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque nequaquam obstantibus. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXX. Augusti, MDLXXV. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quarto.

CÆ. GLORIERIUS.

On the back.

Dilecto filio Guilihelmo Alano rectori seminarii Anglicani et regio sacræ theologiæ professori in universitate Duacensi.

IX.

Dr. Nicholas Sander to the Cardinal of Como. Madrid, 30th March, 1576.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. II., *p.* 247.

Ill^me^ et rev^me^ domine; Me ad scribendum hoc tempore partim officium impellit, cum probe sciam et quantum nostri omnes tuæ ill^mæ^ Dominationi debeant et quantæ gratiarum actiones tam constanti bene de illis merendi proposito debeantur, partim opportunitas invitat, quia eos jam in Urbe adesse intelligo quorum laudes tacere nec possum, quia virtutes eorum semper colui, nec debeo, quia quod in illos beneficii

confertur in totam nostræ patriæ causam plenissime confertur. Dominus Franciscus,[1] vir antiquæ nobilitatis, raræ virtutis, judicii singularis et authoritate semper plurimum domi forisque valuit, et nostra plurimum interest ut jam majore auctus non tam sibi quam patriæ suæ quod reliquum est vitæ impendat. Porro doctor Gulielmus Alanus, natalium dignitate satis conspicuus, etiam ingenio, doctrina, pietate, prudentia et quæ his virtutibus paritur auctoritate tantum potest valetque ut de illo ex nostris quidem solo vere dici queat eum rerum susceptarum magnitudine omnem omnium invidiam superasse. Quam vero sit ad res magnas et natus et aptus id unum inter alia multa declarat, quod vix dum ducentos aureos magnis laboribus et vigiliis sibi in singulos annos acquisierat, cum jam de nostratium collegio apud exteros erigendo peregrinus ipse atque exul spem concepit, initium rei dedit, nec a sancto proposito destitit donec fere octoginta exules omnibus bonis ob fidem exutos tum hospitio reciperet, tum cibo pasceret, tum omnibus scientiis eruditos ad omnem perfectionis laudem informaret. In paucis administrandis jam prudens et fidelis divinæ sapientiæ judicio supra multos constituendus esset.

Cum viro sapienti pauca verba sufficiant, ex his quæ jam dixi tua ill^ma^ Dominatio facile intelliget hos viros duos, in suo quemque gradu et vitæ statu, omnium hominum capaces existere qui vel tantæ ipsorum virtuti vel tantæ nostrorum expectationi vel ad finem tam eximium vel a tanta suæ Sanctitatis beneficentia vel per tantam tuæ ill^mæ^ Dominationis authoritatem exhiberi possunt. Erit sine controversia magnus error si in his quæ ad nostratium personas spectant in omnibus causis primæ his duobus viris non deferantur. Nec meo tantum sed et aliorum nomine hæc scripsi, magis ne meo deessem officio quam quod in aliorum causas me temere ingeram, aut serias tuæ ill^mæ^ Dominationis occupationes libenter impediam; cui potius ommia mea studia et officia in æternum addictissima esse cuperem, siquidem ea essent quæ alicui usui esse possent. Quod ex nostra parte deest, adaugeat et multiplicet benignitas et liberalitas Dei. Datum Mantuæ Carpetanæ, pridie cal. Aprilis, anno Domini 1576.

Tuæ illustrissimæ Dominationis addictissimus servus,

NICOLAUS SANDERUS.

X.

Brief of Pope Gregory XIII. to Dr. William Allen. Rome, 18 July, 1577.

From the original in the archives of the see of Westminster. II. 39.

Gregorius PP. XIII.

Dilecte fili; salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cupientes pro nostro pastorali officio collegii seu seminarii Anglorum, in universitate Duacensi Attrebatensis diocesis instituti, profectui et bono regimini consulere, tibi qui ad præsens ejusdem collegii

[1] Sir Francis Englefield.

rector existis, ac canonicatum et præbendam ecclesiæ Cameracensis ex nostra concessione obtines, jamque ex more strictam residentiam sex septimanis ut asseris absolvisti, motu proprio et ex certa scientia nostra, ut per annum, a die quo præsentes nostras literas dilectis filiis capitulo Cameracensi præsentaveris inchoandum, ab eadem ecclesia Cameracensi propter seminarii prædicti regimen abesse, et omnes interim fructus redditus et proventus tuæ præbendæ ac emolumenta obventiones commoda et jura quæcunque plene et integre ac si personaliter in eadem ecclesia resideres percipere libere et licite valeas, dummodo singulis majoribus festis, quæ principalia festa duplicia vulgo vocantur, in missa majori ac secundis vesperis et aliis divinis officiis sicut alii canonici Cameracenses in eadem ecclesia intersis, morbi aut alio legitimo impedimento cessante, auctoritate apostolica tenore præsentium de specialis dono gratiæ indulgemus. Mandantes venerabili fratri archiepiscopo Cameracensi ac capitulo prædictis et quibusvis aliis ad quos spectat, ut durante anno prædicto de fructibus, redditibus et proventibus ac emolumentis, obventionibus, commodis et juribus universis prædictis juxta tenorem præsentium tibi debito tempore cum effectu respondeant, et seu responderi mandent et faciant. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, necnon dictæ ecclesiæ, etiam juramento confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, statutis et consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis, et literis apostolicis dictis ecclesiæ et capitulo quomodolibet concessis confirmatis et innovatis. Quibus omnibus eorum tenores ac si de verbo ad verbum insererentur præsentibus pro sufficienter expressis habentes, illis alias in suo robore permansuris, hac vice duntaxat ad effectum præsentium specialiter et expresse derogamus cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die XVIII Julii, MDLXXVII. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Sexto.

CÆ. GLORIERIUS.

On the back.

Dilecto filio Guglielmo Alano, Anglo, sacræ theologiæ doctori.

XI.

Mary Queen of Scots to Dr. William Allen. Sheffield, 3 August (1577).

From the original decipher in the British Museum, Cotton MSS. Calig. C. V. 80 *Printed also in Labanoff. Tom.* IV., *p.* 375.

The many good reports and multitude of rare vertues floweinge in yow, which longe agoe have made your name be knowne not onely unto me but to the greatest and every one of good in Christendome, have no lesse made me esteme your comfortable letter in this my affliction as a singuler signe of some good to ensue thereupon, then most heartely to accept your godlie and honest offers, in speciall your prayers at the holie altar, which I understand by the convoyer[1] hereof have this longe tyme bene

[1] *Noted on the margin* Ligons.

used by yow and such as are under your chardge; of which I cannot better acquite me then by mine daylie to God for your strengthninge and mayntaynance with His grace and Holye Spirit in all your designementes tendinge to His glorye, unto the time it please Him to graunte me meanes otherwise to ayde and supply the atchieveinge thereof and to recognosce your sincere affection towards me as I have goodwill.

There is no particuler joye nor restitution nor advancement on earth that I desire saveinge onely the relief of the catholique church and fortitude thereof to the universall florishinge and restablishment of her faith and religion, but specially in this pore isle. To which end, if it shall please Him to make me serve in any thinge, I doe even nowe, as I have longe afore, dedicate and abandon my life in a thowsand mo torments and all I can have in this world thereunto, wishing no greater felicitye and consolation then in that quarrell to leave the miseryes of this wreched vale.

And the meane tyme consideringe the good which maniefoldlye I have receaved since my arryvall in this realme, as well by the wicked who through persecution have made me with God's grace better acknowledge my self then afore I coulde in prosperitye, as by the good people that in my lowest extremitye have given me comforte and relief, which bindeth me, without my naturall inclination, in recompenc to wishe weal to the hole, specially to the faithfull who have suffered with lose of lands and goods and finally banisshid, albeit with seperation of their bodyes in strange countries I wishe ther harts not to be so farre severid as to my greife I understand they be devided in sundry factions. To the reunion and reconcilement of whom I have this long time bine most desyrous to interpone my credit; as yet I am in deliberation if by any means I may profitt therin, and herof knowing your habilite and the good opinion every one of them hath of yow, I have found no way so fit as to call to your helpe and to pray yow for God's sake and myne to imploy your travell in so good a work, and if posible in such a sorte as may be brought to some good end: and therin, if my name may serve in anye way, to use it as yow think needfull; which I remit to your discrecion. And I shall heartely allowe and authorise yow in the same. God Almightie preserve yow. The thirde of August, at Sheffield castle.

Endorsed 1577, 3° Augusti. The Q. of Scotts to D. Allen. Cope deciphered by Mrs. Somers.

XII.

Dr. William Allen to Dr. Bristow and Mr. Bailey. Cambray, 6 August, 1577.

Printed in the First and Second Douay Diaries. p. 259.

D. Alanus præses, literis ad D. Brist. et M. Bail datis Cameraci, August. 6, 1577.

Certeyne of the bookes in my chamber were and are Mr. Morganes; all wch I gyve to the students, viz., Opera Augustini, Opera Dionisii in textum Bibliorum and

Lyranus; which are not all perfect, but so may [many] as they be and as I had and fownd of them, those let the Common have and be sett in the hall. Item Biblia græca in iii little volumes as I remember: I think the New Testament wanteth. Eusebius græce et quædam Theophilacti græce. I gyve them ipso facto to the howse. Opera Originis et Chrisostomi etiam. All these lett the students have and use acording to yo[r] wysdome.

XIII.

Dr. William Allen to F. Chasee (Chauncy), Prior of the English Carthusians in the Low Countries, Cambray, 10 August, 1577.

From a contemporary copy in the archives of the Old Brotherhood of the English secular clergy.

Ryght reverend good father, my deere freind; I thanke you for the charitable admonition which youe sent me of late concerninge somme of the prests addressed thes latter years frome these parts into England. I spake not with the partye my selfe, but came by your warning att the second hand. And in good sooth, Sir, I shalbe as circumspect as I may, and truely ever have taken as good heede as I could that no scandall fall amonge the simple, nor reasonablely be taken of the evill (nam perfecti et diligentes legem Dei non scandalizantur) by any disorder or defecte of the said preists: thowghe in there and our so great and manifold infirmityes; in so strayt watch over suche menns wayes and behavyour, not onely by adversaryes but also by emulators; in such a delicate daungerous by me to doo good in, as this is; it is impossible not to heare yll for doing well, nor to walke square in every mans curious eye, were [they] as many Peters and Paules, Augustines and Ambroses, as they be nowe plaine poore priests. For (besyd the exceding ill neyhbourhood of heretikes whose forceable example of disordere breadeth blotts of lyfe and discipline almost in all that be nere them) even among the catholyke of our country needfully living in awe of mans lawes ther is suche feare, such variety of humours, such perfect the more, such perfect the less, so diversly to be delt withall, soome to be handled softly, some hardly, and all so to be trayned towards heaven that they loose nothinge for yt here in the world, that those which serve there soules in this pytefull case and state of things to every of their contentations and to the lyking of all that be lookers on had need to be conning karvers. Lett them measure them selves never so exactly by councel and cannon, and kepe the streit lyne of holy Churches lawes never so precisly (which to do withowt all blame I knowe requireth much wisdom and discretion) yet how warely soever they walke, except they followe a little the fantasyes of theire favourers and followers or bere more or lesse with there schisme or synne, and be content conningly to convey the matter so that they may serve the one syde without the offence of the other (which is the hardest thing in the world where the two contrary partyes bee manne

and God) yet except they this do, were they never so old, never so wyse, never so well scholed, they shall not possibly gaine the favour and good word of the world: even wyse mens judgments somtymes to pressed by voice of the unskillfull multitude and other violences of thes tyme and place where they be, that yt breadith error in their consciences thowghe withowt sinne. Which I do not speake so in there defence or myne owne dischardge, because I wold boulster or bere in them any there defects or disorders, which God knoweth in that weightie function of presthood farr passing the worthynesse of us all must needs be many, of whatt calling, learning or age soever we be; but to this end onely that your fatherhood and other may better knowe and lesse mysconstrue our intentions and proceading for the maintenance of the spirituall harvest and workmanshipp in England, which must needs to the perishinge of infinite soueles yf there should be no supply of catholyke preests utterly decay. For our direction therfore in this affaire the holy Scriptures and cannons have expressed the qualityes and prescribed age and measure of learning; against which or lacking which condicion eyther of lyfe, age or skill, yt were no small contempt and disorder to procure any manns promotion to presthood, as the persons so ordered should lyghtly offend the rules of our religion and incurre many censures of the Churche. I therfore for my part I never presented none to that holy function but such as for all qualities exactly ruled by the cannons in my poore judgment myght be preists, and such as no bushope could in conscience repelle or refuse eyther for want of yeres or knowledge or behaviour, none ever under xxv yers of age and all lightly farre above, all of irreprovable lyfe and conversation and of verie good testimonie; most of them not onely well skilled in the latine and other learned tongues, but also browght upp to degree bothe in art and divinitye, suche as should never have bene refused in any country christianned nether in this age nor of old tyme to have ben persons and pastors of mens soules. And yet of these I have made alwayes such choise and difference in addressinge them towards England, that I nether sent all that wold and perchaunce could do good there, nether bestowed lyke facultye and authority to all that went thither. This is trothe I tell yowe: as farre as I canne call my selfe to accounte, I never admitted any to go in and to reconcile sinners and schismatikes in all cases but they were xxx yeres old or not farr under, and many of them much more; and some so well lerned that they might have passed with æstimation to any degree of divinitye in our universities when they florished more then they do nowe. And nonne be so unfytt but that they have had much more convenient institution in all kynd of pastorall doctrine then the common sort of curats had in old tyme, as yow may better then I remembre theare wannt then in manner even of necessary knowledge. And many of the elder sort of preests long since made in England, comming hyther to see our trade, and tarryinge with us som good tyme, will beare us wytnesse in that point of all diligence and industry, and howe carefull we bee that none passe but well qualified or with tolerable fourneiture, thowghe (because Mercury cannot be made of

every logg) not all of highest witt or learninge. And althowghe the delicate curiositee and opiniatrity of this evill tyme requyre in spirituall men more skill and conninge then before, yet on the other syde the necessitie of our realme is suche, by reason the unjust lawes have sequestred the old, trewe and learned pastors frome the exercyse of their function, that among many laborers som must needes be admitted of moderat knowledge, otherwyse neither wanting the age nor other qualitie that the decrees of the churche require. Behold the trade of the seminaryes in Italy and other countryes, erected by commandement of the holy counsell of Trent for education and nurriture of preests, and see whether ours may not be admitted of lyke age and training as theirs bee. Consider the Jesuits trade, who be men called of God to rayse the necessary discipline of the Churche and be the best gostly fathers that the Churche hath. Among them, all bee not of lyke learning nor of hyghest scholasticall skill nor all gray heeds, but some of them verie yonge, many well instructed in penitentiary cases and by a fewe yeres use quyckly become very expert; one of which order being somwhat yong, but otherwyse excedingly exercised, was many daes some years past in England, where he did reconcile many and did much good; and yet because he was yonge et quia mollibus vestiebatur to cover his order, my selfe hard yll spoken of him in England; as now ours be for the lyke things and for that they be not sufficient to resolve the curyous or scrupulous in all dowts much blamed. But yt is not requisite, Syr, as yow full well knowe, that every one should be so profounde to resolve all cases that may fall, specially in mans lyfe and conscience: and yf any of our order in England should be so presumptuous or his master before him to chalendge so much conninge, he were to prowde to be a preest or ghostly father; as he also is over simple or rigorous that wole have none admitted to heare confession that be not resolute in every poynt that may be propounded or of so perfyt lyfe that no mann may possibly reprehend them. Wold God all could be so, for then shold we poure synners be so also; but that golden world is past, yf ever any such were. And nowe I thanke God much that hitherto I heare no enormyous crymes or notorious offenses by any of them all, nor that any is so ill or inconstant to fall by feare or force to deny there faith or to schisme or heresye, thoughe in the frailty of men, of what age or wysdome soever they be counted of, such inconveniences and scandalls may fall, which now God forbyd. And thowghe some of them, as I understand and am sory for yt, have unadvisedly uttered in theire sodden feare some places and persons of there resort and catholyke exercyse, which they should not doo in conscience; yet that in the said feares they have fallen no further, I thanke God humbly for yt, praing Him to amend all our imperfections. They be not yett all I confesse of settled age, experience and discretion in every thinge and therefore may more easily commit error or disorder: but alas I have no old expert men to teache, nor am not able to teache suche; such use not much to come to the schoole. And thowghe they were never so old, wold there bee no faults spyed amonge them, thinke youe? Wold all such lyve and

teache and deale in those matters without all offence, trowe youe? Yt were to be wyshed, but yt is not to bee hooped. The busye enemy to all good intentions, the devill, canne cast impediments inowe amonge the oldest that bee, to make there laboure lesse profytable and lesse gratefull to the people and imperfycte men; who yf thei be hurt by any accident in there temporalityes throwghe there gostly fathers or teachers, they will streight wyshe they had bene att schoole xx yeares longer to have learned discretion. God is my record howe carefull I am that such as seake their salvation be as little endomaged as may bee; and some canne beare me wytnesse what earnest chardge I give to every one att there dismission to use them selves with wysdome, discretion, humilitye and secresye, with some particular instructions howe and where to condiscende withowt synne to certaine feablenesse growne in manns lyfe and manners these ill tymes, not alwayes to be rigorous, never over scrupulous, so that the churche discipline be not evidently infringed, nor no acte of schisme or synne plainly committed; warning them specially that they take not to much upon them in deciding cases or questions which they cannot well skill of, withowt recourse to theire superiours in age, learning and degree; for which cause to some that be not of so great study, judgment and capacity, I graunt no further authoritye but onely in uplandishe places wher ther is no other better learned then themselves to heare the common catholyke peoples confession, or of that howse onely where for the tyme they dwell. That I thanke God I am gyltlesse in conscience and before Him in all dealing hearin, and fully satisfye the Pope's Holynesse for the chardge and commission yt hath pleased his goodnesse to gyve me and others with me joyned in the same: and have his Holynesse example for my warrant also, for as much as some of the yongest sort that bee in England were both made preests in Rome and authorised there by him selfe, as divers of the rest be throughe my subdelegation. And at this present some of the yongest and of least study that were in our company be by his Holynesse licence to take orders and preesthood in Rome to the same end that ours be and have bene made with us; wher nowe, specially since the order therein taken by the late generall Counsell of Trent, ther is as exact and exquisit examination of there worthynesse as is in any place of the world; where they repell none by minoritye, but suche as be under 25 yeres, bearing with youthe in yeares by S. Paules example in Timothye, and the holy Scriptures warrant, that measure not alwayes gravitye by the gray head, but by sufficiensy of sense and judgment; thowghe yf we might alwayes have men of mature age we should need the lesse to occupye the yonger, whome nowe neede maketh us to use and who by a lyttle practyse and experience shall attaine to that rypenesse of prudence and discretion which we desyre: wherin the beginnings of there practyse is lesse daungerous; for that they be not put to government and jurisdiction, but to a matter of labour and worke onely where errors be lesse perilous. And this in the meane tyme is my joy and comfort in Christ, that, whatsoever the fearfull or unskillfull thinke of this practyse, by ther travels

as also by others of the lyke calling and indevour, God is daly glorified and served in our countrye with great encrease of the catholyke faith, and more and moe be dalye wonne of all sorts of men, and that innumerable nowe confesse there faithe and abhorreth all communion and participation with the sectaryes in there servyce and sacraments, that before, beinge catholykes in there hart, for worldy feare durst not so doo, and that there is dayly such joyfull resort of many to this syde the seas to learne there belefe and to take experience of the Churches discipline by our said preests speciall exhortation, that yt is wonderfull to strangers and comfortable to us to behold. For my parte I should thinke all my poore paines and desyres well rewarded in God, yf eve[r]y one that laboureth there could but recover one soule from schisme and perdition, as I have assured intelligence every one gaineth full manye. And to make short, his Holinesse pleasure is that this we should doo, and thus by his seminary supply as farre as we be able the great scarsitie of spirituall labourers in our country; hym selfe of his bounteous goodnesse bearing theime in his said seminary, partly att Doway and partly att Rome, till they be fytt (for lyfe, age and learning) for that function. But tyll they have hore heads nether the seminary canne beare them, nor England well beare the want of them; thowghe some worldly and timerous persons, that wold take there rest rather in this lyfe then in the next, had rather still lacke the use of them then bye yt with worldlye losse (as they take yt) to deare. Well yett needfull they be, and scandalls and defects will be and appeare to be, were they the wysest and most picked persons in the world. The cause wherof this is specially (which many one seeth not that reprehendeth yt) that in this state of things our catholike churche or the relyques and seede thereof in England hath no forme of externall common wealth, no one that governeth the rest, no discipline or censures neyther to dryve the preists nor people into order, no man subject to his fellowe, no way to call disorders to accoumpt, no common conference, no soveraignty nor subjection; but every one living severally and secretely by him selfe, and often farre frome any fellowes, is ruled onely by his owne skill and conscience; which even amonge the Apostoles had bredd disturbance, yf by sundry meetyngs, counsels and conferences yt had not bene looked unto, and, that notwythstanding, som of the best sort were nowe and then fownde reprehensible; which poynt cannot possibly be wholy provided for in our miserable country, in so great feare of lawes and so many provisions against the practyse of the catholicke religion; because no man dare nor well can in those termes take upon him to direct, governe and call to accoumpt at certeine tymes the rest of the inferiour clergye in so great a dispersion and uncerteintee of there abode; and we here on this syde cannot have so often intercourse with them as to heare of there defects or they of our admonition once in a yere or twoo. Therfore where there canne bee no further jurisdiction or recoumpt of there dealings then the rule of every manns owne conscience and knowledge, no

marvell yf all be not att all tymes agreable to reason and our desyres; for that the best, wisest and most learned in all the realme, needfully livinge in that land where heresye hath apparantly thee mastery, doo not I dare say satisfye them selves towards God and the Churche for matters of religion in all there doings exactly, but so longe as the exorbitance is not intollerable better it is to bere yt, thowghe wee allowe yt not, then so many should perishe without the necessary releefe of there soules. That any of them goo in fethers, which I perceve is another thing noted in them, I have not muche hard of before; but I am assured they goo not in suche comely sort as there holye order requireth, nor as we and them selves wold most hartely wyshe they myght doo with there saftye and others with whome they deale; but alas! they needfully disguyse themselves with colours, ruffes and rapers, and I cannot tell howe many waies besyde, which they take to be lawfull in such distresse. And so do both you and I too, I dare say, thinke it lawfull; for youe have redd I doubt not what our doctors and scholmen teache in that case. Sure yt is, as old as you bee and so wyse and grave as all the world knoweth you to bee, you myght in Flushen, London or Geneva, or any other such place that is become barbarous by lacke of religion, weare lay apparell (except you have some speciall exception by your order which I knowe not of) yeae and a fether too, to save your lyfe or to cover some good purpose entended; thowghe I should laughe to meete you in a fether there. Never the lesse I wold not counsell the catholyke preists in England, except yt were in great necessitiee, to putt them selfes into to much disguised geare, leest by lightnesse of outward attyre there behaviour inward bee made lyghter. And this is certaine that preists there had nead to pray instantly and fast muche and watche and warde themselfes well, lest thee needfull use of sundry entysments to sinne and necessary disimulation in things of them selves indifferent, to be fytt for every company, bring them to offend God, and so whyles they labour to save others themeselfes become reprobate; wherin they must also be more carefull of there wayes, for that every mans eyes be cast upon them as on suche as take upon them to bee guides of other menns lyfes and beleefe, whose faults many a manne spyeth that prayeth not for them; as most men marke there misses, and fewe consider in what feares and daungers they be in and what unspeakable paines they take to serve good menns tornes to there least perill. I could recken unto youe the miseryes they suffer in night journeyes, in the worst wedder that canne be picked; perill of theves, of waters, of watches, of false brethrene; there close abode in chambers as in pryson or dongeoon withowt fyre and candell leest they gyve token to the enemy where they bee; there often and sudden raisinge from there bedds att mydnight to avoyde the diligent searches of hæretikes; all which and diverse other discontentments, disgraces and reproches they willinglye suffer, which is great penannce for there fethers, and all to wynne the soweles of there dearest countryemen; which paynes fewe men pittye as they should doo, and not many reward them as they ought to doo. But I passe measure, good father, and trowble you

frome better occupations to this end onely, that your charitye and wysdome may the better satisfye such reasonable folkes as youe sometymes may heare talke of such thinges. And the forsaid is for the common: this one thinge, good reverend Sir, towcheth youe and me in private. I understande two or three wayes that youe have some suspicion or conceypt that I should make sute for some part of your lyvelyhod to bee transposed to the seminary; which by my fathe and in verbo sacerdotii I never did, never intended, nor never thowght of the doinge of any suche thinge in my lyfe. But hereby you may see, father, howe easyly the devill can cast imaginary quarrells not onely amongst vulgare freinds, but even amonge those somtymes that pray eche for other in the soveraigne action of the masse. No, father, I love your godly purpose and covent too well, so to doo. But these penny dooles and such peevishe matters put nott onely yonge preests out of course, but cause old and yonge to smatche one at another; wherat I marvell the lesse because the lyke mutyny and variance fell out amonge the apostolicke companyes of the first Christians for supposed partialitye and respecte in the bestowing of the common collection, as you knowe. For my parte thowghe gyltie of many synnes before God, yett of this I am innocent, nott onely never annoyinge wyttingly any religious howse or society, but no private man in the world that I knowe of, for thencrease of our schollers; thowghe for them, as you doo for your religious, I take as muche care as I canne. Thus, good father, I praye yow pardon my multitude of words muche against my custome, which proceade of duetifull regard to your grave admonition, prayinge alwayes with lyke frendshyppe to gyve me warninge of what soever yow heare by others or knowe your selfe in me and myne to be corrigible. The quarrell is Gods; and but for Hys holy glory and honor I myght sleepe att ease, and let the world wagge and other men worke. Thus recommendinge my selfe most humbly to your devoute prayers and to father Rysdens and all the rest of your good religious company, I bid you farewell and longe to lyve. Att Cambray, this 10 of August, 1577.

Your fatherhoods faithfull chylde and poore freinde,

W. ALLEN.

Endorsed in Dr. Thomas Worthington's hand.

This letter was written to F. Chasee, Prior of the English Carthusians.[1]

[1] "Monachi etiam Carthusiani, eorum scilicet monachorum reliquiæ quos Henricus Octavus catholicæ fidei odio in Anglia crudelissime trucidavit, nuper e civitate Brugensi, in qua sustentabantur Catholici Regis munificentia, Anglicæ illius furiæ postulatione ejecti miserrime vivunt in civitate Sancti Quintini, jamque amissis rebus omnibus sola ipsis spes salva est in tua præstanti humanitate et Catholici Regis munificentia. Orant igitur ut eos commendemus Nobilitati tuæ. Id vero facimus toto pectore, rogamusque ut jubeas locum aliquem ipsis assignari in quo possint simul vivere, etc." Pope Gregory XIII. to Don John of Austria, July 26, 1578. Theiner Ann. Eccles. ii., 436.

XIV.

Dr. Nicholas Sander to Dr. William Allen. Madrid, 6 November, 1577.

From a contemporary copy in the Public Record Office, London. Dom. Eliz. Vol. 118. n. 13.

Jesus.

S. p. in Domino.

Yours of the vii[th] of June came to my hands to greater present comfort than the successe that followed could maynteine. O pitifull change of thinges! The more need of peace within to withstand suche troublesome persequutions as you there have suffered. I am not worthie to partake them: they are for more chosen vessels. God grawnt you all there to knowe your owne blessing and to thanke God of it. I had as much before myne eyes long before, and still thinke that wee shall have no stedy comfort but from God, in the A[1] not the X.[2] Therfore I beseeche you to take hould of A; for the X is as fearfull of warre as a child of fyre, and all his indevor is to avoyd all suche occasions. The A will gyve twoe thowsand, when you shall be content with them. Yf they doe not serve to goe to England, at the lest they wyll serve to goe into Ireland. The state of Christendome dependethe uppon the stowte assallynge of England. I thanke you hartely for the favor you have shewed to D. Gibbons brother. It seemethe to bee a blessed broode. For God's sake continewe your favor still that waye: albeit I feare mee your seminarie will agayne fall to dispersion. I have none other thinge in this world so at the hart as to bee with you; nor can I gett leave to depart hence. Therfore yf it so fall that it bee no hinderance for you to come hither, lose not the occasion. Vale in Christo Jesu, viscera mea. Ego te fruar in Domino, qui te in æternum tueatur. From Madrid, the 6 of November, 1577.

To the right worshipfull Mr. Doctor Allen.

This letter above sayd is from D. Sanders of his owne hand and sealed with singing cake.[3]

Endorsed.

A copie of Sanders letter to D. Allen, 1577.

[1] *Marg.* The Pope. [2] *Marg.* Kynge of Sp.

[3] The letter, marginal notes and postscript are all in the same hand.

XV.

Dr. William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 4 April, 1578.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano. Inghilterra e Fiandra, Vol. 1. fol. 82).

R^me^ et Illustrissime Domine.

Cum amplissima quæque Christiani orbis negotia sub optimo maximo ecclesiæ Pontifice tuo imprimis consilio ac sollicitudine gerantur, parcius et timidius scribo etiam tum cum multa magna atque recentia istius in nos omnes merita et observantiæ nostræ in tuam Celsitudinem indies aucta officia id mirifice requirant. Hoc tamen tempore cum tanta rationum nostrarum mutatio tamque magna omnium ex afflicto collegio Anglicano calamitas existat, nec id Sanctissimum Dominum patremque nostrum clementissimum, cujus solius per Christum misericordia tam diuturni exilii et persecutionis difficultates sustinemus, latere oportuit, nec aliunde nisi ex literis nostris et sermone ill^mæ^ Dominationis tuæ, per quam primum hoc ipsum divinum bonum et alia indies innumera beneficia a sua Sanctitate recepimus, certior reddi potuit. Quod igitur jam diu, amplissime Cardinalis, timuimus, istud ipsum hæreticorum nostrorum solicitatione evenit ut nostri omnes Duaco ejicerentur. Id factum est pridie Palmarum publico novi superinducti illius urbis ac provinciæ gubernatoris et recens creati magistratus edicto. Jussi sunt abire intra viginti quatuor horas jam instante septimana sancta omnes. Vix permittebatur, cum id supplices postulassent, duobus senioribus sacerdotibus seminarii præsentis ibi paucissimis sequentibus diebus ad supellectilem et minutam rem procurandum subsistere. Ejecti vero ne in vicinas civitates tum etiam tumultuantes non admittebantur; adeo ut quatriduum totum Cameraco excluderentur etiam ii qui eo tempore sacris initiari cupiebant, nec uspiam tuto reliqui consistere poterant donec in vicinam Galliam appulerunt. Cujus calamitatis cum me certiorem, misso quam primum nuntio, fecissent, ex tempore feci quod debui et potui. Rhemos vocavi, curavique per catholicissimæ illius ecclesiæ urbis et academiæ sub illustrissimo Cardinali et archiepiscopo administratores (licet magistratus civilis propter numerum fuerat ab initio paulo difficilior) ut benigne admitterentur tantisper dum in Urbem scriberemus et suæ Sanctitatis de nobis voluntatem et mandatum cognosceremus. Hæc academia erat vicinissima et multis nominibus commodissima, cum ad academiam Lovaniensem propter hostes aditus non daretur. Neque vero hic propter summos extraordinarios sumptus et gravissima ex commigratione dispendia potuimus omnes quos Duaci habemus retinere, coacti non modo sacerdotes aliquot in Insulam ad opus mittere sed plurimos etiam juvenes dimittere. Retinemus autem hic in studiis et

exercitiis consuetis quinquaginta, in quibus sunt presbyteri viginti tres et diaconi quatuor, reliqui vel studiosi theologiæ vel logices pene omnes. Atque ita se ex hoc miserando naufragio, benignissime domine, habet collegium nostrum, id est Sanctitatis suæ charitatisque tuæ proles, agri Anglicani semen et afflictissimi illius gregis dominici spes unica; quæ ne pereat, nisi me mentis affectus fallat, ad ecclesiæ bonum summopere pertinet. Cujus fructus vel ex eo facile agnoscitur quod hostes ecclesiæ nostræ tanto molimine hoc institutum frangi cupiant, nec unquam conquieverint nisi re perfecta. Si vero sanctissimus Dominus noster suum hoc collegium continuum esse jubeat, quod ut velit apud sanctissimos pedes suos provoluti postulamus, non video quo loco commodiori ad immittendos in Insulam operarios, donec Belgica requiescat ab his ærumnis, nostri collocari queant. Sed hoc omne negotium non tam nostrum quam ecclesiæ Britannicæ, quæ vivo Beatissimo Gregorio nunquam deponet spem, tuo sapientissimo consilio plane committimus. Equidem quod jusseritis libentissime semper, Christo volente, exequar. At reliqua propter sanctissimas occupationes vestras ex sermone Rev. domini Audoeni archidiaconi commodius scire poterit Illustrissima et R^ma^. Paternitas tua, quam Christus Jesus ad suæ Sanctitatis et totius ecclesiæ salutare ministerium diutissime servet incolumem. Remis, pridie nonas Apriles, 1578.

V. Ill^mæ^ Gratiæ humilis orator et sacellarius,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

Addressed

Ill^mo^ ac Rev^mo^ in Christo patri ac domino, domino Cardinali Comensi, domino suo clementissimo. Romam.

XVI.

Pope Gregory XIII. to Louis Cardinal archbishop of Reims. Rome, 18 May, 1578.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. II., *p.* 434.

Dilecto filio nostro Ludovico Cardinali Remensi nuncupato.

Gregorius PP. XIII.

Dilecte fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Etsi certum habemus ea quæ pertinent ad Dei gloriam atque ad catholicæ ecclesiæ dignitatem nihil indigere nostra apud te commendatione, tamen pro nostro summo desiderio facere non possumus quin hoc quod ad utramque causam magnopere pertinere intelligimus commendemus pietati tuæ. Alanus, præfectus ei collegio quod Duaci constitueramus,

ejectus inde ab improbis atque impiis hominibus, contulit se cum iis quos secum habebat in episcopatum ac civitatem tuam. Commendamus eum suosque omnes tibi quantum possumus, nec tantum possumus quantum Christus ipse flagitat. Quod uni, inquit, ex minimis meis fecistis mihi fecistis: quam igitur acceptam ei esse oportebit pietatem tuam in tot ejus servis amplectendis et quibuscumque in rebus poteris sublevandis? Non dubitamus te id studiosissime facturum, neque hanc tantam opportunitatem Christo inserviendi immortaliaque ab eo beneficia promerendi amissurum. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die XVIII Maii, MDLXXVIII. Pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

XVII.

Pope Gregory XIII. to the Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Reims. Rome, 18 May, 1578.

Printed in Marlot, Metropolis Remensis Historia. p. 834.

Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Pietas vestra spectatissima et zelus Dei gloriæ, cujus habetis gravissima apud vos testimonia, nos dubitare non sinit quin in hac causa quam vobis proponimus vestro muneri, hominum prædicationi, nostræ expectationi præclare responsuri sitis. Alanus, præfectus hujus collegii quod Duaci constituimus, ab impiis ejectus, contulit se in istam civitatem cum iis quos secum habebat. Rogamus per eundem Christum ipsum, cujus causa agitur, ut eos quam commendatissimos habeatis vestraque humanitate amplectamini. Eos vero cum commendamus in singulis, Christum ipsum qui in illis ejectus est commendamus. Quantum porro Christo debeatis ipsi præclare intelligitis, itaque longiores esse non debemus. Deus et Dominus noster, qui hanc vobis de se tam præclare merendi offert facultatem, tueatur et cumulet vos sua gratia atque omni felicitate. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die 18 Maii, anno 1578. Pontificatus nostri anno sexto [septimo].

XVIII.

The Cardinal of Como to Dr. William Allen. Rome, 19 May, 1578.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. II., *p.* 435.

Gulielmo Alano, rectori collegii Anglicani.

Admodum reverende in Christo; Quæ tuis literis nonis Aprilis ad me datis tibi ac reliquis ex collegio isto Anglicano accidisse significasti, dum miseris atque indignis

modis adversariorum orthodoxæ religionis opera Duaco expulsi fuistis, eadem paulo antea ex archidiacono nostro Audoeno cognoveram, et Sanctissimo Domino nostro exposueram. Qui sane pro eo ac debuit vestram vel potius Anglicanæ ecclesiæ in vobis aliquantulum resurgentis vicem doluit. Sed quoniam ante provisum erat ex turbationibus Belgii et dominatu eorum qui ad clavum positi fuerant hujusmodi flagitia eruptura, nec Sathanam tali tempore quieturum quin quæcunque posset tam pio et sancto operi impedimenta objiceret; ideo oportet nos hæc ita accipere ut non modo non concedamus armis, sed majores spiritus sumamus, memores longe potentiorem esse qui pro nobis est quam qui contra nos. Sed ad te consolandum et confirmandum plura non afferam: scio enim tibi nec mea nec cujusquam oratione opus esse, et te in eo cui militas Christo confortari. Sanctitas quidem sua cœptum opus omni authoritate, opere auxilioque suo prosequetur, nec tibi tuisque ullo loco deerit. In cujus rei signum Sanctitas ejus, præter assignatum stipendium, quingentos aureos istic curari tibi jussit pecuniaque hac de causa Audoeno numerata est. Præterea Sanctitas sua illustrissimo Cardinali Rhemensi et capitulo ejusdem ecclesiæ, quemadmodum optasti, de te scripsit, commendans accurate tuam ac totius collegii salutem et quietem. Quod et idem Nuncio apostolico injunctum est, ut apud Christianissimam Majestatem faciat. Quare cum eodem Nuncio commercium literarum habebis, et quotiescunque acciderit ut opera et patrocinio ipsius apud eandem Majestatem egeas, ad illum fidenter scribes. Ad me autem tuum collegiique statum, cum libuerit, scribere poteris: libentissime enim tuas semper legam literas, nec unquam committam ut ullum officii et auxilii genus, quod quidem in me est, desideres. Reliqua ex Audoeno. Deus te gratia et protectione sua custodiat. Romæ, die 19 Maii, 1578.

PTOLOMÆUS, CARDINALIS NOVOCOMENSIS.

XIX.

Dr. William Allen to the Nuncio (Dandini[1]) at Paris. Reims, 22 June, 1578.

Printed in Le Collége Anglais de Douai pendant la révolution Française, par l'abbé Dancoisne. Douai, 1881.[2]

R^me^ in Christo Pater,

Illustris domine; coierunt his annis sub nostra institutione et disciplina in academia Duacena Belgica ex infelici schismate erepti Angli multi in collegium. Quod postea

[1] M^gre^ Anselmo Dandini, protonotary apostolic, was appointed Nuncio, 8 March, 1578. Theiner, Ann. Eccles. II. 415.

[2] This letter and a later one from Dr. Allen to the same Nuncio (14 July, 1580) both of them hitherto unedited, form part of the valuable collection of documents belonging to Monsieur L. Dancoisne, member of several learned societies, honorary notary, Hénin-Liétard, Pas de Calais,

numerosum cum esset, Sanctissimus Dominus noster Gregorius (cui Christus det longum et sanctum præsulatum) accepit in suum, ac menstrua pensione centum aureorum benignissime donavit, voluitque esse deficientis jam in Anglia cleri supplementum religionisque catholicæ et nunc clam ibidem propagandæ et olim (Deo juvante) plane restaurandæ seminarium. Quam S^tis^ suæ voluntatem ita sumus prosecuti ut ex isto collegio intra triennium sexaginta bene institutos presbyteros in albescentem messem Britannicam dederimus.

Quod seminarium, R^me^ domine, cum ii qui rerum apud nos potiuntur hæretici summopere exosum haberent, egerunt nuper apud Principem Auriacum,[1] status Belgicos et tumultuantem populum Duacenum ut ex urbe et academia illa cum reliquis Anglis ejiceretur.

Prævaluerunt igitur impii, atque publico edicto post[2] ones et vellicationes nostri jubentur sine mora ex[ire, unius][3] diei ad res minutas componendas concesso spatio. Imus in vicinam Galliam cum magnis periculis, molestiis, expensis. Atque in alma urbe Remensi (licet ab initio propter insuetum exterorum numerum vix admitteremur) illustrissimo Cardinale Guisio volente ac magistratu concedente nostros collocavimus, tantisper dum suæ Sanctitati per illustrissimum Comensem, dominum ac patronum nostrum unicum, rem omnem desolationemque nostram significaremus. Quod mox fecimus. Totaque re intellecta, Sanctissimus Dominus noster divina quadam et plane apostolica charitate ita est nostri misertus ut et extraordinarium subsidium nobis mitti jusserit et Literas Apostolicas in nostri commendationem cum ad ill^mum^ Cardinalem tum ad capitulum Remense dederit. Ac ill^mus^ etiam Comensis datis ad me plenis consolationis literis voluit ut suas etiam has de rebus nostris ad tuam Amplitudinem mittendas curarem; porro admonens et eam esse S^tis^ suæ voluntatem et tuam humanitatem ut confidenter, cum aut mea aut collegii interesse videatur, ad [tuam] Dignitatem scribere queam. Id vero collegii causa mirifice lætor, quod tanto etiam apud Christianissimam Majestatem nitens patrocinio hæreticorum nostratium vel aliorum opera speramus ex Galliis deturbari non posse. Ego vero, illustris domine, privatim hoc beneficio multum in Domino beabor, quod non modo in hujus vitæ exiliique mei variis ærumnis te tanto ac tali consultore, consolatore et patrono uti liceat, sed etiam idque in primis ut aliquando verbis saltem apud S^tis^

France. They are published with his permission by the Abbé Dancoisne in the work entitled *Le collége anglais de Douai pendant la révolution française*, translated from the English, with notes and an introduction, by the Abbé L. Dancoisne, member of the Société des sciences de Douai. Douai, 1881, one vol. in 18mo., with a portrait, the armorial bearings, and the signature in facsimile of Cardinal Allen. The Abbé Dancoisne very kindly allowed these letters to be printed in their chronological place in this book, though at the time his own work was still passing through the press and had not yet been given to the public.

[1] Prince of Orange. [2] MS. worn away. A word and a half seems to be wanting.

[3] MS. worn away. The words between brackets have been conjecturally supplied.

suæ sacrum oratorem expromam quanto desiderio ipsi et ecclesiæ ullo vitæ vel mortis etiam meæ officio inservire cupiam, quantumque vellem ut tua R^ma^ Dominatio mihi aliquid mandet quod sibi gratum ex mea servitute esse queat. Quod ergo reliquum est, pontificii Anglicani[1] seminarium istud quam possum obnixissime tuo patrocinio commendo. Nihil nunc istic timemus, nisi aliquid contra fortasse moliatur orator Anglicus; nec tamen id eum facere hactenus audivimus: sed in omnem eventum occultas tales hostium machinationes unico verbo apud Christianissimam suam M^tem^ prævenisse non nocuerit. Si regia M^tas^ numerum nostrorum hic mecum Remis agentium requirat, non sumus multo plures sexaginta, in quibus sunt supra viginti presbyteri, reliqui fere sunt studiosi S. Theologiæ ad idem sacrum se præparantes institutum; qui omnes (ut speramus) ita vitam et mores instituunt eaque disciplina tenentur ut nullam populo offensionem dent. Commigrabunt quidem ex Anglia ad catholicam capessendam institutionem indies per Dei gratiam plures, ut numerus imposterum videatur fore major; sed quiete, pacifice et (ut ita dicam) collegialiter mecum viventes nec detrimenti quicquam nec scandali urbi aut reipublicæ in qua vivent parient. Pene decennium magnus nostrorum numerus Duaci vixit, sed ita ut hi ipsi qui expulerunt publicis datis urbis et academiæ tabulis (quas habemus) nostram innocentiam contestati sint.

Hæc apud tuam humanitatem ac pietatem, R^me^ domine, tanquam communem sub S^mo^ Domino nostro parentem nostrum lubens depono, ut luculentius vitæ ac studiorum nostrorum adeoque rectæ coram Deo intentionis nostræ rationes scias atque defendas, ubi et quando tuæ sapientiæ opportunum fuerit; idque ut facias per Christum humiliter rogamus. Atque hæc coram quidem, ut decuit, egissem apud tuam R^mam^ Dominationem potius quam per literas, nisi me meorum occupationes impedivissent, et hos calores fracta valetudo non pateretur. Alias vero cum opportunum aliquando erit, huic officio non deero. Interim in clientem ac servum quæso suscipe; dignerisque proximis ad Urbem literis has nostras ad ill^mum^ Cardinalem Comensem adjungere, itemque (si placet) ad R^um^ dominum Audoenum[2] referendarium apostolicum alias. Christus Jesus R^mam^ paternitatem tuam ad suæ Sanctitatis salutare ministerium totiusque ecclesiæ bonum diutissime servet incolumem. Remis, 10 Cal. Jul., 1578.

Vestræ R^mæ^ Paternitatis humilis orator ac servus in Domino,

GULIELMUS ALANUS, presbyter.

Addressed.

R^mo^ in Christo patri ac domino illustri, D. Abbati Dandini etc. apud Christianissimum Regem [Nuntio] apostolico, domino suo [observant] issimo. Lutetiam.

Endorsed.

22 di Giugno 78. Del rettore del Collegio de Gesuisti Inglesi in Rens.

[1] A clerical error seemingly for *pontificium Anglicanum.*

[2] Dr. Owen Lewis.

XX.

Dr. William Allen to Dr. John Vendeville. Reims, 27 July, 1578.

From an early transcript in the archives of the see of Westminster. II. 83. *Printed in part in Dodd. Vol.* II., *p.* 220.

Amplissimo viro, domino Johanni Vendivillio, J. U. doctori consultissimo ac suæ Catholicæ Majestatis a consiliis, domino suo observando. Namurcum.[1]

Quod sua Celsitudo ultro te, vir ornatissime, in numerum regiorum consiliariorum expetiverit cooptaveritque, et ipsi præclaram illam de republica Belgica benemerendi voluntatem, et tibi, vel potius bonis omnibus, hoc in te amplissimum collatum munus, summamque de patria tua ac religione optime merendi[2] sanctissimasque tuas cogitationes exequendi occasionem ex animo gratulor; vehementerque lætor in Domino cum id tibi contigisse quo boni omnes nosque imprimis ipsi te dignissimum judicavimus, tum vero ita contigisse ut non a te expetitum sed divina plane voluntate ac vocatione delatum videatur; ut enim locum ac dignitatem antea vel non desiderasse vel etiam pæne horruisse fuerit modestiæ ac timoris tui, sed oblatum nunc ac divinitus plane impositum acceptare prudentiæ et pietatis ab omnibus esse judicetur. Certe id ut faceres, hoc calamitosum patriæ ac ecclesiæ vestræ tempus zelusque domus Dei nefariorum hominum scelere ruentis, quo multos mortales per Christi gratiam excellis, optimique Regis voluntas justissime flagitant. Illam tuam, mi humanissime Vendevili, maturam pietatem, prudentiam, doctrinam nullo loco aut tempore potes melius vel ad patriæ præsentem vel tuam æternam salutem collocare. Est hic meus qui tuas virtutes multis jam annis in Christo colui et bonorum (ut puto) qui tuam sinceritatem noverunt omnium sensus. Id vero tantum est in hac re molestum mihi quod a tuo pientissimo consortio et locorum magno intervallo et occupationum tuarum maximarum conditione æternum divellar. Sed animos una fides et voluntas eadem ut spero semper conjunget. Equidem ut hoc amplissimum quod in republica geris munus tibi aliisque sit salutare precibus et sacrificiis, quantum peccata mea sinent, contendam semper. Neque mei, qui te prorsus autore et fautore primum in collegium mecum coïerunt, unquam pietatis beneficiorumque tuorum obliviscentur: atque ut[3] uno verbo id Amplitudini tuæ obiter de me meisque (hoc est de seminario) indicem, vehementer cuperemus esse in ditionibus Catholicæ Majestatis, cum Gallia propter multas causas nobis hominibus Anglis non tam commoda esse videatur; licet summam in hac civitate cum ecclesiasticorum tum cæterorum experti simus humanitatem et pietatem. Atque nuper academia Lovaniensis, sua Celsitudine[4] id jubente vel cupiente, nobis concessit pædagogium Falconis et unas

[1] The above title, or perhaps rather address, is in the hand of the Rev. Francis Barber († 1633). It has been added subsequently to the transcript. [2] In MS. *merenti.* [3] From this point to the end the letter has been printed by Dodd. Vol. II., p. 220. [4] Don John of Austria, viceroy of the Low Countries.

alias vicinas ædes donec Duacum restituatur. Sed tantæ sunt eorum locorum et præsertim itinerum molestiæ ac difficultates, ac tam multæ ad tam longum iter ac tam multorum hominum et impedimentorum migrationem ac vecturam pecuniæ necessariæ, tamque multa vectigalia solvenda, ut ea sola causa adhuc Lovanium venire non possimus, cum valde vellemus, et si ullo modo tantum pecuniæ extraordinariæ assequi possemus ad ædes nobis concessas statim veniremus. Sed interim si molestum non sit, cum dabitur occasio de ea re colloquendi cum ornatissimo viro, domino Delrio, cujus humanitatem et pietatem sum egregie expertus in procurandis nobis illis ædibus Lovaniensibus, ne graveris quæso, mi domine, nostro nomine illius Dignitati gratias agere, et porro causam innuere cur hactenus Lovanium non concedamus ad ædes nobis designatas. Vere enim deest pecunia, neque adhuc ausim aliquid a Celsitudine sua ad viaticum petere, neque interpellare extraordinarie Pontificem per quem cætera ad viaticum necessaria donantur nostris. Imposterum pro necessitate nostra fortassis facere cogemur. Vestram supellectilem jam pridem per quendam honestissimum et fidelissimum virum Aldovardensum qui hinc Namurcum proficiscebatur curru et navigio transmisi, et de re sola [*Marg.* tota] scripsi tum ad Dominationem vestram, sicut paulo antea scripseram per alium nuntium [qui] promisit se doleum traditurum famulo illustris D. Englefildii. Si recepistis, bene est; et dignetur Amplitudo tua aliquoties per otium ad nos scribere. Illud sane pro beneficio habebo. Deus Optimus Maximus omnia consilia vestra ad salutem reipublicæ ipsiusque gloriam dirigat. Vale mi D. observande. Rhemis, 27 Julii, 1578.

Dignitatis tuæ studiosissimus ac servus in Domino,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

XXI.

Dr. John Vendeville to Dr. William Allen. Namur, 26 August, 1578.

Printed in the First and Second Douay Diaries. p. 144.

Quæ sequuntur excerpta sunt ex litteris D. Vendivellii confectis Namerci, 26 Augusti, 78.

Placuit non tantum Regiæ Majestati sed et Concilio institui illa duo excellentia seminaria præstantium operariorum de quibus sum loquutus D. Vestræ, et perbrevi in eorum inchoationem incumbi; dataque est mihi cura solicitandi eorum erectionem, quia Rex ipse suis ad D. Austriacum[1] litteris videbatur hoc cupere. Ego nullam unquam in rem incubui libentius quam in hanc incumbam per Dei gratiam. Quam ad rem debebit me juvare D. Vestra, atque eo magis quod placuit Concilio ut hæc seminaria præcipue instituantur ad exemplum seminarii vestri, de quo dicta fuerunt multa præclara.

[1] Don John of Austria.

Atque adeo mihi injunctum est ut petam a D. Vestra ad me mitti descriptionem seminarii vestri, tam quoad institutionem quam exercitationes; ideoque valde rogo D. Vestram ut dignetur eam ad me mittere primo quoque tempore.

XXII.

Dr. William Allen to Madame Renée of Lorraine, abbess of St. Peter's at Reims. Reims, 29 August, 1578.

From a contemporary draft or copy in the archives of the English college at Rome. Scritture, T. 5.

Ill^mæ^ et Rev^mæ^ D. Renatæ a Lotharingia, abbatissæ S. Petri.

Ill^ma^ ac Rev^ma^ domina; Utinam mihi Christus tantisper vernaculæ linguæ vestræ usum concederet, dum meum hominumque meorum in te obsequium et observantiam declaro. Sed cum id datum non sit, hoc qualecumque sincerissimi ac humillimi affectus nostri officium alieno ore et isto munusculo, non magno quidem nec dignitati tuæ pari, sed apostolica tamen benedictione sancto, facere cogor. Etenim te semper antea, virgo venerabilis, coluimus propter illud Guisianæ familiæ apud omnium gentium catholicos excelsum et salutare nomen, quod in illustrissimis fratribus ac nepotibus tuis, hinc doctrina et sapientia, illinc armis et invicta potentia mirifice claret, in sorore vero ac nepte serenissimis terreno imperio, in te autem ipsa, quæ optimam partem elegisti, spirituali regno et religione gloriosum existit.

Nunc vero cum Deus Optimus Maximus misericordia et providentia sua me co-exulesque meos in hanc celeberrimam civitatem, non propter crimen quod commisimus, prudentissima virgo, sed propter fidem et conscientiam quam Christo conservare cupimus, duxerit, ubi religionem catholicam, pietatem, veteremque disciplinam a sanctissimo clero cæterisque ordinibus castissime coli, omniumque virtutum et doctrinarum instituta illius immortalis herois Cardinalis ac fratris tui primum, deinde illustrissimi nepotis vestri, quem non tam tali patruo in ordinem et archiepiscopatum quam in virtutes successisse speramus, opere et industria florere cernimus, nostra quidem certe in te, clarissima abbatissa, totamque familiam Guisiorum mirifice crevit observantia: præsertim cum non modo a lectissimis virginibus illis sacris, quibus in Christo præes, sed ab aliis clarissimis viris intellexerimus quantopere exilii, calamitatum et vexationum nostrarum miserta sis quamque benigne apud magistratum Rhemensem optimum pro nobis intercesseris.

Pro quo beneficio non solum nos quam possumus humillimas gratias agimus, sed aget ut spero aliquando Anglia universa, serenissimaque Scotiæ regina, neptis tua, cui nos omnia vitæ et mortis officia et debemus et dicavimus. Cujus Majestas non dedignatur aliquoties suam calamitatem nostris indignis precibus et sacrificiis commendare, et per

quam olim, licet nunc Dei investigabili providentia suis summis virtutibus sorte longe indignissima vivat, fore confidimus, ut et nos patriæ, et patria antiquæ libertati ac splendori restituatur.

Quod quia nos etiam per hoc nationis nostræ seminarium ad Christi et ipsius servitium pro virili nostra satagimus, supplices petimus ut hoc nostrorum collegium non modo diuturno exilio sed aliis vexationibus variis afflictum gratia et authoritate tua semper tuearis, illustrissimoque Cardinali, domino ac mecænati nostro benignissimo, prudentissimoque magistratui ita commendes, ut qui antea vel S^mi^ Gregorii Papæ voluntate vel sua inductione nos amaverunt, nunc vestro in nos favore ac animi inclinatione complectantur et consolentur magis. Christus Jesus tuam sacram Dignitatem, ipsique subjectas lectissimas virgines omnes, illustrissimamque imprimis et incomparabili prole felicem grandævam matrem tuam diutissime conservet. Rhemis, 29 Augusti, 1578.

Illustrissimæ ac Rev^mæ^ Dignitatis tuæ humillimus orator et servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

XXIII.

Dr. William Allen to the governor or King's lieutenant at Reims.
Reims, 7 September, 1578.

From a contemporary draft or copy in the archives of the English college at Rome. Scritture, T. 5.

Illustri viro D. prætori civitatis Rhemensis, seu vicetenenti Regis.

Illustris domine Prætor; Non sum nescius hoc difficillimo reipub. tempore ad amplissimæ hujus urbis vestræ commissæ fidei conservationem nullam adferri posse nimis exquisitam diligentiam, cum in hoc genere pene etiam tutissima omnia recte timeantur; et proinde non miror sane neque ægre fero his diebus in nos exquisitum esse exactius, sed prudentiæ potius et justissimæ solicitudini ascribo vestræ: unde nunc et bonis omnibus de numero, animo studiisque nostrorum esse satisfactum confido; et mirifice lætor Amplitudinem tuam, senatum urbis civesque optimos ita innocentiam nostram vidisse et comprobasse ut et populares suspiciones cessent et non indigni videamur[1] qui in posterum sub vestra tutela securi conquiescamus. De quo beneficio tibi, Prætor amplissime, gratias quantum possum maximas nostrorum hominum nomine ago; porroque per Christum Jesum obtestor, ut eos in literario otio et orationibus sine querela viventes atque in aliena repub. (ut decet exteros) minime curiosos authoritate et gratia tuearis. Imprimisque ut pro singulari sapientia tua, qua facile vulgus judicio ac sententia erga exules labi

[1] In MS. originally *videamus*, but corrected by Allen to *videamur*.

et errare cernis, improbabiles rumores ac timores eorum refellas, qui pro 70 capitibus Anglorum, nescio unde concepto errore, numerant quingentos aut sexcentos homines, eosdemque et armatos incedere et mœnia conscendere et metiri muros et explorare fossas et aggeres et noctu larvatos incedere fingunt. In quibus omnibus si inveniamur culpabiles, Dominus Deus æterna ignominia et supplicio in nos vindicet; si autem nullum creemus aut cogitemus optimæ ac nobis dilectissimæ urbi huic periculum aut perniciem, sed quotidie pro ejus pace ac salute, contraque omnes hostes ac ipsi insidiantes oremus ac sacrificemus, sicut (coram Deo non mentior) facimus, tum ille reddat vos sicut hactenus nobis placabiles, omnesque cives vitæ, factorum et intentionum nostrarum benignos censores; contra quos, ac ne contra minimum civitatis membrum, nihil scientes et prudentes peccabimus unquam. Potest fortasse juventus ex hæresi, quæ antiquos nationis nostræ mores et civilitatem misere corrupit, huc primum adveniens rerumque exterarum inexperta aliquid indecens in habitu, vultu, gestu committere, quod non minus optimam plebem quam nos ipsos offendat, quodque primo quoque tempore in omnibus castigare conamur, quos non modo fide sed vita etiam et moribus cupimus catholicis Gallis quam hæreticis Anglis esse similiores. Sed qui graviora perpetrent, scelerate vivant, in civitatem vestram perfidi existant, nec in nostrorum consortium venire, nec impune vobisque insciis latere volens unquam patiar; atque si quid cujusquam lascivia aut infirmitate, me nescio, committatur, id ego magistratus authoritate acriter et exemplariter castigari cupio. Malos etenim domi in schismate sæpe etiam cum laude ac præmio esse licuit, hic nec sine pœna nec sine probro nec sine periculo impii esse possunt. Neque enim patria propter commissum crimen, sed propter catholicam confessionem tot annis caremus; nec postea ulla culpa nostra (quod publice tabulis illi ipsi qui ejecerunt urbis testificantur) sed temporum ac locorum illorum perturbatione ex inferiori Germania, non sine magno academiæ Duacensis optimorum civium ubi tum viximus dolore, nostrisque indignissimis calamitatibus maximis totius ecclesiæ proceribus compatientibus et ad huno catholicissimum et felicissimum locum nos paulo post commendantibus, abacti fuimus. In qua urbe, permultis hodie religione et pace beata, quod hactenus illustrissimi Cardinalis voluntate vestraque omnium gratia et humanitate summaque securitate et solatio viximus, nec vanis de nobis vocibus credidistis, immortale beneficium agnoscimus; idemque efficiet ut quæ fuerat ante apud omnes catholicos episcoporum sanctitate, fidei constantia, ecclesiæ et academiæ nobilitate, ordinumque omnium pietate clarissima civitas, nunc hæc sanctissima in exteros ac afflictos beneficentia et hospitalitate apud Deum et homines gloriosior existat. Quam nos ut alteram patriam si omni observantia studio ac pietate perpetuo prosequamur, si cives ex animo diligamus, si magistratum colamus, si tibi, dignissime Prætor, regio munere fungenti libentissime pareamus, si pro sua Majestate et regni tranquillitate continuo oremus, nostram per Christum Jesum semper tuere innocentiam. Pauci sumus; sacerdotes sumus; imbecilles sumus; catholici sumus; nec volumus nec si vellemus possemus vobis aut urbi vestræ quicquam detrimenti adferre: iidem sunt hostes nostri atque

vestri, hæretici; contra quos cum quotidie orationibus pugnemus, certe armis non juvabimus. Quæ si per tuam sapientiam cognoscat etiam plebs, quæ non tam facile rationes et discrimina rerum ac personarum discernit, omnia nobis præstiteris. Quod ut scripto potius quam coram postulem fecit pudor quem mihi mea natura tribuit qui de rebus præsertim meis agere conantem sæpe impedit. Vale, mi domine humanissime, ac me meosque in tutelam tuam recipe. Rhemis, 7 Idus Septembris, 1578.

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

XXIV.

Dr William Allen to the Rector of Louvain University. Reims, 11 September, 1578.

From a contemporary draft or copy in the archives of the English college at Rome. Scritture T. 5.

Magnifico viro Rectori academiæ Lovaniensis.[1]

Magnifice domine Rector; Cum ante aliquot menses Pontificium Anglorum seminarium, cui me[2] sua Sanctitas præesse voluit, Duaco esset ejectum, nec ullus vel ad vicinas vel ad remotiores Belgii urbes propter tumultuantem undique populum et a rebellibus interceptas vias pateret aditus, sed Rhemos vicinam Galliæ civitatem concessum esset, primo quoque tempore cum Pontifici Maximo, cujus munificentia id aliquot annis sustentatum est, tum serenissimo D. Austri^co^, inferioris Germaniæ gubernatori, quia longe antea in ditionem ac protectionem Catholicæ Majestatis venerat, et ne nostra culpa collegium dissolutum esse, vel a nobis ultro discessum videretur, rem omnem diligenter indicavi: a sua Celsitudine supplex porro petens ut nostrum cœtum tantisper, dum ad se redeat Duacum, aliquo alio Belgicæ sibi parenti loco vel alibi intra suæ Majestatis ditiones collocari permittat. Mox Celsitudo sua hujus secundi exilii multiplicisque desolationis nostræ, non tantum religionis ut prius sed jam etiam Regis Catholici causa toleratæ, miserta, plurimumque interesse afflictæ ecclesiæ nostræ ne hoc collegium ad semen et supplementum catholicismi institutum diffluereret, tam aliorum sermone quam principum virorum etiam commendatione, intellig[ens] clementissime desideriis nostris annuit. Re igitur cum præcipuis communic[a]ta consiliariis ex ipsorum sententia, (cum de Namurco aliquandiu R^mo^ D. Episcopo in deliberationem etiam adhibito cogitatum esset) Lovanium nobis, id nec petentibus nec certe propter itineris longitudinem, difficultatem, pericula ac sumptus de eo multum cogitantibus, assignatum fuit; concessæque ibidem gratis, ejusdem Serenitatis[3] suæ commendatione et peculiari almæ universitatis vestræ favore, percommodæ et amplæ ædes. Quod, ut

[1] Above this title is written *Sub idem tempus scripta est epistola sequens.* [2] *me* is in Allen's hand, above the line. [3] *securitatis* MS.

ingenue fatear, licet aliquot vacare collegia jam tum audieram, nunquam tamen sum postulare aut sperare ausus. Et licet de eo munere mirifice lætatus tum sim, Deoque etiam et vobis gratias quantas potui habuerim, fore confidens ad seminarii decus et incrementum et ad nostrorum hominum summos progressus, si in principe Christiani orbis mihique ipsi propter antiqua studia adamata academia instituerentur (sum etenim et ipse scholæ illius imprimisque doctissimorum istius[1] theologorum deditissimus alumnus) tamen hic angebar animo, et subverebar, ne quod in meorum gratiam de ædibus extraordinarie factum est aliorsum a multis accipiatur, ac quasi importuna solicitudine mea id inique fuisset potius extortum quam a sua Celsitudine libere concessum; et ne, si quid durius aut acerbius fecerit aut dixerit is qui ill^mi^ Gubernatoris literas universitati tradidit causamque prosecutus est, id totum mihi aut meis, qui hos causæ nostræ progressus cum non intelleximus, imputetur; cum ii per Dei misericordiam simus qui bonorum ac doctorum virorum quibuscum in hoc diuturno exilio versandum est gratiam, sine qua vita nobis non esset vitalis, omnibus emolumentis nostris anteponamus, nec quicquam contra piorum bonam voluntatem nobis in hac peregrinatione succedere cupiamus. Difficile est scio homines externos, cum multi sint, miseri sint, infirmi sint, ut necessitatibus succurrant suis non aliquid committere quod ab iis quibuscum vivunt recte reprehendi posse videatur; præsertim cum in variarum gentium moribus aliquæ sunt nativæ vitiositates, quas nec illi vident qui habent nec illi ferre possunt qui vident. Tamen in illa optima academia magna charitate multaque sapientia et patientia his nunc 20 fere annis ita nostros defectus propter Christum tolerastis, onera portastis, necessitates sublevastis, peccata condonastis, etiam tum cum nulla collegiali disciplina, non alieno sed nostro modo et arbitratu, seorsum ac separatim viveremus; certe istos uno collegio, eodem præside, iisdem studiis institutisque viventes, minus graves, tollerabiliores magis, moribus legibusque academicis accommodatiores habebitis. Vestræ vero, magnifice domine, authoritati, suæque facultatis magistris, vita et studiis ita semper obtemperabunt, ut nihil in doctrina aut moribus singulare sapiant, omnia privata postponant publicis, pacem et charitatem cum suis et alienis sincerissime servent. His decem pene annis Duaci in summa academiæ et urbis gratia per Christum vixerunt, et cum hac testificatione, publicis utriusque consignati tabulis, dimissi sunt: nunc per varias vexationes in dies facti intelligentiores et, ut spero, humiliores non minus Christiane, modeste, moderate apud vos vitam instituturos plane polliceor. Et hic est eorum qui nos norunt ac didicerunt amare domesticos fidei de nobis communis sensus. Qui aliter judicant de nobis non noverunt nos, tum judicatur[i] certius cum noscent melius, et dilecturi sincerius cum vitam et studia nostra coram conspecturi sunt.

Quando venturi sumus, magnifice domine, licet valde vellemus apud vos esse et concessa gratia frui, tamen incertum est plane; cum et a Pontificis voluntate pendeamus, et illo difficili rerum ac locorum vestrorum statu, itinerisque periculis et expensis

[1] Originally in text *istis*, but corrected by Allen to *istius*.

vehementer terreamur. Interim Dominus Jesus illud veræ religionis et doctrinæ domicilium vestrum a furore hæreticorum et rebellium dextera suæ potentiæ protegat, tuamque Magnificentiam cum clarissimis professoribus, dominis et amicis meis, quibus a me humillimam in Christo salutem dici cupio, totaque universitate vestra sancte semper conservet. Rhemis, 3° [1] Idus Septembris, 1578.

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

XXV.

Dr William Allen to Dr Vendeville. 16 September, 1578 (altered to 1580).

From a draft or copy, with corrections and additions in Dr. Allen's handwriting, in the archives of the English college at Rome. Scritture, T. 5.[2]

Exemplar literarum D. Gul^mi^ Alani ad amplissimum et doctissimum virum, D. Jo. Vendivillium, Catholicæ Majestatis in Belgica a consiliis privatis; quibus ipsius petitioni ex Concilii regii voluntate factæ de statu seminarii Pontificii Anglicani, quod nuper Duaci, nunc Rhemis existit, et de exercitiis ejusdem ac variis pro religione catholica conatibus respondetur: unde qui sit in Anglia religionis status videri etiam potest.[3]

Doctissime et amplissime vir; Sancta et salutaria sunt sane illa vestra[4] de seminariis instituendis consilia et a Deo ad salutem (ut spero) Belgicæ profecta: tanto enim Rege fundatore et patrono, locis tam commodis, summo ingeniorum delectu, facillima cum adversariis clam vel publice congrediendi et liberrima facultate, possunt esse instructissima et compendiosissime fructuosa. Quia nos etsi his omnibus rei bene gerendæ commoditatibus carnimus, extra patriam collocati, unde difficiles ad nos studiosorum et nostrorum vicissim in Angliam transitus, contra nos truculentæ et iniquæ leges et Regina adversissima, et in nostros continuæ inquisitiones severissimæque in omnes qui a nobis instruerentur, absolverentur aut ecclesiæ[5] reconciliarentur animadversiones, tamen per Christi gratiam multum profecimus, et plus sane quam in

[1] The date is on an erasure.

[2] In the archives of the see of Westminster (II. 85) there is another early copy of this document, which must have come originally from the English college at Douay. It is in four different hands, with a title and occasional corrections in the handwriting of the Rev. Francis Barber of Douay college. Allen's corrections and additions are wanting to it, with the exception of one or two of trivial importance which have been noted where they occur. All other variations or omissions, except a different juxtaposition of words and such like, are mentioned in the foot notes as readings of MS.*w*.

[3] This heading is not in MS.*w*. In its place the Rev. F. Barber has inserted the following title: *Instructiones D. Alani pro seminariis bonorum pastorum Belgii missæ ad d^num^ Jhoannem Vendevillium.*

[4] *vestra* added above the line by Allen.

[5] *ecclesiæ* interlined by Allen.

illis parvis initiis ac adjumentis et in tanta in externis locis subsistendi etiam difficultate sperare potuimus.

Quomodo autem ab initio Duaci coitum sit a nostris anno 1568, et quo consilio atque intentione, nemo mortalium D^nel^ tua novit melius; toti enim operi pene præfueras, et prima vivendi subsidia comparaveras, cum nostri adhuc contulissent parum,[2] nec magnum operæ pretium ad regni conversionem[3] tam minutum collegium facturum putassent.[4] Et ut verum tibi, mi domine, confitear, quamcunque tu longe his consiliis

[1] *ne* added by Allen. [2] *nihil* MS.*m*. [3] *ad regni conversionem* is in Allen's handwriting.

[4] "Confluxerunt etiam eodem loci [sc. Belgium] complures viri, theologiæ doctores, nati ad Angliæ decus, ... quorum catalogum hoc loco contexere nimis longum esset et ab instituta oratione nostra alienum. Et quum partim in Oxoniensi academia partim in Cantabrigiensi studuissent, binas fundarunt domos quas iis ipsis nominibus nuncuparunt, domum videlicet Oxoniensem et domum Cantabrigiensem. Qua ex distinctione domorum tametsi cœpta est nonnulla existere æmulatio et contentio tam inter ipsas veluti competitrices academias, quam illarum cum cœnobiis virorum ac mulierum (qui in eadem causa fuerunt patriamque posthabuerant exilio ob fidem catholicam) orta quidem ex distributione eleemosynæ quam ex Anglia et aliunde missam dispertiendam acceperant; tamen nullæ sunt istæ contentiones, si cum aliis quæ postero tempore sensim in illo genere obortæ sunt conferantur, maximeque cum erat cœptum haberi seminarium Anglorum in universitate Duacena, quod paucis post annis (nempe anno 1568) sub D. Alano aliisque conflatum est. Tunc enim (ut ille ipse doctor sæpe narrare est solitus) crescente numero hominum rerumque penuria non modo homines religiosi exulesque catholici gentis nostræ ægre tulerunt illam eleemosynam magnam partem in usum Duaceni seminarii distribui; verum etiam sacerdotes quidam, cæteroqui viri perquam boni et virtutis amici, ex illo seniori numero, cum foris tum domi id factum reprehenderunt. Hi nempe vel decepti quod non assequerentur cogitasse institutum scholæ Duacenæ, vel quadam animi infirmitate commoti, et clandestinis consiliis et apertis sermonibus illud factum oppugnabant et illam vitæ consuetudinem vituperabant. Illud vero in primis non ferendum putarunt quod catholicis degentibus in Anglia penitus vetitum esse voluerunt aditum ad Protestantium ecclesias; hoc enim isti jam antea multis nominibus tolerassent, non satis perpendentes animis illius rei incommoda, nec officium quo obstricti fuerant ad fidem in illa expugnatione fidei acrius et apertius confitendam. Ex hac autem et hujusmodi occasionibus aliis cœpta dissensio multos annos jactata atque agitata est (hæreticis Anglis, ut solent, et politicis quærentibus hanc ansam arripere ad suam rem gerendam) donec illa pars adversa aut suum tandem judicium et affectus suos (quod a multis est factum) conformavit aut diuturnitate temporis refrixit aut paucitate defecit. Sed dum est ista suscepta contentio, non parum doluit iis quos necesse erat has tempestates perpeti et alienos ictus excipere quos impedire non poterant. Alia quoque intercessit discordiæ dissentionisque causa, quæ sic se habuit. Cum illa armorum susceptio Comitis Northumbriæ Comitisque Westmerlandiæ in boreali parte Angliæ mense Novembri anno 1569 contra Reginam minime processisset, profugerunt in Belgium anno proximo Comitissa Northumbriæ et Carolus Comes Westmerlandiæ et cum his Baro Leonardus Dacrius multique viri et equestris et gentilitii ordinis boreales qui sub illis Comitibus militarant. Hi autem omnes in binas ierunt partes, quarum altera favit Comitissæ, alteri Comes charior fuit. Nec poterat ignis iste restingui, donec Comitissa desipiente et de mentis gradu demota cætera pars in se mutuas iras convertit. Quod ut magis facerent, difficultas domestica et rerum perturbatio et Anglici senatus consilia machinationesque occultæ propulerunt." Historia earum rerum quas Anglicana causa catholica ejusque defensores fecerunt, etc. By F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 200.

tum prospexeras (nam fructu, fine et intentione latius tum fortasse[1] patebant cogitationes hac de re tuæ quam aliorum multorum qui factum probabant ac juvabant, et Deus etiam ipse paulo aliud decrevit ac ordinavit de toto negotio quam cogitavimus) nostrum[2] propositum in primis fuit constituere collegium atque in illud vocare nostros[3] in varia loca dispersos, ut fructuosius simul quam seorsum vivere et studere possent; deinde ut illud adventantium et abeuntium successione continuum foret atque durabile, ne si schisma longius esset, paucis illis qui ab initio fidei causa ex universitatibus Anglicis fugati erant mortuis, non esset nobis olim relictum ad restituendam religionem semen, et ita hæresis esset perpetua ac pacata, nemine (ne data quidem occasione per mortem Reginæ aut aliter) reclamante.

Putavimus[4] enim egregium esse habere semper extra regnum homines doctos paratos ad restituendam religionem cum opportunum esset, licet hæreticis regnantibus nihil tentandum speraretur. Sicut et illud ad Dei gloriam et ad officium Christiani hominis ac civis pertinere existimavimus,[5] vel tot animas saltem nostrorum eripuisse ex faucibus mortis quot educatos in hac societate paucissimi anni darent. Et si nihil aliud fuisset, certe nec labores nostri nec aliorum sumptus fuissent inanes in Domino; cum ab eo tempore 500 aut amplius[6] homines in hoc collegio ad religionis cognitionem variis temporibus[7] instituti cognoscantur, et quam multi in posterum futuri sint solus sciat Deus.[8]

Sed postquam coitum feliciter est, et eleemosynæ non jam ut antea in[9] certorum hominum apud se libere ac seorsim degentium privatos usus, sed in commune omnium subsidium conferrentur, cœptumque esset sub uno præside ac præceptore in communi vivere, studere et se exercere, multique mox ex Angliæ scholis et academiis, vel recens instituti suorum collegii fama vel catholicæ institutionis desiderio, juvenes confluxissent, ac nobiles etiam adolescentes vel curiositate (ut fit) vel etiam parentum voluntate non pauci venissent, cœpimus tum cogitare hoc collegium non solum utile esse posse ad servandos istos qui in eo, hoc exilii nostri tempore,[10] educarentur, aut ad futurum catholicismi semen; sed ad præsentem religionis propagationem aut restitutionem clerique antiquioris jam deficientis supplementum, si recte in eum finem instituerentur et domum ad suos remitterentur, futurum salutare:[11] præsertim cum multi hinc[12] ad suos reverti vel[13] necessitate cogerentur, et[14] non nisi certo spatio iidem collegii communibus sumptibus sustentari deberent,[15] quia locus erat concedendus aliis, ut ita hoc beneficium succedentibus temporibus et hominibus[16] ad plures pertinere possit.

[1] *fortasse* above the line in Allen's hand. [2] *meum* MS.*w*. [3] *nostros convocare* MS.*w*. [4] *Putavi* MS.*w*. [5] *putavi* MS.*w*. [6] *plusquam* 500 MS.*w*. [7] MS.*w*. omits *variis temporibus*. [8] *et quam multi in posterum futuri sint solus sciat Deus* not in MS.*w*. [9] *in* substituted by Allen for *per* above the line. MS.*w*. reads *in*. [10] *hoc exilii nostri tempore* above the line in Allen's hand. [11] *futurum salutare* added by Allen above the line. [12] *hinc* omitted by MS.*w*. [13] *quadam etiam* for *vel* MS.*w*. [14] *et* substituted by Allen for *cum* originally in the text. [15] *deberent* transferred hither by Allen from its original position after *iidem*. [16] *succedentibus temporibus et hominibus* added above the line by Allen.

Intelleximus enim jam non tantum sacerdotes nostros[1] (quos paucos ab initio habuimus) aliosve[2] etiam catholicis antea[3] temporibus factos in Anglia presbiteros[4] sacramentorum secreta administratione et hortatione plurimos[5] in fide confirmasse, ac nonnullos etiam deceptos sanis admonitionibus revocasse; sed etiam nobilium filios ac alios laicos juvenes multum apud suos æquales domesticos ac alienos, commendatione vitæ et doctrinæ nostrorum in Belgio catholicorum et narratione earum rerum præclararum quas in ecclesia Belgica et hac suorum nova societate[6] vidissent, profecisse, et excitasse multos ad catholicæ fidei diligentiorem investigationem et ad nos usque trajectionem; eoque facilius quod profligatissimæ ministrorum Calvinistiarum[7] vitæ et morum melioris indolis homines[8] paulatim tæderet, doctrinaque ipsorum, quæ ab initio (quia recens erat et delicata) non displicuit, multis non esset valde grata.

Et majores aetate et prudentia viri ex memoria priorum temporum facile animadverterunt, nihil in illa nova secta esse sanctum et solidum: comparabant de sapientia, sanctitate, doctrina, hospitalitate, regimine[9] catholicos in carcere episcopos ac ecclesiasticos cum istis novis superintendentibus pseudo-episcopis, aliosque doctiores exules magistris suis domesticis; et aliquoties domi apud suos secrete conquerebantur, infelices esse filios suos qui deberent talibus uti institutoribus, ab iis[10] non educari ad pietatem sed perire et corrumpi prorsus. Lamentabantur illi ita apud se quidem; sed publice metu legum sectabantur hæreticorum conciones et officia schismatica, sæculum magis quam gloriam Dei diligentes. At juvenes plurimi, cum viderent parentes et majores suos alio esse domi[11] quam pretendebant foris[12] animo, vel quod essent legum ac periculorum minus quam parentes metuentes, vel quod ea ætate et sub[13] parentum tutela gravioribus mulctis subjecti non essent, aut quod minus adhuc erant mundanis bonis aut peccatis quam majores[14] irretiti, profitebantur plane in variis[15] præcipuisque regni locis catholicam fidem, ac jussi a magistratu vel parentibus venire ad ecclesiam ac communionem hæreticam prorsus renuebant. Ex quibus multi vel invitis vel conniventibus parentibus et dissimulantibus ad nos in Belgium concesserunt, ut sic prima ab hæresi defectio fuerit animadversa esse in nobilioribus juvenibus omnium pene ordinum, maxime vero studiosorum bonarum artium in academiis et juris Britannici Londini atque etiam aulicorum.

Ad hanc animorum mutationem multum fecerant libri quidam a nostris hominibus lingua Anglica de omnibus rebus pene controversis, antea[16] in Flandria facti et impressi, quibus ad populi captum mira claritate omnes pene hæreticorum fraudes, fructus, contentiones, blasphemiæ, contradictiones, absurditates, falsationes tam Scripturarum quam

[1] *nostros* not in MS.*w*. [2] *ve* added by Allen. [3] *antea* added by Allen. [4] *aliosve etiam catholicis antea temporibus factos in Anglia presbiteros* omitted in MS.*w*. [5] *plurimos* substituted by Allen for *aliquos*. [6] *et hac suorum nova societate* interlined by Allen. [7] *Calvinistiarum*, Allen's addition. [8] *multos* here cancelled. It is in MS.*w*. [9] *de sapientia, sanctitate, doctrina, hospitalitate, regimine* omitted in MS.*w*. [10] *enim* after *iis* in MS.*w*. [11] *domi* not in MS.*w*. [12] *foris* wanting in MS.*w*. [13] *vel* instead of *et sub* MS.*w*. [14] *quam majores* not in MS.*w*. [15] *variis* omitted by MS.*w*. [16] *antea* wanting in MS. *w*.

Doctorum sunt patefactæ, ut in omni genere non modo sapientum sed etiam populi judicio essemus superiores, nec ullo essent loco nobis pares adversarii nisi principis potentia ac armis legumque præscriptis.

Juvit etiam incredibiliter familiare colloquium quod aliquot ante annis vel mensibus in multis nobilium ac magnatum [1] ædibus in Anglia existentes frequenter habuimus, in quo irrefragabilibus notis ac indiciis Ecclesiæ et Sedis Apostolicæ authoritatem vindicavimus; popularibusque argumentis sed invincibilibus demonstravimus apud alios quam nos, id est, catholicos,[2] non posse esse veritatem: quas notas, regulas vel motiva ad fidem catholicam certo ab hæresi dignoscendam curavimus fusius postea Duaci explicari et excudi; unde factum est perbrevi, ut non solum innumerabiles nostratium de religione recte [3] sentirent, sed (in quod difficilius laboratur ac acrius nobis resistitur) ut abstinerent prorsus a communione, ecclesiis, concionibus, librorum lectione,[4] atque omni spirituali commercio hæreticorum: quod est illic [5] propter leges iniquas longe difficillimum, et in quod carcere et variis pœnis vindicatur, et de quo sibi antea propter metum ipsi alioquin catholici indulgebant; adeo ut non solum homines laici, corde recte credentes et missas domi cum poterant audientes, ecclesias et cæremonias schismaticas adirent ac nonnunquam etiam communicarent, sed etiam sacerdotes multi et sacrum secrete facerent, et foris officia ac cœnam hæreticam, eodem sæpe die (immane scelus) calicis Domini et calicis dæmoniorum participes, celebrarent; [6] falso persuasi satis esse si animo tenerent fidem et in externis obedirent principi, præsertim in canendis psalmis et cæteris scripturis [7] vulgari lingua; quod videbatur esse indifferens, et in bonis alioquin in tanto legum terrore tolerabile: quodque nostri hoc non dicerent ullo modo permittendum catholicis, reprehendebantur ab initio nimiæ severitatis a multis.

Sed postea diligentia et constantia hanc difficultatem ita superavimus, ut non habeatur jam pro sincero catholico, cui possint sacramenta reconciliationis conferri, nisi plane se abstineat ab omni specie mali quoad participationem cum hæreticis. Et ubi hac severitate exacta ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ videbamur multorum sæcularium sapientum initio [8] longe pauciores catholicos habituri, Dominus Deus paucorum annorum experientia contrarium ostendit, efficiens ut plures nunc habeamus confessores [9] ac sinceros catholicos, quam tunc habuimus indulgentia et conniventia occultos Christianos; qui sua interna fide nec sibi nec aliis fuissent ad salutem utiles, sed [10] externo exemplo multos duxissent ad ruinam, nec de schismatis damnabili crimine aut religionis restitutione unquam cogitantes, blandientes sibi de bona voluntate et de legibus [11] principis

[1] *magistratuum* MS.*w*. [2] *id est, catholicos* not in MS.*w*. [3] *recte* an addition by Allen. [4] *librorum lectione* omitted in MS.*w*. [5] *illis* for *illic* MS.*w*. [6] Instead of the sentence *recte credentes .... celebrarent* MS.*w*. has *catholici audirent domi cum poterant sacrum et postea etiam eodem die adirent concionem et communionem hæreticam, sed etiam quidam sacerdotes utrumque fecerunt.* [7] *audiendis* added in MS.*w*. [8] *judicio* MS.*w*., instead of *initio*. [9] *es* added by Allen. It is in MS.*w*. [10] *sed* added by Allen above the line. It is in MS.*w*. [11] *per leges* in MS.*w*.

facta illicita excusantes, se suosque in miserabile exitium impœnitentes præcipitassent.[1]

Exacta ergo ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ observantia, ipsisque[2] pœnis, exiliis, carceribus, muletis, ac[3] adeo crudelissima catholicorum nece multum profecit ecclesia nostra, adeoque[4] crevit constantia in fidei confessione sincere bonorum, ut, ex eo tempore quò recentiores ac graviores latæ sint contra catholicos leges, multiplicentur[5] indies[6] orthodoxi magis, coactique sint adversarii de magnatibus et nobilioribus multa[7] connivere,[8] in sacerdotes tantum et tenuiores laicos animadvertere; ita tamen ut qui ab initio schismatis adigebant miseros ad cœnæ illius execrabilis participationem, nunc non requirant amplius quam ut semel aut iterum, ne videantur immorigeri, vel concioni vel reliquis officiis quæ psalmorum in vulgari lingua cantione maxime constant interessent.[9]

Cum igitur tanta esset per Christum faciendi in Insula nostra fructum spes, et magnum ostium animas lucrandi apertum[10] in Domino, tum cœpimus diligentius in eam

[1] "Quando morì la Regina Maria et si mutò la religione in Inghilterra, fuggiti et imprigionati che furono li vescovi et sacerdoti che non volevano consentire all' heretici, restò il populo in grande oscurità per alcuni anni, et si usavano per errore (anche da' cattolici) molte superstizioni et dissimulazioni, et si permettevano giuramenti empii contra l'autorità della Sede Apostolica, e questo con poco o nessun scrupulo di conscienza. Allora tutti communemente andavano alle sinagoghe degli heretici et alle prediche loro, menandovi li figli et famiglia, li quali bevendo così l'heresia hanno di poi mantenuta la persecuzione. Si teneva all'ora per segno distintivo sufficiente venire alla chiesa prima delli heretici et non partirsi in compagnia loro. I cattolici si communicavano nella cena Calviniana, o almeno si facevano scrivere da parrocchiani, come se si fossero communicati, per dissimulare et ingannare gli officiali che di ciò fanno inquisitione, et gli pareva all'ora di fare assai se sentivano messa secretamente nelle case loro dopo d'essersi trovati alla communione degli heretici, mescolando con sacrilego il santissimo corpo di Christo col profanato pane di Calvino, e servendo in un medesimo tempo à Christo et à Baal. Si mandavano li fanciulli alle chiese per esser battezzati da ministri heretici et da quelli erano benedetti li matrimonii. Et tutte queste cose si facevano senza scrupulo perchè li sacerdoti rimasti all'ora nel regno et in libertà (fuori d'alcuni pochi) o per ignoranza gli approbavano per lecite o per paura lo dissimulavano come tali. Adesso per la misericordia di Dio si fa altrimenti, e tutti sanno che bisogna credere col cuore per essere giustificati et confessar con la bocca par salvarsi. E che non peccò solamente Giuda per haver tradito Christo, ma anco S. Pietro per haverlo negato. Non vogliono abiurare l'autorità del Sommo Pontefice ne ammettere la suprema giuridizione della Regina sotto pretesto nessuno. Si tiene per cosa illecita di frequentare le chiese o prediche d'heretici sotto qual si voglia scusa d'obbedienza al Prencipe, et che sono obligati di prohibire li loro figli et famiglia d'andarvi. Anzi che devono istruirli nella vera religione, per non sacrificare al demonio quelli ch'hanno generati al mondo." Relatione del presente stato d'Inghilterra, &c., p. 6. Roma, appresso Francesco Zannetti, 1590.

[2] *ipsisque* in Allen's hand; the text has *ipsaque*. MS.*w*. reads *ipsisque*. [3] *ipsaque* MS.*w*. for *ac*. [4] *adeoque* by Allen, instead of *plurimumque*, which is cancelled. [5] *multiplicentur*, altered in text from *antur*, by Allen apparently. *multiplicarentur* in MS.*w*. [6] *indies* not in MS.*w*. [7] *multa* omitted by MS.*w*. [8] *convenire* MS.*w*. [9] *quæ psalmorum . . . . interessent* is substituted by Allen for *psalterii intersint*. The sentence *ita tamen ut . . . . interessent* is wanting in MS.*w*. [10] *ad lucrandas animas apertum esset* MS.*w*.

rem nostros animare, eleemosynas ex patria curare, evocare ex academiis optima ingenia, licet plurimi omnium ordinum ultro accurrerent; accuratius deinde advenientes cum in omnibus Christianæ religionis partibus, tum maxime in controversiis instituere. Et omnes qui[1] essent studiosi theologiæ vel mox ad eam accessuri, et quos Christus incitavit ad cogitandum de sacris ordinibus[2] cooptavimus in numerum eorum qui communibus seminarii expensis[3] sustentabantur. Reliquos autem nobilium filios qui vel humaniores literas, philosophica vel jurisprudentiam discerent, qui et ipsi quoque omnes vel sponte vel catholicorum parentum et amicorum cohortatione seminarii fama excitati ad capessendam catholicam educationem venerunt,[4] hos etiam tantisper (suis sumptibus tamen, non communibus) in collegio retinuimus, donec essent pro ætate et conditione recte catechisati ac ecclesiæ per pœnitentiam prioris vitæ et schismatis reconciliati.

Venerunt etiam non pauci interea plane hæretici et hæreticorum etiam officiorum ministri ac concionatores, qui omnes, nostra institutione et conversatione pœnitentiam agentes,[5] ac non modo ecclesiæ sunt sincere reconciliati, verum etiam post unum aut alterum annum factum in disciplina collegiali cupiebant fieri sacerdotes; quemadmodum et facti sunt, magnoque postea zelo se dederunt in messem Anglicam, ubi et unus eorum postea martyrio claro vitam finivit, ac reliqui magno cum fructu etiam nunc operantur.

Porro omnes qui Duacum negotiorum causa ad studiosos Anglos venerunt, (venerunt autem multis de causis multi, et ad alia loca seu in Galliam seu in Italiam seu in Brabantiam transeuntes sæpe ad nos, ut vel suos viderent vel ipsum seminarium de quo coeptum est tum tam multa dici, diverterunt) tales omnes, cum essent magna ex parte vel omnis religionis expertes, vel saltem schismatici, hortati simul[6] manere apud nos aliquot diebus; quod fecerunt multi. Ac si pauperes essent jussimus expensis collegii apud nos esse 30 dies,[7] donec scirent præcipua religionis catholicæ capita, et peccata confiteri recte didicissent et reconciliati essent; quod cum multis magno fructu fecimus, qui domum reversi glorificabant Deum in omnibus quæ viderant, et multos moverunt, ut omnino relictis rebus ad nos Duacum concederent, vel saltem semel visum et auditum[8] accederent; quod et hæretici nonnulli curiositatis causa fecerant.[9] Scripsimus etiam nonnunquam ad doctiores hæreticos educationis errore deceptos, ut semel dignarentur explorare nostrum morem vivendi et docendi, polliciti ipsis quamdiu hic manerent apud nos pro dignitate sustentationem et omnem humanitatem.

Vocavimus etiam ex Anglia aliquos seniores, illic ante multos annos factos sacerdotes, qui laborabant in vinea etiam Domini, sed eos[10] in religionis omnibus officiis, ecclesiasticisque censuris[11] pro horum temporum necessitate non satis instructos;[12] ut

[1] *quotquot* in MS.*w*. for *omnesque*. [2] *sacris ordinibus* substituted by Allen for *initiatione sacra*. [3] *eleemosynis* MS.*w*. [4] *venerant* MS.*w*. [5] *egerunt* MS.*w*. [6] *sumus* MS.*w*. [7] *triginta diebus* MS.*w*. [8] *ad videndum et audiendum* MS.*w*. [9] *fecerunt* MS.*w*. [10] *eos* not in MS.*w*. [11] *ecclesiasticisque censuris* omitted in MS.*w*. [12] *instructi* MS.*w*.

post ecclesiasticam disciplinam et institutionem paulo accommodatiorem inter nos receptam reverterentur ad opus sanctum complendum.[1]

Sed dum hæc facimus, et numerus nostrorum ac onera hæc variis modis crescerent, deficerentque etiam ex altera parte ex Belgicis turbis ac vexationibus bonorum eleemosynæ, et Angli ipsi, propter varias a magistratu factas inhibitiones ne pecuniæ ad nos mitterentur quos[2] vocabant patriæ et Reginæ inimicos et proditores,[3] conferre etiam non auderent, coacti sumus supplicibus literis implorare opem S. D. N. Gregorii,[4] universitate etiam Duacensi atque collegio Societatis illic existente[5] nostra in ecclesiam Dei officia apud ipsum testificantibus et[6] commendantibus: qui incomparabili charitate et clementia illico nos adjuvit concessa menstrua provisione 110 scutorum.[7]

Hac certa pensione habita et suæ Sanctitatis cohortatione ac facultate nobis concessa de præsentandis nostris apud[8] vicinos episcopos pro sacris ordinibus, et data[9] nobis Apostolica authoritate[10] licentia de mittendis in Angliam presbyteris qui omnem in absolutione et reconciliatione potestatem haberent, et alia quædam[11] impedimenta propagationis catholicismi tollerent quæ nominare non est opus, tum sane et in Anglia et in seminario incubitum est diligentius in opus Dominicum pluresque adventantes recepimus et multo plures operarios dedimus; adeo ut coacti sint contra hos conatus et multiplicationem continuam catholicorum aperte confitentium fidem (scopus enim noster est et semper fuit facere[12] plane et aperte catholicos, qui omnem cum hæreticis in spiritualibus communionem prorsus recusarent) et maxime contra Romanæ ecclesiæ reconciliatis[13] (quia nunc sinceri[14] catholici dicebantur passim[15] reconciliati) facere novas leges capitales ne quis reconciliaretur.

Quo etiam tempore vexarunt parentes eorum[16] qui hic habebant liberos suos,[17] mandaruntque illis[18] Reginæ[19] consiliarii ut primo quoque tempore suos[20] revocarent, etc., quod multi coacti aliquoties fecerant.[21] Sed nihil ista violentia nec reliquis suppliciis ac mortibus sacerdotum et aliorum profecerunt; nec quicquam capitalia contra quædam

[1] *ad opus sanctum complendum* added by Allen. [2] originally *quod*, corrected by Allen to *quos*. MS.*w*. reads *quos*. [3] *proditores* substituted by Allen for *perturbatores*. [4] *S. D. N. Gregorii* in place of *suæ Sanctitatis* by Allen. [5] *atque collegio Societatis illic existente* in Allen's hand. MS.*w*. has instead *ac optimis professoribus*. [6] *testificantibus et* omitted by MS.*w*. [7] *qui incomparabili . . . . 110 scutorum* is in Allen's handwriting in place of the following sentence, which is crossed through from *imprimis* to *menstruam* inclusive:—*imprimis D. archidiacono Ludovico, qui horum omnium consiliorum ab initio particeps et præcipuus adjutor extitit, id satagente: quibus benigne auditis provisionem menstruam* 100 *ducatorum ut scitis dedit.* The clause *D. archidiacono . . . . id satagente* is not in MS.*w*., which also has *pensionem* instead of *provisionem*. [8] *apud* instead of *ad* by Allen. [9] *data* for *facta* in Allen's hand. [10] *et* which followed *authoritate* has been crossed through. It is not in MS.*w*. [11] *quædam* transferred from after *impedimenta* by Allen. [12] *reddere* MS.*w*. [13] *Romanæ ecclesiæ reconciliatis* substituted by Allen for *reconciliationem*. [14] *sinceri* instead of *veri* by Allen. *vere* MS.*w*. [15] *passim* added by Allen. [16] *nonnullorum* MS.*w*. [17] *apud nos studebant* MS.*w*. for *habebant liberos suos*. [18] *illis* for *aliquibus* by Allen. Neither word is in MS.*w*. [19] Originally *regii*, altered by Allen. *regni* MS.*w*. [20] *tempore liberos suos* in text originally, *liberos* cancelled by Allen. *ii literis* replaces *liberos* in MS.*w*. [21] *fecerunt* MS.*w*.

sancta catholicorum quibus inter se tum etiam utebantur symbola, ut agnus Dei, sacræ imagines ære insculptæ, grana benedicta, etc.,[1] decreta nova potuerunt:[2] sed cum ea vix antea novissent, postea mire desiderarunt; rati magnam ex his sibi fore in illis calamitatibus quasi ex benedictione Pontificis Maximi consolationem; jam enim propter istas vexationes luporum cœperunt ipsum ut communem patrem diligere ac colere incredibiliter.

Habebant igitur hoc tempore Angli multos in Belgica[3] instructos sacerdotes, qui omnem captabant occasionem promovendi cœptam reconciliationem, qui[4] in patriam remissi[5] insinuarunt se nobilibus et magnatibus,[6] et reconciliarunt plurimos; rursumque reconciliati ipsi[7] non conquiescebant nisi idem etiam effecissent apud liberos, propinquos, famulos, amicos: imo nonnunquam etiam liberi persuadent[8] parentibus et uxores maritis ut fiant[9] catholici et reconcilientur.[10] Atque rei bene quidem gerendæ in hoc genere optima etiam est occasio in summis ægritudinibus, et cum videntur homines infirmari ad mortem; quo tempore propter metum divinorum judiciorum jam tum pene ab hominum legibus et terroribus liberati solent facilius solatiis ecclesiasticis auscultare, quando etiam nostri sacerdotes sunt fere[11] ad manum, amicis catholicis illos inducentibus[12] ac si essent medici vel mundani consolatores: faciunt enim[13] hæc quam possunt discrete et secreto, ne intercipiantur aut ab hæreticis agnoscantur; ita enim diutius et fructuosius messem facient.

Sed si fortasse capiantur probenturque fecisse sacrum, audisse confessiones, catholico ritu celebrasse conjugia aut baptismum, aut reconciliasse aliquos, vel saltem esse sacerdotes Duacenses, ita enim sæpe vocant, tum constantia et confessione et doctis responsionibus coram hæreticis judicibus et pseudo-episcopis et aliis valde proficiunt, et plures sæpe lucrantur quam si liberi essent ut prius.

Rarius tamen morte mulctant, (tres enim vel quatuor tantum damnarunt his ultimis annis) cum ea patienter suscepta mire moveatur populus; nam summa Dei gratia nemo hactenus tormentis aut terroribus eorum[14] cessit; et sæpe fit ut minus velit Regina et concilium in catholicos (quos ipsi agnoscunt esse innocens genus hominum et conscientia non malitia agi) sæviri, propter Puritanos quosdam hæreticos seditiosissimos Anabaptistarum instar, in quos cupiunt, ne perturbent statum regni, diligentius[15] aliquando inquiri et animadverti; quæ intolerabilis et furiosa secta facit etiam totum Calvinismum apud bonos et prudentes pejus audire, eoque[16] facilius animum ad veterem disciplinam et fidem applicare[17] nostrorumque catholicorum misereri[18] magis,

[1] *ut agnus Dei . . . . etc.* added by Allen in the margin. *agnus Dei et calculi ac imagunculæ æreæ a Papa benedictæ* in the margin of MS.*w*. [2] *profecerunt* MS.*w*. [3] *Belgica* added by Allen. *Belgio* MS.*w*. [4] *qui* omitted by MS.*w*. [5] *in patriam remissi* added by Allen. [6] *ipsi etiam aulæ* MS.*w*. [7] *ipsi* inserted by Allen. [8] *persuadebant* MS.*w*. [9] *fierent* MS.*w*. [10] *reconciliarentur* MS.*w*. [11] *sæpe* MS.*w*. [12] *introducentibus* MS.*w*. [13] *nostri* MS.*w*. [14] *ipsorum* MS.*w*. [15] *honestius* altered by Allen into *diligentius*. In MS.*w*. *severius*. [16] *ut eo* MS.*w*. [17] *applicant* originally in text: corrected by Allen to *applicare*. *applicent* MS.*w*. [18] *misereatur* originally in text: corrected by Allen to *misereri*. *misereantur* MS.*w*.

quos sciunt propter communem tantum orbis Christiani, majorumque nostrorum[1] fidem laborare.

[Multum[2] etiam his annis[3] profecimus per literas ex Belgio ad nonnullos tam magnates quam alios honestæ conditionis viros scriptas, in quibus diligenter proponimus, quantum sit hujus schismatis malum, quo infauste principes nationis nostræ separantur non modo a fide et salute omnium cæterorum Christianorum, sed majorum etiam suorum, qui non ex alia quam hac catholica professione clari in mundo et Deo grati[4] extiterunt: miserum esse et deplorandum personas sapientia et nobilitate adeo illustres vel a tam malis, paucis et imperitis decipi, vel potius (quia deceptos non putamus) hujus sæculi vel timore vel amore obedire hominibus magis quam immortali Deo, qui aufert spiritum principum et terribilis est apud reges terræ.[5]

Et hæc quidem sic in Anglia geruntur a catholicis, nec minore diligentia aut fructu laboratur in Hibernia a quibusdam Hibernis Louvanii et apud nos institutis presbyteris.[6] Nos interim ex collegio, quod tantum post acceptam Pontificis provisionem numero crevit ut ex eo coloniam, quæ brevi propter tanti patroni favorem Urbisque ac summorum magistrorum authoritatem hoc nostrum superatura videatur,[7] Romam sua Sanctitas duxerit et suis etiam sumptibus alat, multos mittimus operarios; de quorum instructione, doctrina et ad eam rem magis usitatis exercitiis, quia desideras clarissime D. Vendivili, jam paucis dicam, si istud prius annotavero.][8]

Jam vero cum ita his modis divina opitulante gratia et numerus in Anglia catholicorum continuo augeretur, et tanto studio atque frequentia optimæ indolis et voluntatis juvenes ex Insula ad nos confluerent, ut jam nec ædibus communibus capi nec suæ Sanctitatis prædicta provisione aut aliunde ali vel tenuissime potuerint, patriæ et nostri misertus benignissimus Pontifex, cum aliud nobis in Urbe collegium hoc nostro amplius fundavit, tum istud supplemento 50 aureorum menstruorum auxit; ut jam in singulos menses a sua Sanctitate 150 scuta habeamus, præter hoc quod semel aut iterum cum in magnis essemus angustiis extraordinarie succurrerit. Magnæ enim his maxime temporibus propter truculentas factas contra adjutores nostros in Anglia leges extiterunt œconomiæ nostræ difficultates, quando pene solum illa Pontificis provisione vivendum erat, collegiumque sæpe sicut et nunc plures quam centum alumnos habeat, pauciores

[1] *majorumque horum et nostrorum* originally in the text. *suorum* MS.*w*. for *horum*. [2] The whole of this paragraph from *multum* to *terræ* is omitted in MS.*w*. [3] After *annis* five words are so carefully erased that the first word only *Christi* can be now read. [4] *grati* added by Allen above the line. [5] In the Roman MS. between *terræ* and *et hæc* is placed a hand which refers to a separate sheet of paper containing the paragraph beginning *Jam vero cum*. [6] Instead of the sentence *nec minore diligentia . . . . institutis presbyteris* MS.*w*. has *et in Hibernia, præcipuo cooperatore uno ex nostra etiam societate, copiosior messis*. [7] The clause *quæ brevi . . . . superatura videatur* is not in MS.*w*. [8] The last two paragraphs between square brackets have been crossed through in the Roman MS., and are intended to be replaced by the two following ones, written on a separate sheet of paper in Allen's hand with these words on the margin "*write thes lines*." The two paragraphs last mentioned are not in MS.*w*.

his postremis annis nunquam; in quibus sunt fere presbyteri 20 aut 25; cæteri pene omnes sacrorum ordinum candidati.

Circiter duodecim aut potius communibus annis promovemus ad presbyterium 20, totidemque quotannis in Angliam mittimus. Atque ab instituto collegio dedimus in opus Domini supra 160 presbyteros: de quorum instructione, doctrina et ad eam rem magis usitatis exercitiis, quia desideras, vir amplissime, jam paucis dicam, si istud prius tibi annotavero.

Nostros non tam excellere[1] neque tantopere in ista Dominica messe[2] proficere exactiori doctrina (licet oporteat ipsorum magistros esse quantum fieri potest et doctos et prudentes) quam zelo domus Dei et charitate animasque lucrandi desiderio; cui quidem quo major est scientia Scripturarum et controversiarum, et præsertim prudentia ac discretio[3] conjuncta, eo plus proficiunt. Tamen cum zelo ardenti, etiamsi semper exacta doctrina non adsit, modo necessaria religionis capita, sacramentorum vim et rationem cognoscant, inter cæteros operarios excellentiores, quos fere habemus in singulis regni provinciis, utiliter etiam operantur isti in audiendis confessionibus et sacrificio faciendo, ad quas res tales maxime[4] instruimus pro cujusque munere et indole.[5]

Ingeneramus autem, tam hic in seminario quam illic per operarios in Anglia, primum et ante omnia zelum et justam indignationem contra hæreticos quantum Dominus permittit in animis catholicorum, præsertim eorum quos hic destinamus ad opus Dominicum; objicientes nostrorum oculis quanta sit[6] in catholica ecclesia ubi versamur[7] majestas cæremoniæ sacræ, quanta sacrificii et sacramenti dignitas ac utilitas, quanta populi in adeundis ecclesiis, in confitendis peccatis, in audiendis concionibus devotio et diligentia. Tum vero contra apud nostros omnia ista versa in luctum; summam existere omnium sacrorum desolationem, patriam nostram[8] olim religione tam illustrem et sanctam Deo jam[9] et religione omni esse vacuam, amicos et parentes nostros et quoscumque charos habemus et alia infinita animarum millia schismate et irreligiositate perire, omnes carceres et metalla non jam furibus et impiis sed Christi sacerdotibus et servis nostrisque adeo parentibus ac propinquis plena esse. Et deinde conversi ad nos ipsos, confiteri hæc omnia contigisse reipublicæ nostræ propter peccata nostra; agendam[10] proinde pœnitentiam et peccata confitenda[11] non perfunctorie ut olim, cum

[1] Originally *excellent*, but altered to *excellere*, after which and before *neque* occurs a blank space. Perhaps this space should be filled up with the word *oportet*. [2] *in ista Dominica messe* is in Allen's hand. [3] *ac discretio* not in MS.*w*. [4] *magis* MS.*w*. [5] *Petuntur etiam sæpe a nobis ad quosdam proceres literæ nostræ admonitoriæ de schismate deserendo; quas lubenter continuo damus, quibusque multum aliquoties moventur. Quarum literarum exempla amicis etiam et familiaribus ad multorum salutem communicant.* MS.*w*. in margin. [6] *quanta sit* above the line in Allen's hand. [7] *quanta sit* here inserted in MS.*w*. [8] *patriam nostram* above the line in Allen's hand, instead of the original *talem gentem*. MS.*w*. reads *totam gentem*. [9] *jam* added by Allen. [10] *agendam* not in MS.*w*. [11] *et peccata confitenda* omitted in MS.*w*.

pro more semel in anno[1] id faceremus, sed revocandam totam vitam anteactam ad rationem, exercitia spiritualia ad conscientiæ perfectum examen inter patres Societatis suscipienda, deligendum vitæ genus sanctius et ad salutem nostram[2] et aliorum magis accommodatum; inire sanctam associationem cum patribus iisdem aut aliis pro continuo orando cum multis pro patria et ecclesia nostra ac afflictis ibi catholicis, pro quibus nos ipsos ad compassionem et lacrimas excitare debemus; sed maxime de miseria in patria pereuntium cogitando quomodo possemus, vel nos, aliquos ipsorum eripere, scientes quod hoc operiret multitudinem peccatorum nostrorum. Proponere deinde in animo sæpius confiteri, devotius communicare, diligentius studere ut nos paremus ad sacerdotium, cujus rei tantam dedisset[3] occasionem etiam in exilio præter omnem expectationem et merita nostra Christus, cum tantam invenerimus gratiam apud externos etiam ut[4] nos juvent, adeoque vero[5] ut Christi ipsius Vicarius nos miseros et indignos non contemnat, sed ad eum finem quem Deus prævidit suis sumptibus foveat. Cupere proinde nos aliquatenus divinæ circa nos Providentiæ respondere, cum ex Sodoma eduxerit et servaverit, ac in sacro presbiteratu ipsi servire[6] desiderare; non quia ille ordo est sicut olim, et semper[7] esse deberet, apud homines utilis aut honorabilis, sed quia cupiamus[8] hoc tempore, cum est mundo contemptibilis[9] et periculosus etiam, Christo et ecclesiæ[10] ac nostrorum saluti in lacrimis et pœnitentia servire.[6]

Paucos[11] esse hujus vitæ et voluptatis dies, breves, incertos, malos; felices esse eos quibus aliquid pro patria, parentibus, religione ac Christo pati datum erit. Brevissimum esse hujus sæculi tempus, quo impii persecutores præferuntur sancte patientibus, cum istorum apud Deum et homines nox sit gloriosa memoria, illorum infinita et æterna infamia: id facile cerni, non modo in veteribus martyribus, sed in iis quos nostra pene memoria fidei confessio fecit et in mundo claros et in cœlo certe beatos. Omnia ergo toleranda potius quam ut videamus mala gentis nostræ.

Multum etiam ad excitandum zelum et fervorem fecerunt Pontificis quædam indulgentiæ concessæ gerentibus et utentibus talibus ac talibus symbolis aut calculis, et orantibus pro conversione hæreticorum in Anglia et alibi, et pro liberatione fratrum nostrorum captivorum pro fide catholica[12] ibidem aut aliis locis. Talibus enim[13] supra quam dici potest, tam in collegio quam in Anglia, tam in doctis quam in simplicioribus, crevit fervens orandi et diligendi studium, ut fuit[14] non modo causæ, sed evidentia fere signa eorum qui habebant[15] zelum. Neque vero per alios proficimus in agro Dominico in tantis periculis et infinitis impedimentis nisi per eos qui habent zelum[16] et didicerint[17] amare animas ad salutem cum proposito quævis pericula adeundi et molestias ferendi pro liberatione ecclesiae et fratrum suorum.

[1] *semel in anno* not in MS.*w*. [2] *nostrorum* MS.*w*. [3] *dederit* MS.*w*. [4] corrected to *ut* by Allen from the original *et*. In MS.*w*. *ut*. [5] *vero* added by Allen. [6] *inservire* MS.*w*. [7] *semper* added by Allen. [8] *cupimus* MS.*w*. [9] *contemptui* changed by Allen into *contemptibilis*. [10] *nostræque* added in MS.*w*. [11] This paragraph from *Paucos* to *gentis nostræ* inclusive is not in MS.*w*. [12] *propter fidem catholicam* MS.*w*. [13] *rebus* after *enim* MS.*w*. [14] *et sunt* MS.*w*. [15] *habent* MS.*w*. [16] The sentence from *neque vero* to *habent zelum* inclusive is not in MS.*w*. [17] *didicerunt* MS.*w*.

Jam vero hæc exercitia in collegio pro institutione nostrorum habere solemus.

In primis quia multum refert ut Sacræ Scripturæ textum ejusque magis probabiles sensus[1] in promptu habeant, habeantque ad unguem loca omnia quibus vel utuntur recte catholici pro fide nostra vel abutuntur hæretici impie contra ecclesiæ fidem, ad eam acquirendam facultatem habemus unam quotidie lectionem in Novum Testamentum quo dictatur breviter sensus quam[2] maxime proprius et germanus.

Quotidie in mensa post prandium et cœnam, antequam se loco movent, audiunt examen cursorium unius capituli ex Veteri et alterius ex Novo Testamento.

Dictantur eis tempore opportuno secundum controversias hujus temporis loca omnia Sacræ Scripturæ, sive quæ faciunt pro catholicis, sive quæ detorquentur ab hæreticis; notando breviter quid inde arguendum sit quidve respondendum. Habetur super eadem loca disputatio semel in hebdomadâ, qua vicissim defenditur non solum pars catholicorum contra hæreticorum allegatas Scripturas, verum etiam pars hæretica contra Scripturas catholicorum, ut melius sciant omnes tam probare nostra arguendo, quam refutare contraria; quas ad res multum juvat assistentia magistrorum, dum nihil sinunt[3] absque justo examine ab ulla parte prætermitti.

Ex iisdem etiam locis sic annotatis pro alterutra parte unus[4] quilibet studiosorum verba facit oratione continua et modo concionatorio ad persuadendum[5] et id[6] in thesi controversa; quod fit bis in hebdomada.

Singulis diebus Dominicis et festis habentur conciones anglicæ a provectioribus ad evangelium, epistolam vel historiam diei propriam, ubi inflammantur omnium animi ad pietatem in Deum et ad zelum in Angliam a schismate in viam salutis revocandum.[7] Id[8] autem anglice facimus ut vernaculæ linguæ facultatem majorem et gratiam, qua hæretici mire sibi placent et insigniter aliis simplicioribus nocent, assequamur. In quo genere vel imperiti alioquin hæretici multis doctioribus catholicis sæpe præstant, quod hi in academiis et scholis educati non habent fere Scripturæ textum nec allegant nisi latinum, quem cum pro concione indocta coguntur mox in vulgarem linguam vertere, quia statim alicujus versionis vulgaris verba non sunt[9] aut non occurrunt,[10] sæpe parum accommodate et non sine ingrata hæsitatione transferunt; ubi adversarii ad unguem tenent ex hæretica aliqua versione omnia Scripturæ loca quæ pro ipsis facere videantur, et quadam composita fraude ac mutatione sacrorum verborum efficiunt tandem ut nihil loqui videantur[11] nisi ex Bibliis. Cui malo utrinque mederi possit, si et nos haberemus aliquam catholicam versionem Bibliorum; omnes enim anglicæ versiones sunt corruptissimæ. Quales in Belgio vestro habeatis nescio; certe nos si sua Sanctitas faciendum judicabit, id etiam agemus ut fideliter, pure et genuine secundum approbatam ecclesiæ

[1] *probabilem sensum* MS.*w*. [2] *qui* MS.*w*. [3] *sciunt* MS.*w*. [4] *unicus* MS.*w*. [5] *persuadum* Roman MS.: *persuadendum et dissuadendum* is the reading of MS.*w*. [6] *et id* not in MS.*w*. [7] *revocandam* MS.*w*. [8] The rest of the paragraph from *Id autem* to *occurri possit* inclusive is not in MS.*w*. [9] *sunt* corrected by Allen from the original *sint*. [10] *occurrant* in original altered to *occurrunt* by Allen. [11] *videtur* corrected to *videantur* by Allen.

editionem Biblia vertantur; cum ad hanc rem viros jam habeamus aptissimos. Licet enim optandum esset fortasse ut nunquam in barbaras linguas Scripturæ verterentur, tamen cum tanta sit hodie vel ex hæresi vel aliunde curiositas hominum etiam non malorum, et sæpe etiam propter confutationem adversariorum legendi necessitas, satius est ut fidelem et catholicam habeant[1] translationem, quam ut cum periculo aut ad perditionem utantur corrupta; præsertim cum periculis ex difficiliorum quorumdam locorum lectione commodis quibusdam annotationibus occurri possit.

Item assidue inter prandendum et cœnandum leguntur, omnibus attente auscultantibus, sacra Biblia secundum ordinem fere quo ex breviario castigato a Pontifice Maximo[2] leguntur, ex quo horas plerique etiam non initiati persolvunt; et leguntur fere ad mensam quaterna capitula, vel ad minimum terna, et deinde martyrologium, aut aliquid de historia ecclesiastica.

Quæ eadem capitula leguntur antea a singulis privatim intra cubicula sua, similiterque illa duo capitula quæ diximus in fine cœnæ et prandii quotidie examinari, et id e fontibus ab his qui possunt.

Quibus omnibus ita observatis fit ut Vetus Testamentum perlegant duodecies singulis fere ternis annis; tamdiu enim fere manent apud nos propter sufficientem institutionem in talibus antequam domum redeant: Novum vero Testamentum sexies et decies eodem spatio, quod plurimum juvat ad peritiam singularem in textu comparandam.

Docentur etiam subinde græca et hebraica, quantum satis sit ad Scripturas utriusque Testamenti in suis fontibus legendas et intelligendas, et ad vitandas hæreticorum captiones quas ex verborum proprietatibus et notionibus tendunt.[3]

Duabus præterea lectionibus dictata recipiunt in Summam Sancti Thomæ. Docemus enim nunc scholasticam theologiam (sine qua nemo potest esse aut solide doctus aut acutus disputator) præcipue ex illo; nonnunquam etiam ex Magistro.[4] Semel in hebdomada habent disputationem in quinque articulos selectiores ex eadem Summa.

Porro quia omnes operarii quos mittimus in sacramentorum administratione versantur maximeque in audiendis confessionibus, cum præter ipsos populus fere nunc[5] pastores non habeat, curamus ut quam diligentissime instituantur in toto catechismo ac pastoralibus, et ne ignorent pœnas et censuras ecclesiasticas et rationem tractandi suos in illis casibus. In illa enim afflicta ecclesia cupimus disciplinam ecclesiasticam sincerissime servari, omnesque religionis partes ac præcipue Summi Sacrificii vim et virtutem incredibilem melius quam antea cognosci, et devotius et castius coli: cujus rei nimiam[6] negligentiam et contemptum tam in populo quam pastoribus ista miseranda desolatione Deus punivit.

Instituuntur ergo omnes, antequam veniunt ad illa majora quæ commemoravimus, diligentissime in omnibus catechismi capitulis ex Canisio, et postea in toto ordine

[1] *habeat* corrected by Allen to *habcant*. [2] *Maximo* not in MS.*w*. [3] *tendunt* in Allen's hand in place of *pendant*. In MS.*w*. *tendunt*. [4] The sentence *Docemus enim* to *ex Magistro* inclusive is omitted in MS.*w*. [5] *fere nunc* not in MS.*w*. [6] *minimam* MS.*w*.

legendi breviarii et celebrandæ missæ et utendi etiam rosario Divæ Virginis cum meditationibus[1] adjunctis, ut magis idonei sint qui ista populum et simpliciores doceant, si ipsi ea antea intellexerint. Et experientia didicimus hæc non esse propter graviora studia, ac si essent ipsis impedimenta,[2] contemnenda; sed istorum usu omnes mire ad pietatem inflammari et Deum conatibus et studiis nostris fieri magis propitium; cum S.[3] Augustinus, Beda, Thomas et similes longe plus temporis collocaverunt[4] in talibus rebus quam nos, non modo sine detrimento sed multo studiorum adjumento.

Perlegitur Manuale domini Navarri bis in hebdomada ad unam horam; utraque vice facta singulis potestate interrogandi familiariter si quid dubitent: alioqui magistro interrogante et uno e studiosis respondente peragitur.

Seorsim examinantur casus qui frequentius occurrunt in Anglia, et illinc vel aliunde interrogantur; et referuntur in unum librum ex quo vel leguntur vel etiam describuntur a sacerdotibus mox mittendis; et hæc quidem et similia publice.

Commendamus ipsorum privatis studiis et lectioni libros ipsorum instituto et nostro magis necessarios; ut Concilium Tridentinum, quatenus de doctrina tractat, et Catechismum ad parochos, et Constitutiones Provinciales nostræ Angliæ per Linwoddum collectas; deinde totam historiam ecclesiasticam,[5] maxime vero Venerabilis Bedæ, ut ex eo ostendant populo nostram gentem non aliam ab initio suscepisse fidem quam eam quam nunc catholici profitemur, neque ad aliam Christianitatem fuisse conversam quam ad eam quam nos ipsis commendamus, nec ab alia majores ipsorum dictos esse vel fuisse Christianos quam ab hac catholica Christianitate: qua demonstratione homines magis sobrii multum moventur; libros etiam Augustini contra hæreticos, imprimisque de Unitate ecclesiæ et eas epistolas quas ad Donatistas quosdam scripsit; ut ex eis acumen in disserendo et modum tractandi hæreticos et hæreticorum ingenium discant. Ad quam rem etiam et quia sæpe agendum est cum hominibus incredulis, omnis religionis expertibus, cupimus sibi faciant familiares ejusdem libros de Utilitate credendi, de Catechizandis rudibus, eaque quæ Cyprianus de Unitate ecclesiæ, et Vincentius Lirinensis, et Hieronymus contra Vigilantium et Jovinum scripta reliquerunt. Ac in eis omnibus qui ex professo scripserunt de controversiis seu erroribus nostratium hæreticorum præferimus Thomam Valdensem, qui doctissime ista omnia quæ hodie hæretici tenent in ipsorum patre Wicleffo confutavit.

[1] *quindecim* MS.*w*. [2] *impedimento* MS.*w*. [3] *SS.* MS.*w*. [4] *collocaverint* MS.*w*.

[5] The rest of the paragraph from *maxime vero* to *Wicleffo confutavit* inclusive is replaced in MS.*w*. by the following passage:—*præcipue vero Venerabilis Bedæ ecclesiasticam historiam, ex qua facile sciant quæ fuerit ea fides in quam majores nostri fuerunt conversi ab idololatria: et libros Augustini maxime contra hæreticos; ut ex eis acumen in disserendo et modum tractandi hæreticos et hæreticorum ingenia discant. Præsertim vero nostrorum interest, cum sæpe agendum sit cum hæreticis et incredulis prorsus nonnunquam, ut familiares sibi faciant librum Augustini de Utilitate credendi, de Catechisandis rudibus, de Unitate ecclesiæ propter schismaticos et similia ex Cypriano et Lyrinensi, eaque quæ scripsit Hieronimus contra Jovinianum et Vigilantium, etc., et eorum omnium qui contra hæreses horum temporum, maxime probavimus Thomam Waldensem.*

Denique omnes hæreticorum nostrorum majores impietates, blasphemias, absurditates, fraudes, fallendi artes,[1] ridiculeque[2] ipsorum[3] scripta, dicta et facta frequentibus[4] familiaribus colloquiis nostris studiosis[5] notissima facimus; quibus[6] modis fit, ut illi non solum perfecto odio detestentur hæreticos, sed mirentur et ex animo lugeant ullos posse esse tam malos tam simplices aut tam suæ salutis negligentes qui talibus hominibus credant, aut ullos esse tam timidos aut sæculi amantes qui tam perditis hominibus in schismate aut secta assentiantur, aut contra tales fidem catholicæ ecclesiæ et suam aperte non profiteantur.

Quantum ad pietatis studia omnes quotidie hora quinta mane audiunt pariter sacrum, recitatis prius pro ecclesia et conversione patriæ litaniis.

Singulis dominicis et majoribus festis confitentur et communicant; et quotidie omnes fere recitant horas. Sacerdotes singulis diebus celebrant. In festis S. Gregorii, S. Augustini Anglorum Apostoli et S. Thomæ Cantuariensis martyris convenimus ad solemne sacrum omnes, in quo laici communicant, orantes pro sanctissimo Gregorio fundatore nostro,[7] pro conversione patriæ nostræ et pace totius ecclesiæ ejusque imprimis loci in quo per Dei Providentiam in hoc exilio vivimus. Pro eisdem causis jejunamus bis[8] singulis septimanis, multumque commendamus Domino omnium pro religione captivorum aut afflictorum causam.[9]

Hæc sunt breviter, vir ornatissime et optime, quæ tibi de statu seminarii nostri commemoranda judicavi; in quibus si quicquam sit quod tuas sanctissimas cogitationes juvare queat, in Christo gaudeo. Nihil enim est quod magis vellem quam nostra qualiacumque officia tibi et mihi dulcissimæ Belgicæ aliquo modo esse utilia: et quicquid certe sit,[10] jure vel quia tuus ipse sum vel quia hoc seminarium omnia tibi debet,[11] vendicare potes. Deus tuam Amplitudinem semper servet. Rhemis, 16 Septembris, 1580.[12]

Dignitati tuæ deditissimus,[13]

GUILMUS ALANUS.[14]

Endorsed.

Literæ D. Alani ad consiliarium Regis Catholici de statu collegii Anglicani Rhemis. 1578.

[1] *fallendi artes* not in MS.*w*. [2] *ridiculaque* MS.*w*. [3] *ipsorum* omitted in MS.*w*. [4] *frequentibus* omitted in MS.*w*. [5] *studiosis* omitted in MS.*w*. [6] From *quibus modis* to *non profiteantur* inclusive wanting in MS.*w*. [7] *pro sanctissimo Gregorio fundatore nostro* in Allen's hand. [8] *bis* not in MS.*w*. [9] *In summa videmur his modis nunc, licet respublica sit hæretica, habere tamen corda pene omnium homestorum Anglorum, voces etiam, confessiones et opera innumerabilium* added in MS.*w*. [10] *tuo* added in MS.*w*. [11] *tuum est* instead of *omnia tibi debet* MS.*w*. [12] In the Roman MS. the date has originally been 1578. It has been altered by striking out the 7 and adding 0 after 8; thus, 15780. The date in MS.*w*. is 1578. [13] *V. A. addictissimus* MS.*w*. [14] MS.*w*. has the following postscript:—*D. Martini de seminariis Gregorianis Romanis. Annotationem etiam mitto. Rescribat quæso se ista recepisse tua Dominatio.* There is an endorsement on the back of MS.*w*. *Card. Allan to Mr Vandville*, 16 *Sept.*, 1578. *Instructions for the erecting seminarys.*

XXVI.

Dr William Allen to Louis Cardinal of Guise, Archbishop of Reims. Reims, September, 1578.

From a contemporary draft or copy in the archives of the English college at Rome. Scritture, T. 5.

Ill^mo^ et R^mo^ D. Card^li^ a Guisia, archiepiscopo Rhemensi.

Ill^me^ ac R^me^ in Christo pater; Dignetur per Christum Jesum tua Celsitudo, cum suo, tum invictissimi principis domini Ducis a Guisia hujus provinciæ gubernatoris patris sui nomine, uno verbulo prætori regio ac magistratui Rhemensi indicare me meosque co-exules Anglos jam pridem et vestra benignissima voluntate et Pontificis Maximi singulari commendatione in sacræ Dignitatis tuæ tutelam venisse, nostramque hic co-habitationem nec almæ urbi vestræ, nec cuiquam mortalium fore periculosam; ut ita vestra excelsa authoritate et mandato omnium de nobis suspiciones ac querelæ cessent, securiusque in otio literario tanto freti præsidio conquiescamus. Hoc beneficio, Princeps optime, in homines afflictos, nullius criminis sed conscientiæ ac catholicæ fidei causa patria pulsos, hos primos præsulatus tui annos urbemque ac ecclesiam tuam a Christo beabis; continuisque precibus ac sacrificiis nostris interpellatus benedicet tibi ac universo Guisiano nomini protector vitæ et exilii nostri Deus. Rhemis, Septembris, 1578.

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

XXVII.

Dr William Allen to F. Everardus Mercurianus, general of the Society of Jesus. Reims, 26 October, 1578.

Printed in Tierney's Dodd. Vol. II. *Append. p.* cclxxiii.

Cum in his diuturni exilii et difficillimorum temporum continuis calamitatibus omnibus facti simus per Christum debitores, vestræ tamen sanctæ Societatis in nostros homines merita cæterorum officiis universis antiquiora, gratiora ac sane salutariora semper extiterunt. Meministi enim jam tum ab initio desolationis nostræ plerosque ab illa perditione ereptos vel in sacrum ordinem vestrum receptos, vel ecclesiæ matri vestrorum studio ac opera restitutos, vel sequentibus deinde annis Lovanii primum, tum Duaci, tandem etiam Romæ, consilio, charitate, consolatione auctoritateque imprimis vestra fuisse servatos: ut de hoc quantulocumque agri Dominici relicto semine, post Deum ac sanctissimum patrem Gregorium ejusque summos ministros, vobis patria nostra, si quam unquam habituri simus, primas gratias debere videatur. Inter cætera

tamen recentissimum est istud et plane singulare, priora omnia beneficia vestra complectens, quod ad nostrorum isthic studiorum institutionem non ita pridem ex Societate, alioquin variis charitatis muneribus occupatissima, homines commodissimos concesseritis.[1] De quo cum multa plurimaque læte ac libenter ex Urbe reverendissimus dominus archidiaconus Audoenus, et ii ipsi ad quos hæc felicitas maxime pertinet, sæpe ad me scribant, ego, qui nihil in orbe illorum juvenum salute et sancta educatione charius habeam, intimum de reverendissimæ paternitatis tuæ beneficio ipsis præstito animi mei gaudium celare non potui. Equidem, mi pater, quod in hoc sæculari quo vivimus statu fieri potuit et licuit, dedi operam semper ut nostri non aliis quam vestris studiis, institutis, moribus, quibus nihil est hodie vel ad doctrinam expeditius vel ad pietatem sincerius vel quod maxime nunc requirimus ad zelum lucrandarum animarum accommodatius, præcipue imbuerentur. Nunc cum id sit a Deo nobis per suam Sanctitatem tributum ut in illo ecclesiæ ac orbis principe loco collegium habeamus, et per tuam pietatem porro concessum ut id hactenus vestrorum opera et prudentia gubernetur et instituatur, omnia sane mihi meisque in Christo donata sunt; neque aliud desideramus quam ut ejus isthic nostrique hic collegii totiusque gentis nostræ causa sua gratia et auctoritate apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum continuo fiat commendatior, atque ut hoc tuum etiam patrumque beneficium diuturnum esse velis:—ut velis autem, mi domine colendissime, Alanus omnibus vitæ suæ officiis filius et famulus tuus tuorumque sincerus amator per Christum rogat, vel respublica potius ac patria nostra rogat, illiusque charitatis et solicitudinis, quam in omnes gentes christianas ac barbaras geris, partem aliquam supplex postulat. Nec repellas justissima petentes, pater; et qui per tuos apud extremos Indos oves Christo colligis, perditam ovem Britannicam nobiscum quærere ne dedigneris. Si onus est, Christi onus est, qui et augebit vires ut possitis et charitatem ut velitis ferre; et quicquid sit, omnium nostrorum qui ubique gentium sunt exulum precibus, operis, oblationibus tolerabilius fiet. Christus ergo Jesus tuam reverendissimam paternitatem diutissime ecclesiæ, suis nostrisque servet incolumem; ac dignetur nostram parvitatem suorum sanctis sacrificiis commendare. Rhemis, 7 Calend. Novembris, 1578.

Addictissimus servus,

GUL. ALANUS.

[1] "Advocati fuerant ante [quam Pontifex totius regiminis curam patribus Societatis demandavit] procurante hoc tam Archidiacono [Owen Lewis] quam Mauritio [Clenock] et alumnis ipsis, patres Societatis Jesu duo, P. Jo. Paulus Navarola qui rebus spiritualibus et P. Ferd. Capecius qui studiis præesset . . . . . Arbitrabatur enim Mauritius eos infra duorum mensium spatium id totum confecturos, deinde ad sua redituros: sed his querelis [viz. of the students against Dr Clenock] interim exortis longe aliter accidit." A story of domestical difficulties, etc., by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 372. "Ibi sunt duo patres Societatis vestræ qui . . . . gerunt curam studiorum ad ponenda bona fundamenta in his initiis novi seminarii." Rev. Gregory Martin to F. Campion. Rome, 21 May, 1578. First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 316.

XXVIII.

Brief of Pope Gregory XIII. Rome, 4 November, 1578.

From the original in the archives of the see of Westminster. II., 97.
Printed also in Dodd. Vol. II., *p.* 219.

Gregorius PP. XIII.

Ad futuram rei memoriam. Alias per nos accepto quod dilectis filiis Anglis catholicis in Belgica degentibus, ut ipsi a venerabili fratre archiepiscopo Mechliniensi ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratus ordines promoveri possent, apostolica auctoritate indultum fuerat; et academia seu universitas studii generalis oppidi Duacensis provinciæ Belgicæ Cameracensi et Attrebatensi civitatibus vicina ac magistris et scholaribus Anglis præsertim theologiæ studiosis postea plurimum aucta et ornata existeret: nos indultum prædictum ad venerabiles fratres archiepiscopum Cameracensem et episcopum Attrebatensem nec non ad omnes et singulos Anglos qui in prædicta academia seu universitate Duacensi studebant vel degebant et pro tempore studerent vel degerent extendimus et ampliavimus; eisdemque Anglis qui a dilectis filiis Andoeno Ludovico, canonico et archidiacono Hanoniæ in ecclesia Cameracensi, utriusque juris doctori et officiali Cameracensi, vel a Guillelmo Alano aut Thoma Stapletono, professoribus regiis et ordinariis theologiæ in prædicta universitate, pro tempore approbati et præsentati forent, ut ab archiepiscopo Cameracensi vel episcopo Attrebatensi seu utroque illorum clericali charactere insigniri et ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratus ordines promoveri possent indulsimus; prout in nostris inde confectis literis plenius continetur. Cum autem, sicuti nuper accepimus, iidem Angli propter turbationes istas Belgicas non possint commode et tuto in dicta universitate Duacensi commorari et in civitate Cameracensi seu Attrebatensi ordinari: nos eorundem Anglorum statui in præmissis opportune providere volentes, ac eos a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et pœnis a jure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodati existunt, ad effectum præsentium duntaxat consequendum harum serie absolventes et absolutos fore censentes, nec non dictarum literarum tenores præsentibus pro expressis habentes, literas nostras prædictas ad venerabiles fratres Senonensem et Remensem archiepiscopos sive eorum suffraganeos apostolica auctoritate tenore præsentium extendimus et ampliamus; eisdemque Anglis catholicis qui ex Anglia venerunt aut venient in Franciam et ab Audoeno Ludovico vel a Guillelmo Alano aut Thoma prædicto approbati et præsentati fuerint, ut ab archiepiscopo Senonensi seu Remensi aut eorum suffraganeis clericali charactere qui nondum sunt illo insigniti insigniri et deinde ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratus ordines promoveri, etiam absque literis dimissorialibus ordinariorum suorum et aliquibus titulis beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, et postquam

insigniti et promoti fuerint ut præfertur in illis etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare; nec non Senonensi et Remensi archiepiscopis seu eorum suffraganeis prædictis ut eosdem Anglos dicto charactere insignire et ad omnes ordines prædictos promovere libere et licite valeant auctoritate et tenore præmissis indulgemus: non obstantibus fe. re. Pii pp. II. prædecessoris nostri et aliis apostolicis constitutionibus ac in provincialibus et sinodalibus conciliis editis, generalibus vel specialibus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die IV. Novembris, MDLXXVIII. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Septimo.

CÆ. GLORIERIUS.

XXIX.

Dr William Allen to Pope Gregory XIII. Reims, 16 February, 1579.

From a draft corrected, added to and signed by Dr Allen with his own hand[1] *in the archives of the see of Westminster.* II., 101.

Etsi sicut coram semper, Beatissime Papa Gregori, pro indignitate mea tremens, ita literis absens non nisi timide ad pedes excelsi Apostolatus tui accedo, obsequiumque servitutis meæ ore potius alieno quam proprio præstare soleo; tamen quia ipse in veritate comperi quod ab illo cujus in terris vicem geris mitis et humilis esse corde didiceris, quodque non solum oves sed agnos ipsi charos et summi amoris sponsione tibi commissos supra omnem mundi majestatem et plus etiam quam vitam diligas, nosque parvulos non modo venire sinas sed a finibus terræ ad te vocari jubeas, confidenter sanctissimam Paternitatem tuam, meo meorumque co-exulum, quos ex diræ mortis casibus vel hic vel in Urbe sancta tua ad vitam temporalem et æternam nutris ac ad semen agri Dominici præparari mandas, adeoque innumerabilium catholicorum Anglorum sub hæreticorum jugo gementium nomine alloquor, pedesque Apostolicos nobis vere speciosos exosculor. Non ut petam quicquam hoc tempore quod Sanctitas vestra ultro non præstat, quæ longe supra quam postulare præsumimus aut mereri possumus continuo donat; sed ut ego semel literis quod innumeri coram Deo et Christo ejus corde, sacrificio et suspiriis quotidie faciunt gratitudinem meorum testificer; proque multitudine miserationum et compassionum in nos suarum, maximeque pro duobus his seminariis, altero jamdiu prope fines Angliæ hic in Belgica summa munificentia sustentato, altero jam recens ad æternum ecclesiæ nostræ bonum istic in alma Urbe constituto, gratias quantas potest animus et affectus meus capere maximas et humillimas agam. Nullum est enim, Pater et Domine sanctissime, de omnibus tuis in rempublicam nostram maximis meritis hoc uno præstabilius; in sapientissimis ad collapsam religionem restaurandam susceptis consiliis salutarius nullum; nihil in omnibus operibus ad æternam memoriam apud Deum et homines gloriosius; nihil quod

[1] The words in italics and the signature are in Dr. Allen's handwriting.

plures animas vel nunc lucretur Domino vel unde major in futurum totius reconciliandæ gentis spes existat. Cum enim in variarum gentium seminariis instituendis peculiaris sit et apud omnes ecclesias supraque omnes prædecessores propria laus tua, Gregori XIII^e^, *tamen* ejus rei utilitas nusquam gentium ita atque apud nos hoc sanctissimi præsulatus tui tempore claret; quo *brevissimo spatio* vel hoc unum *Sanctitatis tuæ in Belgica collegium Anglicum*, nisi truculentæ leges restitissent, totam *per Dei gratiam* ecclesiam Britannicam pedibus tuis beatissimis prostratam dedisset. Sed nec ille superbissimus *hæreticorum* dominatus potest esse perpetuus; et Anglia, filia doloris et lacrimarum tuarum, *licet* in mundo desolata *tamen* a Christi Vicario sic assumpta, curata, *dilecta diu* misera esse non potest. Perge modo, *Pater sancte*, per Christum Jesum esse nobis Gregorius, id est, p*arens ac* apostolus patriæ nostræ, vitæque exilii ac studiorum nostrorum protector: *et benignam aurem suam in his rebus ut hactenus semper D. Audoeno, archidiacono et referendario, sanctissimæ vestræ personæ et Sedis Apostolicæ summo zelatori, accommodare:* dabimusque *his* vicissim omnem operam nos, humillimi servi ac filii Beatitudinis tuæ, ut omnibus officiis *ac conatibus* ipsoque sanguine nostro, *ubi opus erit*, contendamus ne pereant tanta in nos nostramque gentem *collata* beneficia, sed ut in diebus suis *sanctissimorum horum* laborum et consiliorum exoptatum fructum *videat; ad quam rem Dominus Jesus pro infinita sua clementia concedat vobis longum et faustum præsulatum et æternam postea in cœlo felicitatem. Rhemis, ex collegio vestro Anglicano*, 14 *Cal. Martias*, 1579.

V. Sanctitatis devotissimus filius et servus,
GULIELMUS ALANUS,
presbyter.

XXX.

Dr. William Allen to the Cardinal Protector (Moroni). Reims, 16 February, 1579.

From a holograph draft by Dr Allen in the archives of the see of Westminster. II., 103.

Quod in illo sublimi ecclesiæ loco tam multis annis per Christum sis, et tanta apud tot ordine sanctissimos pontifices gratia et authoritate valeas ut non modo certis hominibus sed integris nationibus continuo succurras, et hic perbeatus et ad futuram quam inquiris vitam, illustrissime Cardinalis, firmissimis gratiæ et meritorum præsidiis pulchre præparatus mihi videri soles. Sed et patria nostra longo ac superbo hæreticorum dominatu infelix, nosque adeo omnes et ipsius calamitate et diuturno exilio alioquin miseri, per te tamen, clementissime Protector, quem ad nostros, ut interpretor, casus sublevandos Deus tanto et tam necessario tempore nobis præesse voluit, felices sane sumus. Tot enim annis non in Urbe tantum præsens, sed ubique gentium etiam absens, necessitatibus nostris pia commiseratione communicas; tam

necessaria vitæ et studiorum subsidia cum ab aliis antea Pontificibus tum ab hoc imprimis nobis et ecclesiæ hoc tempore divinitus concesso, Gregorio, continenter procuras; tam frequentes postulationes, importunitates, querelas cæterasque animorum ex longissimi exilii tædiis (ut fit) ortas ægritudines patientissime sustines sapientissimeque moderaris; tanta denique charitate nostros patriæque nostræ labores et dolores consideras, ut si Polus ipse meliori vita dignissimus nobis superesset, nec nostri misereri magis nec suos commendare aut juvare diligentius nec protegere sanctius potuisset. Atque præclara sane sunt cætera omnia, Cardinalis benignissime, vitæque et exilii singulorum summa solatia; sed quod ad cœtus studiosorum seminariaque constituenda et continenda facis, id proprie ad universam rempublicam Anglicanam, non præsentem modo quæ sine his seminariis aut nulla esset aut vitalis non esset, sed futuram quoque quæ his singularibus ad perpetuitatem adjuta remediis diu ut speramus misera esse non potest, pertinet. Proinde ipse qui alioquin timide tuam Celsitudinem interpello, et libentius sacrificiorum et orationum quam literarum officia rependere soleo, tamen ad hoc postremum de constituto in hospitali collegio literario, quo nihil potuit, crede mihi Mæcenas benignissime, vel a S^mo^ D. N. mandari vel a te curari sanctius aut salutarius, tacere non debui. Mirifice etenim lætantur boni, probant prudentes, collaudant omnes, cœlestesque illæ animæ quæ suis Romæ eas olim commoditates compararunt, et ipsi divi nostrorum in Urbe patroni, Edmundus et Thomas, hanc sanctissimam rerum suarum istic œconomiam Anglis suis congrue non dubium gratulantur. Ergo multorum nostratium, ad[eo]^1^que catholicorum omnium, et horum maxime [qu]^1^i mecum sunt in altero Gregoria[no collegio, cum]^1^ alumnorum tuorum cum presbyterorum [tu]^1^orum, nomine gratias quantum possum in Christo Jesu maximas tibi ago, clementissime Protector, cumque omnibus votis assidue oramus multi ut hanc insignem in gentem nostram misericordiam vestram immortalitas compenset confirmetque atque conficiat nobis hoc opus in diebus vestris quod sanctissime per ipsum ejusque unicum optimumque Vicarium cœpistis. Ad quæ salutaria consilia vestra promovenda si quidquam nostra servitus facere queat, eam omnem sine exceptione suæ Sanctitati, Ecclesiæ, illustrissimæque Dominationi tuæ humillime dedico. Officia vero R^di^ d^ni^ referendarii Audoeni, qui ista Celsitudini tuæ dabit, propter summam in vos observantiam et in patriam studium singularemque in hoc genere prudentiam, pietatem et zelum domus Dei summopere illustrissimæ D. V. commendata esse cupio. Dominus Jesus Celsitudinem tuam Sanctissimæ Sedis Apostolicæ et Ecclesiæ ministerio nobisque alumnis suis diutissime servet incolumem et æterna deinde beatitudine donet. Rhemis, 14 Cal. Mart., 1579.

V. Ill^mæ^ ac Rev^mæ^ Dominationis devotissimus orator ac servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

[1] The MS. is worn away at this part. The letters between the brackets have been conjecturally supplied.

XXXI.

F. Robert Persons, S. J., to Dr William Allen. Rome, 30 March, 1579.

From a MS. copy by F. Christopher Greene, S.J., of F. Persons 'Story of domestical difficulties' in the archives of Stonyhurst College. P. 381.

Good Mr Doctor; I shal not need to wryte much at this time, partly for that I suppose the priests and schollers do (and I have don also myself at other times) and partly for that I hope to see you here shortly, att what time we may more commodiously talke of all matters in presence: yet for that I am requested by some here to touch certaine points unto you, I shal do it briefly, to witt first what hath passed here in this great contention and secondly the importance of your speedy coming hither.

For the first though the issue of this contention hath brought forth some good effects for benefit of this new college, which perhaps would not have ensued (or at least not so soone) if this sharp bickerment had not fallen out, yet have there many things passed therin which I could wish had bin undone, or at least done with some more moderation on all hands, and this for the credit of our whole nation.

Touching Mr Morrice[1] his government I think verily and do partly know also that it was insufficient for such a multitude; and how could it be otherwise, he being alone without help and never practised in such a manage before? The schollers alsoe were very evil provided for necessaries, sometimes going all ragged and in worse case, some of them at least (and those of the principal) as I have seen with mine eyes. National partialities also in distribution of things, I think, was not soe carefully avoyded as ought to have bin. Yet could I have wished the schollers to have dealt more moderately for redresse, if it might have bin, and at least I would the difference between Welsh and English had not bin so often named or so much urged here among strangers, seeing that of both nations there be very good and vertuous people both at home and abroade who by this open contention may be driven into division. But who can stay young men or ould eyther, once incensed on both sides by national contentions? You know what passeth in Oxford in like occasions.

If I should tell you of particuler excesses passed on both sides, you would laugh; and yet it would grieve you, as it doth me. When all the English were put out of the college, one Hugh Griffin nephew to Mr Archdeacon Lewis is sayd to have given a leape in the college-hall saying 'Who now but a Welsh man?'[2]

Thus you see when national dissension is once raised up how hard it is to appease it; for which cause the more necessary is thought your speedy repaire hither;

[1] Dr Maurice Clenock. [2] Here follows a blank of a whole page in the MS., as if part of the letter at this point had been omitted.

and to that end have we procured you both licence of his Holiness to come and sent you also some viaticum; soe as we trust to see you shortly.

To shew you here the commodities and utilities which may ensue of your journy it shal be to small purpose, for your wisdome wil farr better conceive it then we. Yet these pointes have we proposed here to move his Holiness and other superiors to consent and desire your coming: 1°, the pacifying of grudges between the two nations, seing Mr Dr Lewis is your great friend; then the uniting and combining of this college to yours there in all good correspondence. And these two were sufficient for his Holiness: but further to ourselves we have proposed the confirmation and encrease of that seminary's pension by his Holiness; the right informing also of F. Generall of the Society in our English affaires, where perhaps you may induce him to joyne some of his also (seing God has sent so many now into the Society) with our other priests to go into England, seing otherwise you and others have written that it is much desired by catholics there. And here I am sure there wanteth not desire in diverse to adventure their bloud in that mission; among whome I dare putt myself for one, if holy obedience imploy me therein; for seeing I have offred myself a good while agoe to the mission of the Indies and can not obtaine it, it may be God wil have me goe to this other. But whether I goe or no, I think the combination of our fathers of the Society with our priests of the seminaries is so important a thing and of so great consequence as if by your coming you brought no other thing to passe but this, you would have wel bestowed your time. But I hope you shal doe this and much more, whereof we shal talk more largely at our meeting. And so to that time I remitt all the rest, with my most harty commendations to yourself and Mr Dr Bristow, to Mr Licentiat Martin and all the rest. From Rome, this 30 of March, 1579.

Yours wholy ever,

ROBERT PERSONS.

XXXII.

Dr William Allen to Mr Richard Hopkins, residing at Louvain. Reims, 5 April, 1579.

Printed in Dodd.[1] *Vol.* II., *p.* 242.

Mr Hopkins; You discourse wisely and friendly in behalf of our countrymen there and elsewhere dispersed: and being discreet and well experimented by their own long

[1] The originals of this and the following letter were at Douay college when Dodd wrote his History. They must have perished with so many other valuable documents when the college was confiscated at the time of the first French revolution. Dodd was not a careful copyist, as appears from other letters, of which the originals are still in existence, and this will account for inaccuracies and obscurities which it is now impossible to remedy.

miseries I doubt not but now or very speedily they will repair all defaults and defects by their inconvenient employing themselves, to God's honour and profit of our afflicted country and the most advancement of their own firm credit and estimation. Whereunto the more effectually to move them, I have of dutiful affection and our common country's sake made them a proffer to be partakers (and so I yet once again pray them to be) so many at least as do complain of lack, or as list either to teach or to learn, of whatsoever we have or shall have here. You say some were in dignity at home: to whom I promise living here shall be as correspondent to their quality and degree in England as that they have in Lovain. And I say farther to you that there be here sundry of as high calling as any of our friends there, which be more contented here than ever they were of their livings in their own country, and without comparison much more enamoured of our trade here in common, than ever of their own or of other students any where living at their private ease. But they have ended this course which we follow long sithence, you say, and therefore it were not suitable to begin again with young men: and that is true. But it were not unseemly for such to teach others that they have learnt so long since themselves, nor against charity nor their honour nor their age nor any dignity whatsoever either they have had or be worthy of. But they list not to be appointed by others. Then let them either do good of themselves on their own accord or else no hurt, and dissuade not those that list and must live in order; and so they shall be welcome also. Here be at this time sundry ancient men, and at divers times have been divers; and yet the day is to come that we ever forced any of them to work or any straight order which themselves misliked of. Yea the things that we do be so agreeable to every man's mind that we could not hold them from them if we would. And many surmise strange things of our order that never saw them; but never none that saw them, that I know of, was desirous to leave them. A little government there is and order, but no bondage nor straightness in the world. There is neither oath nor statute nor other bridle nor chastisement; but reason and every man's conscience in honest superiority and subalternation each one towards others. Confession, communion, exhortation hath kept us these nineteen years, I thank God, in good estimation abroad and in peace amongst ourselves with sufficient livelihood from God and in good course of service towards the church and our country. Yea so notoriously to God's glory and the good of many, that our case hath been envied and our good endeavours detracted (as such things lightly be) and means made in vain to sever the Pope's exhibition in pieces and consequently to divide the body of our college: which had brought us, if it had been unwisely heard as it was undiscreetly propounded, to the like nothing that themselves be in now and ever shall be, as long as they live out of order, company and conference. Well, custom and toleration of all things against us and going forward in this sweet course have inclined now every reasonable man's heart to affect us heartily and taken away from others all abilities to hinder us; though truly now I know none in the world so sinisterly discoursed of that would if they

could hurt. And I impute it not to any dislike of our trade, but rather to their ill luck and mine, our sins, that having their meat and drink and other necessaries (so far as we be able and as long as God shall send it us) so freely profered them, they count it not worth *God have mercy* or accepting; namely being in misery, as some and most part pretend, and specially affecting of men to be respected according to their qualities, which takes away all just excuses of their refusal. For I am sure they be no good and wise men to mislike order, unity and common conference. Neither was there yet ever any man so incompatible of other mens company and society but he hath been pleased. And know you, my good friend Mr Hopkins, and so it may please all my loving brethren whose honour and good (Christ Jesus so deal with me as I say truth) I so much affect; it may like you and them, I say, to know that I do not desire nor like to be their governor nor head nor any profit by their coming hither other than their correspondence in good will and prayers; but I would have them to do it for their own profit and relief and estimation. Which I say, because you make an insinuation of choosing me their head, at least, say you, for to sue for their pensions; at which your good will to them and condescending to their infirmity on the one side and your preferment of me to so great a headship I laughed heartily. Truly Mr Hopkins they shall not need to choose me their head for that. For I would willingly be their man to do them that or any other pleasure in the world with as good will as for mine own company. And the time was, as you I dare say know, when by accepting only my name in their postill they might have sped. *Sed omnis inordinatus appetitus sibi ipsi est pœna.* And now I doubt (my special friend Dr Sanders being gone out of the court and country of Spain, and our nation in disgrace at Rome and generally I fear through the unhappy and manifest mutiny there in the seminary betwixt the English and the Welsh, that ever you heard about Dr Lewis and Mr Maurice whom the students will not them nor Pope obey) whether my credit will be so good to do any good in the pension matter or no. But I may perhaps write to Sir Francis[1] about it, if our friends there would have me, and would be content to join into any society and order reasonable; which for their good I desire and for which cause I offer them so fair play. Not for any abundance that we have here (which at this time, God is my witness, live of borrowing as Mr Bridgwater knoweth) but for assured hope and confidence that I have in God that if we were in peace and collegial conformity or other ruled society we should not want. And it may please you to communicate this my letter in haste scribbled both to those at Lorrain[2] and Liege and where you think good. For John Lyon because he is no student, though I most heartily would and he well deserveth, I cannot tell what to say. Our profession and good will is to help every body: many the students and priests be in special recommendation. Yet if Mr Lyon can find no means, somewhat for service about our house he shall be allowed, as long as we are able; which is the condition we must add to every matter.

[1] Sir Francis Englefield. [2] Louvain?

For *ultra posse* it will not be. What to do for good Mrs Gyles I know not. As to father Price, he is in the like case with Dr Bristow for certain odd reckonings of more matter than her's is, and he hath promised him of late by his letters to see him so discharged. But the money I cannot yet hear of. Commend me, I pray you, to Mr Hyde, Mr Taylor, your sister, Mr Freeman and every body. I have none of those books that you speak of. Only Mr Reynolds hath the last reply of Whitgift, and he is not now at home. Fare you heartily well, my dear friend. I would I might but have one hour's conference with Mr Hyde, yourself or Mr Freeman in the premisses. It is troublesome for me to write every thing. Christ keep you. At Rheims, the 5th of April, 1579.

Your poor friend,

W. ALLEN.

XXXIII.

Dr William Allen to Dr Owen Lewis, archdeacon of Hainault. Paris, 12 May, 1579.

Printed in Dodd. Vol. II., *p.* 234.

Most dearly beloved friend; All your letters came safely to my hands, as I think, ever since those tumults did begin: whereby as also by as many contrary letters of the students we here understand all from the very ground, and marked every thing and all actions and deportments of the scholars and doers on all sides, and after conferred with the wisest and principal here in our company, as Dr Bristow, Mr Bailey, Dr Webb, L. Martin with others of judgment; as well to see what they liked or misliked in all this tragedy, as to use their advice how I might deal to save and salve that great sore and exulceration of minds betwixt the two parties, English and Welsh, much greater and much farther spread by that beginning and root there unluckily planted than you there can perceive, though you may see to your grief much. Which partiality and division, if it be not utterly taken away, may breed marvellous scandal and inconvenience. My first care was that it should take no hold in our company; where, I thank God, at this day they live as sweetly together without all differences or respect of nations or other distraction as ever I knew any such number in my life. And yet so to hold it, because we well perceived the common inclinations of Adam to like and whisper underhand for their own against others of other countries, great moderation and dexterity was necessary I assure you. The principal point was that no meddling or maintenance of either side should be openly or privately used; but every man to apply to his book and pray for the appeasing of the tumult and specially for his Holiness, that God would give him the spirit of wisdom and mercy, that he might take the best way for the ending of the matter and to pardon the fault of disobedience, disorder or scandal whatsoever, for the honour of God and the perfecting of the work

begun. And lest any breach might chance to be, I otherwise than my custom and somewhat against my health thought it necessary always to be in the hall both at dinner and supper and all exercises were sithence. So that all hath been well and is here very well and never better contentment, but all very joyful and careful till this last day when the news of ending all and the Jesuits establishing came unto us both [by] your letters and divers others; which I assure you made us a double Easter. To see which and to tell you sincerely and plainly I could not tell how to write for fear of doing hurt. The broil was so perilous, and I saw the students there every one so bent that they would have lost all rather than have been under one of that nation; yea and forsake me and whom and what else soever. Not doubting of your wisdom [that] both yourself and his Holiness would rather condescend to their infirmity than by this sinister accident or by all their expulsions undo that work so happily begun, yea and our whole country and yours. Specially seeing they might be appeased with so honest a thing as to have the Fathers for their governors; which their request, to make you understand our whole mind, seemed to all our nation most lawful and godly; though their manner of proceeding and unkind alienation from you that hath done and daily do endeavour so much good for this seminary and that and all our country together. Which refusing so peremptorily to obey the Protector's or Pope's order, which might have tended to the ruin of all, if God had not of His great mercy otherwise far above their deserts and ours disposed by this sweet end that his Holiness hath made. This disorder and hazard of all in them was exceedingly misliked of all the wise and myself here: though the committing the house to the Society was all our desires. And right sorry we were of that error that Mr Maurice was made rector, and gladly would have had, if the Jesuits might not or would not have been, rather Dr Bristow. For that both his quality was excellent and his person grateful, and [he] was a divine; which had been more fit than one of another profession; besides the country, which you know many respect, how well and wisely I do not say. Therefore that he or some other like was not chosen or first appointed at the beginning, it was as I told you an error; the rather noted because Mr Maurice, being otherwise a very honest and friendly man and a great advancer of the students and seminary's cause, had admitted there, sent for and called for two up to the seminary, as by sundry letters written not to me but to other men is particularized, some of his own country-folks and friends for age, quality and institution unfit for the study and seminary: which gave both first occasion in the sight of vulgar men to do as they did, and that many there be so extremely alienated (which pierces my heart to hear) from you and that province, which hath bred and doth bring up so many virtuous, constant and catholick men. Which was no fault in you I dare be bold to say, but yet an escape and default in managing the affair, because you did not dehort Mr Maurice from taking upon him that charge in the beginning, for which indeed, no dishonour be it unto him, he was not sufficient. The scholars fault

again was that they would not advertise me, that I might with you or by you rather have obtained by suit and supplications, than by tumultuous means so hazardous and scandalous have prosecuted the matter. Which animosity and contentious dealing is far unfit for the state of students; and after, joined to hatred, emulation, detraction and other sins thereon depending: yea it went so far, woe be to our sins, that as we were advertised mischief and murder had like to have been committed *in ipso collegio*. For which horrible disorder, and afterwards for the expulsion of all the English, how heavy our hearts were my tongue nor pen cannot express; and you there seeing the same must needs be in much more. And I nothing doubt but you did all you could to draw the Pope and Cardinal from that rigorous order brought by our mens disorders. But yet, for that, most men attribute all to that original error of making Mr Maurice head. I see the scholars either will not be persuaded that you did help any thing to the mitigation of the matter; or else so far their minds be exasperated that they will accept nothing for benefit that cometh from you, *ut fit in ægris animis*. And because I would have this extreme alienation from you taken away, that you may have the good will of all men as you deserve by your known benefits to all men, which I will never cease to protest and surely do all here most heartily for the good of our common country, which hath exceeding ill luck to be hindered by our unhappy contentions and disagreements; I will for that cause use all diligence and dexterity to treat *opportune et importune* with the principal of the students, who now having obtained this happy resolution will I trust condescend to every order and counsel, and quiet themselves, giving over meddling or harkening to whisperers, where former grudges have excited you and deceived them. And in any wise, as I love and honour you, use all means possible to come into the grace and liking of the students, and shew your wisdom, charity and zeal in condescending, bearing and supporting their youthful miscarriages, so far as without sinning you may. For *interest causæ vestræ mirifice* that this begun faction do cease. And because I will be sincere and plain with so dear a friend, not doubting but you will keep all things close from all sides, as I do yours, you must temper your cousin Hughes's tongue and behaviour, who is of a bitter, odd and incompatible nature; for so, not the students there any of them, but I assure you others have signified, that his disordered humours have been a great cause of your hatred and of all those garboils. And some here have told me I did not an ill deed to send him up, who for choler and other singularities was insupportable amongst his fellows here. For God's love therefore correct his nature as much as you can; and I will, by all the forces I may possibly, devise, as well in writing to the students as to their governours and confessors, to make an atonement. I have written to Father General also, and will do to whosoever I may think to have credit with the students; who I know many of themselves be not of ill nature, but have been by zeal rather than malice carried into this action. With whom and with yourself,

would God, I had a month's company there; I doubt not but a joyful reconciliation on all hands might be made. Which concerneth so much the health of our country, as the contrary does the undoing of the same, that Dr Bristow, Mr Bailey, Mr Dr Bernard would needs have had me to have gone up out of hand. But my care of remaining here comes of my superiors, as they know not, but you only know. And therefore I yielded not in any wise to their motion, lest his Holiness or Cardinal Como might be offended, as you I dare say think also: at the least I dare not hazard it. And perhaps the students, or others rather, would think I would wholly be led away from them by the great familiarity between us. But God so help me, as I feel no inclination of partiality either towards your part for the great benefits and comforts which I have had at your hands, [so] neither towards their part for conjunction of country or name of English or for blood or such like, as partly you may see by my plainness in this letter. But I only seek the honour of God and the necessary attonement of all sick minds, without which whatsoever we go about for our poor country will be lost, though all such honourable and charitable endeavours before God cannot perish. Thomas your man, whatsoever other occasion you have to suspect him (I speak this for the answer of a certain secret point of your letter) hath written to me these formal words: 'The students and the English be marvellously alienated from my master, truly for any thing I know without cause; and I am suspected on both sides.' *Hæc ille*: adding more that he would have my counsel how otherwise to dispose of himself; which I have given him by this letter inclosed. Cause the rest to be delivered (I pray you) to the parties, and let no vexation alienate your mind from doing us and all others as much good as you can. The best that ever was *non reddidit bonum pro bono tantum, sed pro malo bonum*. Father Norton shall have his turn served according to your last and is already in a good part dispatched. The Spaniards have had a bloody repulse at Maestrich, God help us, and the Low Country cometh in slowly. I may perchance, if I find so much vacant time before these letters go forward, write a few words to our old patron Como to appease his mind, if perchance he have taken any dislike on either side by this garboile; which you will deliver him accordingly I doubt not. Mr Gilbert came not this way, but is arrived at Paris and hath paid the twenty pistoles which you lent him to Mr Bailey's hands, being then there, and he desires you to send his bill thereof to Mr Morgan in Paris. Here is no Irishman in these parts that I know, saving Mr Fitzsimons, and therefore the catalogue is quickly made. My Lord of Cambray is retired again for fear of Castelane into France. God knows what will become of these Low Countries. The great talk of Monsieur's marriage with our Queen is on foot still. Mr Powel, brother to the priest there, is in prison still for his faith, and hath answered stoutly that whosoever denieth the Pope's Holiness to be head of the church of England as well as of all other churches Christian is a heretick. Some think that he shall suffer, or at least fall into the

præmunire. God comfort him and all his fellows. I wrote your mind to the dean touching the woman in your house; but he writeth to me again:—*Salvo meliori judicio non esset dimittenda, cum honestissime se gerat et optime servet res, præcipue frumentum: cum etiam inveniri non possit aliquis subditus ecclesiæ qui vult accipere curam domus et omnium rerum, nisi esset certus de habitatione ibidem per longiorem terminum quam expedit promittere.* Whereupon I can see no further, but commit all to his wisdom as you require. Cotune will not be sold they say for any thing, and therefore I get no money no ways. And if these new garboils begin again this summer, as it is not unlike, all will be in hazard. Mr Stevens will not nor dare not come back (as he saith) to Cambray, and therefore requireth only a little room for his stuff as is left.

Being comen thus far I had necessary business to go to Paris, whither I went, leaving this rest to be written there. And now being there five days, I have received two other packets of letters from yourself and divers others, of marvellous ungrateful matter, giving me evident tokens of fears that these unhappy differences and mutinies, not ceased by the Pope's so manifold mercies, will bring all to naught and utter shame. By which disorder I perceive the Scottish nation begin to put in for it, so as the Pope will be wearied with all. My Lord of Rosse did let me see also what you wrote to him concerning the same matter, wherein you say (as I doubt not it is true) that you never knew of Mr Seaton's request before it was made. But now indeed whatsoever is done amiss is laid unjustly upon your back both there and of divers here: the factions of the Welsh and English concerning those seminary matters are grown so great. And as they have at their fingers ends all the pretended errors and defaults of Mr Maurice for these twenty years, so certain speeches of yours be in every man's mouth; viz., that you once said to my Lord of Rosse:—My Lord, let us stick together, for we are the old and true inhabiters and owners of the isle of Britanny; these others be but usurpers and mere possessors. Item, rather than this college should be *seminarium litium*, you would seek to extinguish it utterly. Of which latter words many both scholars and others write from Rome to divers here and in Rheims with great exclamation, saying that you mean it to be *collegium* or *seminarium litium*, for that they will not meddle with you now after the Pope hath appointed them other governors, and that you mean to destroy all rather than that you should not have your will and be a dealer still. On the other side Hughes writeth to me and to Dr Bristow most plainly that the Jesuits have been and shall be proved the counsel and counsellors of all these tumults, and that they would not have our priests to go to England, but to tarry longer in Rome and take their temporal commodity. And that thereupon a general oath and examination was taken of all whether they would or were fit to go into England when their superiors should command them. Item, he saith that the Jesuits have no skill nor experience of our country's state nor of our mens nature, and that their trade of syllogizing there is not fit for the use of our people; and therefore if Dr Bristow

had comen up, or would yet come up, he should be made rector; exhorting him earnestly so to do. All which I see tendeth to new and endless stirs, by which in fine it will come to pass that our nation and that begun good work will be forsaken both of the Jesuits and ourselves and all our superiors else. And thus I shall be weary of my life, which already by these unhappy bustles of our country is more tedious to me than ever before. If more alterations be yet sought, all will be lost. And all cometh of the devil, no doubt; and except the matter be used with wisdom and with great patience and with condonation of each other for God's sake and our country's and common church's sake, all will be lost that you have done and I have done for our realm's recovery. Would God I were there one month, that I might either make up these extreme alienations of mind, or else, if I could not do so much, that I might shortly there end my life and all the frenzies of mind and miseries rising from these calamities procured by our follies and sins. I thought not good to write the whole upon my general letters. For every party, as they be affectioned to their own and alienated from the other, would refer that which I spoke against their obstinacy, animosity, sedition, emulation, partiality, &c., to be spoken and meant of the other faction that themselves be not of. For you will not perhaps believe how both parties, I mean certain of either faction, do describe and set forth by letters here the wicked attempts, speeches, prejudices and practices of the other. But I write to Mr Barret, of whose honesty and discretion I have great hope, and I write in his a letter to the three priests which have been the principal doers in this doleful action. And so I make an end of this ungrateful talk and of my scribbled letters; which be the worse scribbled, for that at this present I am very weak and weary of body: *quia aliquandiu stomachi et indigestionis imbecillitate laboro;* which will cause these to our good patron Cardinal Como to be worse read. But when you deliver them to his Grace, I hope he will read them before you; the rather for that they touch you and that affair. Farewell, my most dear friend, and God be your comfort and mine, and of mine you shall not have much. *Lutetiæ, May 12, 1579.*

Your own assuredly for ever,

W. ALLEN.

Postscript.

Commend me, with thanks for his letters, to your nephew, and for God's sake warn in my name also him and his brother to take heed what they write and to whom they write. For they give suspicion and offence to the English many ways, and of this division some collect up by their letters that (as folks cry out here and it is in everybody's mouth) all the Welshmen, yea *omnes oriundos ex Wallia,* are to come to France, as the young Powel, Mr Roberts, &c. One of them writeth hither to Paris over plainly of Wentworth's treason and dissimulation towards you; which the very party to whom he wrote so could not abide, nor to hear any thing for the Welsh

against the English. As the devil hath now made the division, they must be discouraged and seek to salve up and not to make the breach bigger. If I see any fit of the Welshmen, they shall as well be preferred to Rome, if it lie in my hands, as the English. God is my judge; I never put difference, nor ever will do. Of Hughes's communication for putting out the Jesuit rector and inducing Dr Bristow with Mr Cottam, before he entered into the Society, more is written down from thence than must be the more wise. For whatsoever they write or say toucheth you and me, since some suspect I incline too much for love of you to the Welsh faction, as they term it. I have a scruple now whether I should send these, so ill written, to his Grace, having none here that I dare trust to write them otherwise. But to-morrow I go home, if I be able, again: from thence to write them by the next post.

XXXIV.

Dr William Allen to F. Edmund Campion, S.J. Rome, 5 December, 1579.

From a transcript in the archives of Stonyhurst College. Anglia, Vol. 1., *p.* 28.[1]

S. P. in Christo Jesu.

Mi pater, frater, fili, Edmunde Campiane; mutui enim ac summi amoris appellationes omnes erga te libenter usurpo. Cum te ordinis vestri supremus pater ac præfectus, id est, ut ego accipio Christus, Praga Romam ac porro ad Angliam nostram vocet, compellent quoque secundum carnem fratres tui, quorum voces licet tu non audias Deus tamen vota exaudivit, ego ipsis, tibi ac communi patriæ et secundum sæculum et secundum Dominum conjunctissimus solus tacere apud tuam charitatem non debui, vel potius imprimis desiderare, vocare, clamare debui. Expedi ergo te, charissime, quam potes citissime, ut in Urbe me ad finem saltem Februarii offendas, etsi ante medium mallem; et certe ita oportet. Proinde quantum feret valetudo (negotia enim vel alia undecumque impedimenta hic non excipio) accurre et advola ocissime. Damnum a nostris hominibus Boemis olim infeliciter illatum utcumque resarcivisti apud Pragenses; reliquam ætatem partemque nonnullam maximarum gratiarum tuarum si adamatæ patriæ quæ officia tua in Christo summopere requirit concesseris, pie, christiane, religiose feceris. De animo et voluntate tua in hoc genere non dubito, cum non proprio sed alieno arbitrio felicissime vivas, nec extremos Indos summave pericula tuorum jussu horreres. Charissime frater, magna est jam in Anglia nostra messis, et vulgaribus operariis non contenta expeditiores homines requirit, et te

[1] This transcript is in the handwriting of F. Christopher Grene, S. J., and is headed: "ex autographo transcripta in archiv. 10 domus professæ, Romæ, Januar., 1691. Bombin. in vita Camp. c. 12, habet fere totam." Morus (Histor. Prov. Angl. lib. II. ann. 1579, p. 60) has also printed this letter in part.

imprimis ipsum cum aliis ordinis vestri selectis viris postulat; ac annuit multorum precibus reverendus Pater Generalis; probavit Pontifex, patriæ nostræ verus parens; et Deus sane ipse, in cujus manibus sunt sortes tuæ, tandem concessit ut reddatur nobis noster Campianus omnibus doctrinæ et gratiæ suæ donis longe locupletior. Para ergo te ad iter, ad opus, ad tentationem; collegam habebis commodissimum; et jampridem, licet hactenus vivant qui quærebant animam pueri, ostium vobis apertum est in Domino. Nec jam ego, quod præsagiebat aliquando animus tuus, præparabo tibi et ordini tuo in Anglia locum, sed vos mihi meisque reditum (ut spero) procurabitis prius. Cætera coram, mi Edmunde; et ut citius fiat, da te obsecro in viam. Quamdiu enim sit mihi Romæ subsistendum ignoro, et mox post brumales menses Remos vel Duacum, ubi familiares tui, suavissimi contubernales mei, Bristous et Martinus jam vivunt, cogito. Illic collegium tuum Belgicum, hic Romanum cum summa voluptate et admiratione videbis, facileque unde tanta jam tandem spes patriæ existat intelliges. Oremus interim Dominum messis ut dignos nos misericordia ac visitatione sua reddat; ac culpas meas, mi pater, oratione et sacrificio tuo ablue apud Christum Jesum, qui te nobis sospitem quam citissime reddat. Romæ e collegio Anglicano, Non. Decembris, 1579.

Vester totus,

GULIEL. ALANUS.

Postquam hæc scripsi pater Adamus Brokus dixit mihi meum Georgium Warum vobiscum etiam Pragæ esse; cui prolixas quæso te salutationes. Nihil ab eo his annis literarum accepi, licet forsan, ut est homo diligens et mei amans, scripserit nonnunquam.

XXXV.

Instrument relative to the estate of Mr Houghton deceased, executed by Dr William Allen and countersigned by Dr Richard Bristow and Mr Thomas Bayly. Reims, 26 June, 1580.

From the original holograph by Dr Allen in the archives of the see of Westminster. II., 117.

In Dei nomine. Amen.

Wheras Mr Thomas Houghton of Houghton towre, esquyer, of godly memory, who departed this life at Liege the second day of June, 1580, disposing a year before in his life tyme of all such moony as he had in his hand, as appeareth by a memoriall contayning certayne articles written at his commaundment by his trusty servaunt Anthony Stamper and suscribed by his owne hand, among other articles caused to be set downe one that he gave from him selfe and put into the handes of Mr Sacheverell and Mr. Chernock one C[li] [1] to bye a payre of organs, one fayr table and as many

[1] one C[li] i.e. £100.

bookes of musick as should cost 7li, which he appoynted to be given to the churche of Preston, when time should serve; which som of one Cli was afterward most duely and trewly tendered and proffered by the for named Anthony to the sayde Mr Sacheverell and Mr Chernock, and were by him earnestly requested to take the sayde moony and to performe his maisters intent and desyre concerning the sayde article of the organs; but they, as well for the uncertaynty of their life and doubtefulnes whether they should ever see the day when they might performe their sayd frinds request and appoyntment, as for the hazardous keeping in the manyfold troobles of the world of any such summe of moonye, wold not take so greate a charge upon them, but conferring how they might to Goddes most honor employ so the same summe of one Cli, that it might belike allso herafter, when time might serve, be repayed to the sayde churche of Preston for the use above mentioned, condescended and agreed in fine together with the sayde Anthony and one other of his trusty servants named Edmond Stubbes to require me to take the sayde moonye, and to bestowe it, as I had occasion, upon the students of this seminarye, and as much as in me lay to be answerable for the performance of the sayde Mr Houghtons mynd, as well by my sellfe as by others that should in the meane tyme take proffit of the same moony. Wherunto my sellfe, as well at their godly request, as for the desyre I have to accomplishe our deceased frinds godly intention, and the benefiting of the poor students under my regiment, have condescended and agreed in suche sort and forme as followeth:—Videlicet that I, William Allen, doctor in divinitye and president of his Holines college or seminary now resident in Remes, doo recorde and confesse by this my present writing that I have received by the order of Mr John Sacheverell esqr and Mr Hugh Chernock gentleman and Anthony Stamper and Edmund Stubbes, servants to the sayd Mr Hoghton, one hundreth pownds sterling of lawfull moony to keepe or occupye it as I shall thinke good so long as this present schisme of our coontry of England dureth by Goddes sufferance; with this intention to employ the same summe wholy, when God shall have mercy on our coontrey and restore the same to the catholike faith and service, upon a payre of organs, one table and certayne singing bookes in the parish churche of Preston according to the trewe meaning of Mr Hoghton and the pourport of the forsayde article subscribed with his hand: and therfore doo promes in the worde of my priesthod that if God shall give me life till our coontry be converted and reunited to the catholike churche and therwithal competent habilytye, that I will withowt all fraude and collusion accomplishe the sayde Mr Houghtons disyre: and if God should call me in the meane tyme to His mercye or from the regiment of the forsayde college, that I will leave as good and perfect notice and order with my successor, specially[1] with my welbeloved Mr Richard Bristow D. of divinitye and Mr Bayly, as I can that a perpetuall recorde herof be kept, and give them as great a charge as I may that the sayde article be fulfilled by suche of the sayd seminary as shall by Gods mercy see our

[1] with my welbeloved *In margin.*

contry converted to the catholik religion. For recorde and confirmation of which my intention, deed and promes, and for the acknowledge of the receipt of the sayde summe of a C^{li}, warrant and discharge of the sayd Mr Sacheverell, Mr Chernock, Stamper and Stubbes agaynst all men in this article, I have written and made this act with myne owne hande and subsigned and subscribed it with myne owne hand seale, in Remes the xxvi of June, 1580, in the presence of Mr Richard Bristow doctor of divinity and Mr Thomas Bayly bachler of the same.

RICHARD BRISTOW.[1]

WILLIAM ALLEN. THOMAS BAYLY.

XXXVI.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 10 July, 1580.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano. Inghilterra e Fiandra. Vol. I., fol. 174).

Ill^{me} ac R^{me} Domine.

In omnibus nostræ gentis primoribus qui vel arma sumpserint contra Reginam temporibus felicissimæ recordationis Pii V., vel postea pro religione catholica patria extorres fuerunt, præcipuus et apud suos potentissimus est D. Carolus comes Westmorlandiæ. Huic dignitati proximus est D. Edoardus Dacrius, baro. Uterque pro ordine et dignitate sua habuit hic superioribus exilii annis a Rege Catholico honestam pensionem, et hic posterior ante biennium in Urbe etiam existens a S^{o} D^{o} nostro menstruam provisionem (quam absens quoque habet) obtinuit. Sed nunc ambo, sicut cæteri exules nostrates omnes destituti a sua Catholica Majestate in Belgio, coguntur in Hispaniam supplicatum ire ut vel ipsis prior provisio per suam Majestatem reddatur, vel saltem ad stipendium militare in exercitum regium pro ordine et loco suo accipiantur. Licet enim illi mallent quidvis pro patria et fide tentare aut subire quam aliorsum inservire; tamen cum vitæ aut exilii reliquum nec in otio transigi debeat nec sine viatico recte degi possit, lubentissime se dedunt in protectionem et servitium suæ Catholicæ Majestatis, quæ inter mortales principes justissima semper gerit bella ac suæ Sanctitatis voluntati conjunctissima. Quamobrem isti duo proceres, nunc ituri in Hispaniam, a me obnixe petierunt ut supplex ad vestram Celsitudinem scriberem de obtinendis in eorum gratiam Sanctissimi Domini nostri ad Catholicum Regem literis quibus petatur ut vel ipsis solita non denegetur menstrua provisio, vel saltem ut pro dignitate cujusque in militiam admittantur. Id si sua Sanctitas per ill^{mae} Dominationis vestræ intercessionem benigne faciat, et illis desolatis viris nobisque omnia concesserit,

[1] The signatures of Dr Bristow and Mr Bayly are autographs.

frustra adderem quod orabimus pro sua Sanctitate et pro R^ma^ Dominatione vestra: si id enim non continuo faceremus essemus ingratissimi et mortalium iniquissimi. Jesuitæ et reliqui sacerdotes pene omnes dicuntur recte in Insulam appulisse. Dominus Jesus vestram Celsitudinem mihi conservet. Remis, 10 Julii, 1580.

V. Ill^mæ^ et R^mæ^ D. in Christo servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

Addressed.

Ill^mo^ ac R^mo^ domino Cardinali Comensi, domino suo benig^mo^. Romam.

XXXVII.

Dr William Allen to the Nuncio (Dandini) at Paris. Reims, 14 July, 1580.

Printed in Le Collége Anglais de Douai pendant la révolution Française par l'abbé Dancoisne. Douai, 1881.[1]

R^me^ in Christo Pater et illustris Domine.

Sicut priora vestra in collegium istud beneficia fuerunt summe necessaria et salutaria, nostrumque literarium otium et pacem diuturnam felicissime procurarunt, ita postremæ R^mæ^ P. V^ræ^ ad me literæ mihi meisque hominibus magna sane solatia certamque futuræ quietis spem attulerunt. Neque enim æque in ullius patrocinio aut protectione vel ipse qui omnia vitæ et mortis officia S^o^ D^o^ N^o^ dedicavi vel hoc Gregorianum collegium, quod est Apostolicæ Sedis et charitatis singulare peculium, atque in vestris præsidiis ac favoribus conquiescimus. Atque equidem non solum sermonis causa sed officii et observantiæ ratione mox ex Urbe rediens ad Amplitudinem vestram perlibenter divertissem, summosque amores ac favores unici patris ac parentis nostri, divinissimi Gregorii, tam in meipsum quam in seminarium istud suum commemorassem (neque enim quidquam meo in tuam Dignitatem obsequio unquam erat antiquius, et sapientissimum dulcissimumque colloquium vestrum jam tum de multis rebus exoptaram) sed tanta est ubique, præsertim Parisiis, exploratorum nostratium turba, tam grande ab impiis qui nostra qualiacunque in ecclesiam et patriam officia odio habent mihi periculum, ut nisi magna existat causa longius a domo progrediar nusquam. Quod spero etiam vestræ sapientiæ non improbatum iri; præsertim cum sancte pollicear me nullum unquam per totam vitam officium prætermissurum quod ad Amplitudinis tuæ decus ac ornamentum pertinere videatur; quodque in hoc genere est mihi et ordini atque exilio meo magis consentaneum, in omnibus presbyterii mei officiis diligentissime semper apud Deum vestri recordabor. Vere enim illa pietas et amor erga me tuus, rev^me^ pater, qui mirifice elucebat in postremis literis, ita me vicissim in vestri venerationem et (ut dulciori verbo utar) intimam dilectionem rapuit ut vitam mihi injucundam putem si non contenderem vobis omni obsequii genere in Christo

[1] See p. 42.

servire. Proinde, mi domine humanissime, officia mea meorumque hic alumnorum tuorum require, jube, manda, obsecro.

Sumus hic in uno contubernio supra centum capita, id est, totidem animæ congregatæ ad salutem suam et suorum. Ex his sacerdotes indies aliquot in Insulam mittimus; alios ex junioribus his diebus ad collegium nostrum in Urbe mittemus, ut hoc commertio catholicam fidem et perditam patriam pro virili juvemus. Populus hic aliquantulum de numero incipit quæritare: sed apud magistratum bonum et prudentem facile omnia transigimus. Orator illic nostræ Reginæ, intelligens jam pridem multos nobiles adolescentes Anglos ad nos indies catholicæ institutionis causa concedere, dixit (ut intelligo) se curaturum ut Reginæ authoritate omnes avocarentur; si nollent, fore ut ipsorum parentes domi supplicium in carcere luant. Sed vix efficient quod volent; juventus etenim mire est dedita avitæ pietati et hæreseos pertæsa. Qui ex collegio nostro Romano jam dudum missi sunt in Angliam omnes fere feliciter appulerunt; ex Societate quoque Jesu duo patres.[1] R^mus D. Assaphensis[2] in horas nunc expectat postremam suæ Sanctitatis de sua profectione sententiam. Breve Apostolicum licet haberet tamen non potest secum in Insulam transportare; nec de illo morandum erat, quia vivæ vocis Sanctissimi D. N. oraculum est satis; nec in Anglia, ut nunc sunt leges et tempora, aliud requirunt. Christus Jesus pientissimum senem ad gloriam nominis sui dirigat, et vestram Amplitudinem ad S^mæ Sedis Apostolicæ et ecclesiæ ministerium meumque et meorum solatium diutissime vivum atque florentem conservet. Remis, 14 Julii, 1580.

V. R^mæ Paternitatis orator et servus devotissimus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

Addressed.

R^mo in Christo patri ac domino admodum illustri, S. D. N. apud [Chr]istianissimum Regem digniss^mo [Nunt]io, domino suo benigniss^mo. Parisiis.

Endorsed.

6.

14 di Luglio, 80. Dottore Alano.

XXXVIII.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 12 September, 1580.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 215.

Ill^mo ac Rev^mo domino, Cardinali Comensi, domino suo benignissimo.

Ill^me ac Rev^me domine Cardinalis.

Non ita pridem ad vestram Amplitudinem misi edictum[3] illud quod Angliæ Regina per ditiones suas dudum contra catholicos, non religionis quidem nomine sed

[1] FF. Persons and Campion. [2] Dr Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph. [3] July 15, 1580.

suspectæ proditionis et confœderationis cum profugis causa, publicaverat. In quo suos admonet diu multumque Papam et Hispaniarum Regem ab hostibus et transfugis suis solicitatos esse de sibi inferendo bello; ad quod se ita instructam esse jactitat ut nullam externam vim timeat, jubens suos in officio et fide permanere, nec quidquam vel a seditiosis civibus vel ab exteris terra marive paratis copiis pertimescere: porro in suos subditos qui ullius confœderationis cum profugis rebellibus conscii sint se acrius quam pro consuetudine et natura sua imposterum animadversuram. Mox post hoc edictum, quod voce proximum per totum regnum erat publicatum, jubet per omnes provincias sibi subjectas ad carcerem rapi vel custodiæ hæreticorum mancipari omnes potentiores et insigniores catholicos; quod primo quoque tempore ac pene subito executioni mandatum est; eademque opera diligentissime inquisitum est in sacerdotes, imprimisque adversus duos jurisperitos quos hac æstate misimus et Jesuitas. Sed tanta cura et solicitudine vicissim occuluntur et custodiuntur illi a catholicis ut paucissimi hactenus in hostium manus venerint. Interceperunt etenim duos tantum Remenses presbyteros, Romanum unum.

Tantus est numerus jam nobilium vinctorum ut coacti sint e carceribus omnibus Londinensibus illos veteres pro religione incarceratos, reverendissimum Episcopum Lincolniensem[1] aliosque ecclesiasticos plurimos, ad alias arces procul ab urbe dissitas, ut recens comprehensis locale detur, amandare. Idemque Eboraci (quæ etiam est celebris in illa insula civitas) factum est paulo prius. Sed multi id factum existimant quod in illis urbibus detenti sacerdotes præcipuos passim cives et ex nobilitate multos converterint, atque ad constantiam verbo et exemplo persuaserint. Tractant eos cives aut nobiles severius qui vel in illo Romano vel in isto Remensi collegio filios habere noscuntur. Atque hæc persecutio gravior est et ad plures pertingit quam ulla unquam his annis antea. Nam quod hactenus non attentarunt, religionis nomine etiam quidam ex proceribus non quidem in carcerem sed in custodiam hæreticorum dati sunt.

Quæ omnia præter solitum facere putantur eo consilio ne catholici se hostibus, si qui sint futuri (futuros autem plane impotenter timent) conjungant. Et de iis quos conclusos habent erunt fortasse in omnem eventum utcunque securi; sed cæteros qui vel dissimulatione vel aliis artibus evadunt præsens periculum provocant potius et irritant ad aliquid audendum vel faciendum, ubi Deus dederit tempus, non solum pro liberatione animarum sed amicorum etiam indignissime vinctorum.

Atque certe totus catholicus populus, tam dedecorosa unius fœminæ tyrannide anima et corpore afflictus, aviditate ineffabili expectat a Deo aliquam redemptionem. Pro hac clamamus ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, summum justitiæ in terris ministrum, exules; pro hac ad ipsum gemunt compediti; pro hac ad ipsum supplices tendunt manus innumerabiles afflictæ animæ, oves suæ; non quod dubitemus quidquam illa nota mihi Sanctissimi Gregorii viscera facere posse quod non faciant; aut unicum illum parentem in terris nostrum majus aut melius velle pro nobis posse quam

[1] Dr. Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln.

vult, sed ut saltem communicatione calamitatis apud Sanctissimum Dominum et parentem nostrum amantissimum, atque apud clementiam tuam, nonnihil (ut sit[1]) justissimum de gente nostra dolorem leniamus. Certe omnes prudentes ominantur hanc novam sævitiam futuram ipsius[2] hostibus perniciosam. An vero ultra carceres aliquid intentaturi sint incertum est; et illa ulteriora consilia expectantur a conventu Ordinum qui brevi futurus esse putatur. Religio vero hac contradictione et multorum admirabili constantia fit judice[3] illustrior, planumque redditur omnibus non jam de religione, quam hostes nullam habent, sed de firmitate imperii et terrenæ felicitatis agi et certari. Dominus Jesus vestram ill^mam^ Dominationem, magnum præsidium nostrum, diutissime servet. Remis, 12 Sept., 1580.

Vestræ Rev^mæ^ et Ill^mæ^ Paternitatis diminutissimus in Domino servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

Hanc particulam calendarii mittendam censui, ut ex solemni festo nativitatis Elisabethæ celebrato 7 Sept., proximo die qui est Nativitatis S. Deiparæ neglecto, videatis ad quantum superbiæ gradum illa Regina venerit, quæ præter aliud inaugurationis suæ celeberrimum festum etiam hoc habere voluit suæ nativitatis.

XXXIX.

[The Cardinal of Como] to Dr William Allen. [Rome, November or December, 1580.]

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Anglica Nunziatura. Vol. 1., fol. 40).

Doctori Gulielmo Alano, collegii Anglici rectori, Rhemis.

Admodum reverende domine: Quod scribis de edicto[4] quod exiit ab Herodiade et impia ac crudelissima persecutione catholicorum quæ ibi exercetur, id jam ex aliorum literis et fama ipsa ad nos allatum fuerat. Qua ex re quanto quamque gravi affecti simus dolore facilius conjicere ipse potes quam nos scribere. Ei quidem malo ut occurratur vellemus nos rationem aliquam inire posse, quod certe et cogitare et tentare non omittemus; sed facultas hæc non tam in nobis propter maximum locorum intervallum quam in aliis (ut nosti) sita est. In summo autem et acerbissimo dolore nostro non parum nos ea res consolatur, primum quod scimus præclare cum illis agi qui religionis catholicæ causa persecutionem patiuntur, quia maxima et perpetua illos manent in cœlis præmia, deinde vero quod speramus horum ipsorum ærumnas, calamitates et passiones ad impetrandum divinum auxilium reliquæ illic afflictæ ecclesiæ ingentem vim habituras. Infinitis enim exemplis docemur divinum Numen tanto magis

[1] *fit?* [2] *ipsis?* [3] *indies?* [4] July 15, 1580.

virtutem operari et admirabilem potentiam suam ostendere adversus tyrannos solitum esse, quanto plus illi sanctam religionem oppugnare et pios innocentesque homines rectæ fidei cultores cruciatibus afficere nituntur. Illud præterea considerandum est edicta hujusmodi initio quidem timeri et robur habere, postea vero paulatim obsolescere et contemni, ita ut sperandum sit eos qui consanguineos istic habent minime ob eam causam illos derelicturos. Sed cum hanc opinionem et spem in Dei misericordia habemus eundemque orare non desistimus ut ita fidelibus Anglis suis subvenire dignetur, nihilominus certum habeas oportet S^mum^ D. N. quibuscunque poterit modis tibi de collegio isto totique nationi opitulari paratum semper fore. In cujus rei signum S^as^ sua mitti ad te jussit quingentos aureos, qui numerabuntur ei qui provisiones menstruas exigere solet et istuc mittere (nam ego ut ita fiat cras aut perendie, eo ad me vocato, curabo; id quod hodie propter negotiorum multitudinem facere non potui) qui ex literis mercatoris quas cum his accipies tibi solventur. Consilium tuum de conscribenda Apologia[1] placet, ea præsertim ratione ut nihil procaciter nec contumeliose in alios, ut decet Christi athletas atque discipulos; sed cum perfeceris mittes ad nos. Vale in Domino.

XL.

Dr Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, to Dr William Allen. Rome, 17 April, 1581.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. II., 161. *Printed also in Dodd. Vol.* II., *p.* 224.

Ryght reverend Mr President; By the last post save thys I recevyd your letters commone to Father Rector and me; and we bothe together dyd what we cowd wyth my lord Cardinall Como. But of hym we cowd get no gret hope. My thynketh that ower cause dothe scant penetrat into these men. We also delyveryd your letters and a copye of the proclamation[2] to my L. Cardinall S^ti^ Sixti. But wyth hym accordynge to your consill we intreatyd your nede but superficially: who gave us gentyll audience and good words. Syns, by cause the Pope was at hys villa, hyt semyd good to Father Rector to send a copy of your commone letters to the Master of the chamber, who dyd bothe present hyt and rede hyt to hys Holynes. And of thys and what hathe folowed I dowt not but Father Rector hath certyfyed yow at lengthe. Upon the XIV^th^ of thys monthe after evynsonge I recevyd your letters of the XIV^th^ of the last monthe, but not the part of your Apollogy,[1] by cause the father gave hyt to be translate as sone as he had red your letter. Wherfore the next day, as sone as I had sayd masse, I went to the colledge and informed Father Rectore that owt of Ingland yow have byn prayed to use no words nor termes towards the Qwene but honorable, for feare lest hyt shold torne to the power catholycks more trouble at

[1] Apology for the English seminaries. Mounts in Henault, 1581. [2] Jan. 12, 1581.

home. I ordeyned also that in the titull shold be wryttyn *Autore Gulielmo Alano Præsidente Collegii Remensis*, and that the colleges shold be called the Popes colleges, wyth suche other thyngs as yourself ordeyne in your letters. Yf yow have wryttyn ony other letters to me, I have not had them. Nor Mr Baylys letters of the receyte and distribution of hys Holynes almes ever cam to my hands; in so muche that yf at thys present Mr Martyne had not wryttyn to me a curtese letter of the receyte of hys parte, I had not to thys hower knowen that Mr Bayly had yet recevyd hyt. At the whych I have sum tyme so muche marveled that I was halfe determyned never to intangyll myself ony more in that matter. For hyt ys no small danger for me to stand here bound to be contable for hyt. Wherfore I pray yow desier Mr Bayly to thynke by what way he sent me that letter, that I may other have hyt or that he wyll be content to take the payne to wryt me an other of that matter for my dyscharge. I pray yow commend me to Mr Martyne, and thanke hym for hys lovyng letter. Hyt doth hurt me to wryt muche, and therfore I trust he wyll be content that I wryt not particularly to hym. Yow know that I am old and not very lusty. But thys not wythstandynge I wyll advertyse yow of sum thyngs in your boke *De Eucharistia*, the which do not pleace all men, althogh peradventure yow be hable to defend them. As in the III chapiter of the furst boke, where yow do intreat the difference bytwene thys sacrament and the other, yow say in thys very well: *quod forma hujus sacramenti applicatur ad materiam; et non dicitur super recipientem ut in cæteris, ubi dicitur applicando materiam ad personam: Ego te abluo, etc.* Sum men wold more have leked hit, yf yow usynge the common words of the chyrche had sayd, *Ego te baptizo.* In the xi chapiter wher yow wryt *de vino congelato*, yow have almost all men here ageynst yow, bycause they folow the common doctors. Sylvest., v. *Eucharistia*, 2, prope finem. *Si vinum in calice congeletur, sacerdos illud ante consecrationem resolvat, ut habeat rationem actualem potus. Si tamen non resolvat, adhuc conficit; quia vinum congelatum a non congelato specie non differt, sed solum accidentali qualitate.* Jo. de Lapide, c. 7, art. 4, in fine. *Sacerdos curam a[d][1]hibere debet ut vinum congelatum resolvatur vel per applicationem prunarum vel alio modo, ut recipiat rationem actualem potus. Si tamen non resolveretur, nihilominus posset confici: quia per congelationem natura vini non est corrupta.* Armilla, v. *Missa*, n^ro^ 24. *Si vinum congeletur in calice ante consecrationem, debet liquefieri si potest et sic consecrari, ut sit actu potabile. Si autem congelatum consecretur, erit consecratum, quia non differt ab alio non congelato specie sed tantum qualitate.* Jo. de Lapide, c. 7, art. 5, n^ro^ 4. *Quid agendum si, cum sumi debet sanguis, species vini sit congelata? Sol. Fiat resolutio.* The furst hole lefe of the xxxi^th^ chapter of the secund boke doth almost holy displeace them. Wher in the xxxvii^th^ chapiter yow say *quod Papa solemniter celebrante Cardinales etiam assistentes et ministri communicent*, thys ys not tru. But yf yow wold perad-

[1] *d* is not in MS.

venture have sayd *quod Cardinalis diaconus, et subdiaconus latinus communicent tam de eadem hostia quam de calice et sic de utraque specie*, yow shold have sayd truth. Thus fare yow as well as I wold myself. At Rome, the xviith of Aprill, 1581.

Yours,

THOMAS ASAPHEN.

Addressed.

Al molto R^{do} S^{or} Gulielmo Alano, Presidente del collegio Inglese. A Rens.

XLI.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal Protector (San Sisto). Reims, 10 June, 1581.

From a holograph unsigned draft by Dr Allen in the archives of the see of Westminster. II., 173.

Domine et Protector benignissime; Quod nos etiam collegiumque istud in tuum sacrum patrocinium ac protectionem suscipere non es dedignatus [1] pro singulari beneficio et benedictione habemus; eoque nomine et Christo Domino et sanctissimo ejus Vicario et tuæ etiam Celsitudini omnibus sacerdotii et vitæ nostræ officiis gratias agimus, omnemque vicissim Dignitati vestræ sub illo summo optimoque fundatore nostro observantiam ac obedientiam humillime pollicemur. Quod vero ibidem benignissimis literis sancte ac sapienter me ad constantiam et in officio erga collegia et patriam præstando diligentiam hortaris plurimum profecto alumno tuo, per se quidem antea currenti sed variis exilii et fortunæ ærumnis impedito, animi et solatii addis; tuæque propterea Amplitudinis apud S^{um} D. nostrum patrocinio et gratia fretus, nihil unquam studii aut laboris omittam quod vel ad collegium patriæ servandum vel ad patriam Ecclesiæ restituendam pertineat, aut saltem ab homine paupere et exule requiri posse videatur. Adsis ergo nobis, clementissime Protector, et ista duo collegia uno fundatore, eodem instituto, communibus officiis et finibus, summaque rectorum et studiosorum consensione conjuncta propter sanctissimi Gregorii XIII. nomen charitate atque pietate tua fove et conserva, obsecro, semper; missionesque sacerdotum et patrum Societatis in Angliam contra causationes et calumnias meticulosorum atque ignavorum hominum promove atque defende. Hoc, mihi crede, nihil potest pietas tua patriæ nostræ gratius aut salutarius facere; eritque, uti confido, tempus cum respublica nostra ad se rediens atque ab hæresi et tyrannide libera per se Celsitudini tuæ amplissimas aget gratias. Porro, mi pater ac domine humanissime, si inveni gratiam in oculis tuis, non deneges mihi facultatem mittendi quinque aut sex studiosos ad Urbem in proximo

[1] Cardinal Filippo Buoncompagno, commonly called the Cardinal of San Sisto, had been lately appointed by his uncle, Gregory XIII., Protector of the English College at Rome.

autumno; selectissima enim ingenia dabo illique Romanæ institutioni aptissima. Juvenes enim nostri continuo ita excrescunt ut, licet nuper munificentissime a S^mo^ D. nostro extra ordinem adjuti simus, tamen magna rerum difficultate laboremus; et ita sumus animarum avidi ut quidvis potius patiamur quam ut idoneos adolescentes ad hæreticos domum remittamus. Istud postulatum nostrum vehementer clementiæ tuæ commendo; precorque ut has literas suæ Sanctitati obsequii causa scriptas tradere non dedigneris, atque ut meipsum, Protector benignissime, in numerum clientum vestrorum suscipias. Dominus Jesus tuam Ill^mam^ ac R^mam^ Paternitatem nobis atque ecclesiæ Dei diu felicem ac florentem conservet. Remis, 10 Junii, 1581.

Celsitudinis tuæ obsequentissimus alumnus.

XLII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 23 June, 1581.

From a contemporary transcript belonging to the archives of the Gesù at Rome.[1]

Quædam excerpta ex literis R. P. Gulielmi Alani, rectoris collegii Anglorum in Gallia, ad P. rectorem collegii Anglorum de Urbe.

Ex Anglia accepimus per literas P. Ruberti Personii, vestræ Societatis, persecutionem perseverare in eodem fervore[2] adhuc, et catholicos rapi ad carceres et varie vexari, et patres Societatis diligentissime ubique[3] quæruntur,[4] singulari tamen Dei Providentia sunt adhuc liberi: unus tamen ex ipsis eodem cubiculo P. Roberti non ita pridem invasus fuit, sed ipse P. tunc non adfuit. Quidam autem Briantus, qui fuit alumnus collegii nostri Remensis, in quodam propinquo cubiculo habitans captus quoque fuit, et bis in equuleo tortus est crudelissime, idque eo consilio ut ubinam ille Jesuita esset aperiret; verum tantum abfuit ut de hac re significaret quicquam, ut tortores irrideret et dolore licet fere enecatus diceret:—Hoccine totum est quod potestis? Si nihil aliud sit equuleus, accedant hujus rei causa centum alii. Postridie Joannes Nicolaus ille apostata, qui anno superiori Romæ degebat,[5] P. Tirello collegii vestri alumno obviam dedit in platea; quem, simul ac videt, proditorem exclamavit et hoc modo eum comprehendit. Verum ille non in Turrim sed in alium carcerem vulgo

[1] This transcript, of which the Rev. Fr. Morris, S. J., has very kindly supplied a copy, is in a 4to MS. book belonging to the archives of the Gesù at Rome, and lettered "Anglia Necrolog. 1573—1651." It is in a contemporary hand. There are two other transcripts of the same document in the Public Record Office (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 149, nn. 51 and 52). The second of these is endorsed by mistake "copy of D. Allen's letter to Fa. Parsone, 23 June, 1581." The more important variations have been noted at the foot of each page. Morus (Hist. Provinciæ Angl. Soc. Jesu, p. 83) has printed two paragraphs of the letter which relate to George Gilbert. [2] *furore* R.O. MS. [3] *ubique* omitted in R.O. MS. [4] *quæri* R.O. MS. [5] *qui . . . . degebat* omitted in R.O. MS.

Gattause[1] conjicitur, atque ibi ille et P. Ristonus,[2] alumnus quoque vester, cum gaudio degunt. Catholici vel alacriores vel ad patiendum paratiores nunquam antea fuerunt. Biduo ab hinc captus est quidam D. Frisonus,[3] decem ex Apologiis nostris penes se habens, unde factum est ut illos libros consiliarii viderent. Ipse autem pristino suo habitaculo, nempe quodam carcere vulgo Fleet, unde prius amicitiæ ergo demissus fuerat, jam iterum detinetur. Prædictus Joannes Nicolaus hæreticus jactat se habuisse prolixam orationem Romæ coram Cardinalibus (cum nihil minus verum) quam in secundo suo libro jam in lucem edidit, et simul pollicitus est se hunc et priorem latine versum evulgaturum, edito[4] etiam quodam de Peregrinatione libello in quo rapinas,[5] homicidia et adulteria catholicorum, pessimam et vitam Jesuitarum et studiosorum fuse explicabit. Is jam Londini publice concionatur, sed illius jam omnes satietas cepit; brevi itaque (ut auguror) se in pedes conjiciet, præsertim vero ubi illa abjuratio hæresum quam Romæ in Inquisitione fecit in Angliam pervenerit; accepi enim authenticum illud a vobis missum, in quo tota sua recantatio continebatur, et ad P. Rubertum in Angliam misi. Expetit P. Rubertus tria vel quatuor millia aut etiam plura ex Testamentis Anglicis,[6] cum illa a multis desiderentur. Dicit se summe desiderare et expectare plures socios vestri ordinis, et dicit omnia ibi recte procedere et Apologiam nostram valde probari. Mitto cum istis literas ad Summum Pontificem et ad illustrissimum Protectorem, quas illis tradendas curate. Ago enim suæ Sanctitati gratias pro hujus anni multiplicibus beneficiis, nempe pro fundato collegio Romano Anglico, pro nostro hic stabilito in quindecim annos, pro extraordinario nuper subsidio 500 aureorum, pro tali dato utrique Protectore et præcipue quod non adhibuerit aurem collegiorum et missionum detractoribus, qui ad excusationem ignaviæ et timiditatis suæ causantur frustra ista omnia in patriam nostram tentari, doceoque satis struisse[7] incredibili [utilitate istas missiones et conatus][8] patrum et collegiorum fieri, tandemque assevero atque audacter pronuntio (ex opinione, sensu et experientia bonorum omnium) patres ac sacerdotes plura[9] lucra hoc uno anno fecisse in patria sua quam iidem uspiam in orbe terrarum per totum vitæ spatium etiam longissimum facere potuissent. Scribo etiam pericula non esse tam gravia ut hoc officium deseri debuerit, cum ex 40[10] hoc anno ad minimum ex utroque collegio missis non ultra decem inciderint in manus hostium, et patres omnino hucusque et liberos esse et frugem facere. Postremo ostendimus libris a nobis ac a patribus scriptis ea moderatione verborum nihil allatum esse indignationis, sed potius misericordiæ[11] procuratum propter ingentem utilitatem quam omnes ordines ex ipsorum lectione capiunt. Ista quidem Pontifici; illustrissimo vero Protectori illud tantum scribo ut avertat aures ab otiosis et invidis quibusdam

[1] *Gatehouse* R.O. MS. [2] *Rishtonus* R.O. MS. [3] *Irisonus* R.O. MS. [4] *addito* R.O. MS. [5] *maxima* R.O. MS. [6] *Anglicis* omitted in R.O. MS. [7] qu. a corruption of *claruisse*. [8] The words in brackets are inserted from the R.O. MS. [9] *animarum* inserted before *lucra* in R.O. MS. [10] *50* R.O. MS. [11] *libros a nobis ea moderatione verborum esse scriptos ut nihil allatum esse indignatione sed potius misericordia* R.O. MS.

hominibus, qui patrum et collegiorum officia dicunt esse in patriam nostram inutilia; porro obsecrans ipsum per Christum ut nolit prohibere me ne proximo autumno quinque aut sex juvenes mittam ad illud collegium, significans nostros[1] ita excrescere numero ut a nobis nullo modo ali queant, licet sua Sanctitas extraordinario 500 aureorum dono nos sublevaverit: ita ad illum. Ego enim R. P. subvereor contra expressam præmonitionem aliquos mittere, ne videamur vel immorigeri vel nimium abuti Pontificis liberalitate. Cogimur hoc tempore prope 20 nobiles, magna ex parte juvenes, Duaco accersere ad collegium hoc Remense, qui alioquin deberent redire in Angliam ad manifestam animæ vel[2] corporis pernitiem, cum propter hoc edictum non habeant ex Anglia pecunias. Præterea venerunt ad me ex Anglia (heu me!) supra 20 juvenes intra 14 dies, et ubi habebimus panes ut manducent hi, ut unusquisque vel modicum accipiat, ne deficiant in hoc exilio? D. Deus benedicat et multiplicet nobis cibos.

Hac septimana intellexi patres non solum bene valere in Anglia, sed esse ita occupatos in vinea ut nec mihi scribere potuerint; et P. Campianus dicitur librum latine edidisse ad utramque academiam hortatorium; sed non venit ad manus nostras hactenus. Vide P. si promoveant opus an non? Literas R. P. Generalis jam pridem misi ad ipsos. Dominus[3] mittat multos tales operarios in messem suam.

Viginti[4] presbyteri ad minimum sunt ingressi Angliam post Pascha, nec eorum quisquam fuit in portu impeditus aut postea captus: sit benedictus Dominus. Erit hic annus (ut spero) faustus undique nobis: in lacrimis seminamus, sed in Domino confido quod cum exultatione portabimus manipulos per Deum et hunc Gregorium, patrem vere nostrum.

Est apud me hoc ipso tempore summus patrum et presbyterorum in Anglia comes et patronus, D. Georgius Gilbertus, quique ipsorum causa passus est rapinam pene omnium bonorum ac possessionum: et quia hæretici ipsum personaliter secuti[5] sunt præ cæteris (cum ejus opera conservari ac substentari patres ipsi Societatis scirent) concessit huc in Galliam, R. P. Roberti et aliorum consilio, ut se servaret ad aliud tempus. Veniet Romam in autumno volente Deo, atque de se disponet secundum consilium R. P. Generalis et vestrum. Is mihi narrat summe desiderari plures patres vel hoc solo nomine, ut aliquid sublevetur P. Rubertus qui dicitur incredibile onus portare. Scripsit illos duos libellos elegantissimos ipse per[6] se, cum antea alter putaretur esse a P. Campiano vel alio scriptus, concionaturque continuo, resolvit casus conscientiæ hominum innumerabilium, qui[7] eo sunt illic plures quo minus ætate[8] sunt Christianorum rationes et minus propter hæres[es][9] expeditæ; præsertim cum illic catholici, in mediis positi persecutionibus, habeant conscientias magis[10] timoratas

[1] *nostris* Gesù MS., *nostrum* R.O. MS. [2] *et* R.O. MS. [3] *Jesus* added in R.O. MS. [4] *30* R.O. MS. [5] *persecuti* R.O. MS. and Morus. [6] *pro* Gesù MS. [7] The sentence from *qui* to *cum illic* inclusive is omitted in the R.O. MS. [8] *accuratæ?* [9] *hæres* Gesù MS. [10] *minus* R.O. MS.

quam ullo (quod sciam) alio loco, et ita sint etiam in patres affecti ut nullius vulgaris sacerdotis judicio facile [1] acquiescant nisi adhibito P. Ruberti judicio. Habet ipse septem homines continuo laborantes in prælo quod habet constitutum extra Londinum, ne rumor illius machinæ obaudiatur in urbe. Continuo interpellatur a nobilibus etiam et a quibusdam consiliariis propter necessaria [2] consilia, etc.[3] Ita mihi narrat iste D. Gilbertus, individuus ejus per totum hunc annum comes, quique in discessu P. Ruberto reliquit septem equos ad necessaria sacerdotum et patrum itinera et negotia obeunda; summamque vim pecuniæ ad necessarium rerum apparatum, nempe, chartæ, præli, caracterum, atramenti et similium impendit. Ita magnæ res non possunt fieri nisi magnis subsidiis, oportetque esse homines summe pecuniarum contemptores pariterque divites qui talia opera insigniter procurant. P. Campianus non est minus in sua provincia industrius; et putantur esse decem [4] millia catholicorum plura hoc anno quam præterito, nec uspiam iis annis Deus dedit verbum evangelizantibus majorem virtutem et fructum:[5] sit nomen ejus benedictum in æternum. Nostra Apologia (ut audio) versatur in manibus tam adversariorum quam amicorum, et illius amplissimæ legationis Gallicæ princeps, qui vocatur Princeps Delfinus,[6] dedit eam legendam ipsi Reginæ. Christus Jesus vos nobis conservet. Remis, 23 Junii, 1581.

V.R.P. æternus, uti spero, in terra et in cœlo confrater in Domino,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

XLIII.

Eusebius, alias, F. Robert Persons, S. J., to Dr William Allen. [England] 4 July, 1581.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Inghilterra e Fiandra, Vol. I., fol. 209).

Jesus.

Scripsi ad te ante paucos dies de negotio non exigui momenti: hoc est de D. Bernardini Mendozzæ, oratoris Hispanici, a nobis discessu; qui quoniam appropinquare existimatur resque ad causam fidei valde pertinet, iterum cogor catholicorum rogatu de eadem re te admonere. Summa autem rei hæc est, quod cum catholici intelligant prædictum Dom. Bernardinum paucos post menses discessurum Anglia, idque Regem Catholicum statuisse ipsius petitione, partim propter oculorum infirmitatem, partim quia tam est suspectus et odiosus hæreticis propter religionis zelum, quem habet singularem, ut non possit jam amplius causæ catholicæ tantum prodesse quantum fortasse alius qui gratior esset adversariis: propter has, inquam, causas cum

[1] *facile* not in R.O. MS. [2] *a nubibus propter nomina* Gesù MS. The reading in the text is that of the R.O. MS. [3] *et* R.O. MS. [4] *20* R.O. MS. [5] *majore virtute et fructu* Gesù MS. [6] The Prince Dauphin of Auvergne.

catholici cum magno suo dolore videant pene necessarium esse ut Anglia decedat, cuperent tamen (si fieri posset) ut aliquo in loco vicino subsistat, e quo non minori solatio ipsis totique causæ futurus esset quantum[1] hactenus fuit; hoc autem putant commodissime fieri posse, si mediante sua Sanctitate apud Regem Catholicum in Gallia collocetur, ubi multa plura operari posset in utilitatem fidei et ad conversionem hujus regni quantum[1] hic facere poterat aut quantum[1] quisquam alius qui res nostras cognitas non habet. Hic enim vir jam Anglicarum rerum, Gallicarum et Scoticarum peritissimus est, et in Anglia non solum res verum etiam homines omnes causasque et conditiones in particulari intelligit, tantaque prudentia et fide hactenus se gessit apud omnes ut nemo sit catholicorum qui se suaque omnia illi non credat, quod alteri non facerent nisi post longam experientiam. Zelus etiam ipsius tantus est in promovenda fide ut incredibile fere sit. Huc accedit quod me cæterosque nostri ordinis penitius quam quisquam alius cognoscit, agendi modum et ordinem tenet; unde si Parisiis commoraretur, sine dubio nobis nostræque causæ mirabili futurus esset subsidio, et illius ope plurima brevi tempore in causa fidei (Deo adjuvante) efficeremus; nec solum rebus Anglicis, verum etiam Gallicis Scoticisque eo in loco utilissime inserviret. Quapropter catholici omnes summopere te rogant ut quanta possis et celeritate et vehementia eorum nomine hoc petas a sua Sanctitate ut intercedere dignetur apud Majestatem Catholicam pro obtentione hujus magni beneficii. Arbitror λ velle hac de re etiam scribere; sed quoniam fieri potest ut nequeat tam cito quam temporis ratio postulant (*sic*), petunt catholici ut tu negotium tuis literis prævenias eisque frequentibus et acerrimis. Ego etiam quantum possum te rogo ut justo eorum desiderio satisfacias, præcipue quia Dei causa est. Vale. 4 Julii, 1581.

Tuus,

EUSEB.

Addressed.

Mag^co^ Domino, Domino Gulielmo [*Franco* erased] Alano,[2] [*Antuerpiam* erased] Rhemos.[1]

XLIV.

Dr William Allen to [the Cardinal of Como]. Reims, 8 August, 1581.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Inghilterra e Fiandra, Vol. I., fol. 208).

Ill^me^ ac R^me^ in Christo pater.

Nostrorum in Anglia continuæ calamitates et pro fide apostolica conflictationes faciunt ut undecumque ullius levaminis spes fulgeat captent libenter opportuneque et

[1] *quum?* [2] *Alano* and *Rhemos* are substituted by another hand.

importune prosequantur, præsertim apud S. D. M. ad quem studio et affectu plusquam vulgari tanquam ad parentem potius quam dominum in omni tribulatione sua confugiunt. Et cum me in hujusmodi rebus soleant intercessorem facere, sæpe certe illis dico quod nesciant quid petant: et hoc ipso tempore quod per me postulari cupiunt non ita fortasse consentaneum videbitur, sed illud vestræ sapientiæ et judicio relinquo. Dicam enim, quia jam alteris literis ex Anglia me requirunt instanter. Ergo, illustrissime Domine, dominus Bernardinus de Mendozza, suæ Catholicæ Majestatis in Anglia orator, ita variis modis et officiis de viris bonis pro fide afflictis his annis meruit, itaque promovit catholicam causam ut omnes se ab illo mirifice adjutos profiteantur, ac propterea ejus discessum quem brevi futurum timent ægre sane ferant supra modum, sicut ex his ad me literis (si vestra Celsitudo legere dignabitur) luculentius intelliget, putantque ejus vel in vicinis locis collocationem, si necessario abeundum sit, nostris rebus salutarem fore idque ut suæ Sanctitatis apud Catholicam Majestatem interventu et mediatione fiat humillime postulant. Et nos quantum possumus quantumque liceat a tua Amplitudine supplex petimus ut Sanctissimo Domino nostro istam nobilium catholicorum postulationem insinuet et promoveat, quatenus est æquitati et rationi congruum et non ulterius. Resolutionem de non adeundis hæreticorum ecclesiis, quam non ita pridem Roma accepimus et in Angliam misimus, pro oraculo habent, ac quidvis patientur potius quam hac specie mali se contaminent. Zelus catholicorum in Anglia indies ex tormentis ut[1] bonorum rapina crescit; sed potentia, quia ista rerum suarum direptione fiunt continuo pauperes[2] quam ante, est minor. Presbyteri nunquam felicius quam hac ætate[3] appulerunt multo plures quam unquam antea: sed si quos ejus ordinis capiant (ceperunt autem nonnullos) exquisitissime torquent; quod constantissime tolerant omnes. Quidam dicuntur a domino Vicecomite Baltinglass ex Hybernia ad Urbem auxiliorum petendorum causa missi; qui cum Lutetiæ essent, curarunt quosdam viros probos mihi notos ad me Remos scribere ut illorum causam commendarem patronis in Urbe nostris. Ego vero, qui nec personas novi nec quid postulent plane sciam, eousque tantum eos commendo Dignitati vestræ quantum quod petunt ad Dei et religionis causam promovendam pertinuerit. Certe miseret me illius nationis et nobilitatis, quæ nisi maturius adjuvetur non potest diu sustinere impetum Reginæ et Anglorum omnes portas[4] et urbes illius nationis occupantium. Et de Sandero nostro valde timeo. Sed de istis nimis multa nimisque confidenter, amplissime patrone, ut faciam amore et officio ducor. Dominus Jesus et[5] diutissime ad S. D. N. et totius ecclesiæ ministerium conservet incolumem. Rhemis, 8 Augusti, 1581.

V. Col.[6] alumnus humillimus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

[1] *et?* [2] *paupcriores?* [3] *ætate?* [4] *portus?* [5] *te?* [6] *Cel.?*

XLV.

Extracts from a letter of Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J., Reims, 8 August, 1581, as well as from letters written by other persons from France and England in July and August, 1581.

From a transcript of the original in the Ambrosian library, Milan. Corrispondenze di S. Carlo, Tom. 41.[1]

Quædam excerpta ex literis R. D. Gulielmi Alani, rectoris collegii Anglorum Rhemis, ad P. rectorem collegii Anglorum de Urbe octavo Augusti datis, et ex diversis literis aliorum tām ex Gallia quam ex Anglia in Julio et Augusto scriptis.

Reverendus pater Edmundus Campianus Jesuita circa finem mensis Julii captus fuit ab hæreticis prope Oxonium in domo cujusdam nobilis qui vocatur Odoardus Sates,[2] ubi ipse cum multis aliis catholicis convenerat ad sacrum faciendum et concionandum. Aderant circa septuaginta utriusque sexus, inter quos erant multi viri clari. Absoluta vero missa et concione major illorum pars discessit: tantum cum Patre manserunt tredecim, qui omnes cum illo capti sunt et Londinum perducti. Vocabantur autem sic:—Joannes Jacobus,[3] Oxoniensis; Odoardus Kaimes,[4] Somerdunensis; Gulielmus Hulerbius,[5] Oxoniensis; Joannes Ducton,[6] Hantoniensis; Hunfridus Keimes;[7] Edoardus Sate;[8] Joannes Maxfildus;[9] Gulielmus;[10] Joannes Pelsus;[11] Zilianus Harmon;[12] Catherina Rinsmil;[13] domina Sates;[14] domina Reimes;[15] Thomas Latisel et pater Edmundus Campianus Jesuita. Hi omnes in ædibus (ut dixi) D. Francisci Sates,[16] Lifordiæ,[17] Judæ cujusdam perfidia, qui una cum illis et divino officio et prandio interfuit, comprehendebantur. Impius iste Judas arrepto statim a prandio equo suo ad justitiarum[18] non longe ab eo loco commorantem se contulit, illi nomina prædicta detulit, simulque cum illo (nullas enim nectunt moras) remeans omnes supranominatos ibidem invenit. D. Campianus sicut ultimus omnium interceptus fuit, ita haud dubie, si Judas ille non restitisset, prorsus liber evasisset. Siquidem inquisitione jam facta eoque minime invento cum reliquis captivis parati erant continuo equos conscendere. Importunus iste proditor eos affatus certissimum esse affirmabat D. Campianum adhuc in domo latere, illosque rogabat ut paulisper expectarent donec ipse scrutaretur exactius. Quibus assentientibus versutus ille falsusque Judas hinc inde per domum cursitans tandem ad cubiculum pervenit in cujus secretiore quodam loco D. Campianus latebat, gladioque districto circumquaque quasi parietes perforans tentabat num quis latitaret; erat enim forte cubiculum illud tapetibus vel sericis

[1] The transcript, which is here printed, is due to the courtesy of the Rev. Father Antonio Maria Cerriani, of the Oblates of St. Charles, Librarian of the Ambrosian library at Milan.
[2] Yate. [3] James. [4] Keynes. [5] Hildesley. [6] Cotton? [7] Keynes. [8] Yate. [9] Mansfield. [10] William Webley. [11] Hulse? [12] Julyan Harmon, a nun. [13] Kingeswell, a nun. [14] Yate. [15] Keynes. [16] Yate. [17] Lyford. [18] *justitiarium?*

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pannis ornatum. Demum ad ipsummet locum tentando pervenit ubi D. Campianus latebat, et parum abfuit ab illius internecione. Secunda vero vice, nisi tempestius Campianus esset locutus, procul dubio ab eo fuisset transverberatus. Inventa præda sociisque vocatis, simul D. Campianus cum suis concaptivis ad carcerem ducitur. Vocabatur autem proprio nomine iste proditor Georgius Eliotus, quondam famulus D. Petrii[1] senioris, et postea D. Ruperii[2] senioris. Ducenti fuerunt equites et egregie armati qui D. Campianum et cæteros Londinum deduxerunt, ac si bellum[3] aliquod certamen ineundum esset. Timebant enim ne catholici illos eriperent. Præcedebat autem reliquos captivos Campianus hanc in capite inscriptionem ante et retro gerens: ISTE EST CAMPIANUS POPULI SEDUCTOR. Cum autem Londinum essent ingressi, illamque magnam crucem præterirent quæ est in platea vulgo nominata Chepsyde, Campianus religiose caput aperuit; quod videns populus, "ecce" clamavit "idololatra." Toto autem transitu per civitatem usque ad Turrim ingens populus eos clamoribus insequebatur. Campianus autem magna omnium admiratione, vel potius Judaici illius populi confusione, nunquam caput dimisit,[4] sed vultu hilari et erecto incedebat. Pervenerunt tandem ad Turrim die Sabbathi, ibique Campianus a cæteris segregatus in quodam tenebricoso et angustissimo carcere conjicitur ubi neque jacere nec stare poterat, et ad vitam sustentandam dabatur illi modicum panis et aquæ. Tertio autem die decanus ecclesiæ sancti Pauli, Novellus dictus, insignis hæreticus unum vel alterum prædicatorem secum ducens ad Campianum disputandi vel potius litigandi causa venit. Verum Campianus omnem prorsus clandestini colloquii conditionem recusans publicam audientium coronam et fideles notarios, qui omnia quæ ab utrisque dicerentur exscriberent, poposcit. 'Vos enim' inquit 'mendaces rerum narratores estis, neque ego nisi ea conditione vobiscum quicquam agam.' Sicque illum relinquunt in carcere. Postridie vero is a Turre ad domum Ruberti comitis Lacestrensis[5] clam navigio deductus est, ibique coram illo alioque comite Bedfordiensi et aliis duobus Reginæ secretariis eodem prorsus habitu quo antea ad Turrim venerat sistebatur; ex eo enim tempore illum nec lectulo aut cervicali ullo alioque[6] humanitatis genere dignati fuerant. Quibus Campianus tam docte, tam prudenter, tam mansuete respondit, tamque plane et sincere sui in Angliam adventus causam explicuit, ut eum magnopere comites laudaverunt. Dicebat enim se non alia de causa Insulam appulisse nisi ut suæ gentis hominibus iter æternæ salutis monstraret, et non ut res novas moliretur vel contra rempublicam vel contra Reginæ salutem aliquid attentaret. 'Si enim,' inquit, 'ullius ejusmodi criminis me conviceritis, nullam a vobis gratiam sed legis severitatem postulo.' Quapropter comites, qui et illum antea et facie et fama noverant et propter virtutem et doctrinam adamaverant, multum videbantur commoti, dicentes se tantum ejus vicem dolere quod esset papista: in quo ipse maxime gloriabatur. Jusserunt illi ocreas detrahi (habebat enim crassas ocreas adhuc quibus equitare solebat) atque

[1] Petre. [2] Roper. [3] *bellicum?* [4] *demisit?* [5] Robert earl of Leicester. [6] *ea?*

custodi Turris imperant ut humanius illum deinceps tractet, lectum aliasque res necessarias tribuat: quod et factum est illo jam ad Turrim reducto. Quid de eo postea factum sit ignoramus. Ferunt etiam Cecilium Reginæ thesaurarium cum illo collocuturum, dedisseque in mandatis ut ad illum adducatur.

Quidam sacerdos nomine Evanus Duchetus,[1] alumnus collegii Anglici Remensis, qui causa fidei detinebatur in carcere, nobis summæ constantiæ reliquit exemplum. Fuit enim variis diversisque modis ab adversariis tentatus ut Reginam caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ fateretur; quod ipse semper constanter negabat, affirmans in terra unum tantum esse unius corporis caput Romanum Pontificem, qui modo Gregorius XIII. est. Quapropter videntes adversarii quod verbis et suasionibus minus proficerent, illum primo colaphis cædebant, deinde in ipsomet carcere pedibus suspendebant ad multum tempus. Tandem cum invictum ejus animum flectere non potuerint et[2] veritatis et fidei confessione, mense Julio præterito mortis sententiam in illum tulerunt. Itaque ad locum supplicii ductum eum suspenderunt, deinde capistro præciso eum semivivum adhuc exenterarunt, et tandem in quatuor partes secarunt; qui jam gloriosissimus martyr intercedit apud Deum pro nobis et pro nostra afflictissima patria.

Don Antonius,[3] Lusitanus, hic in magno est honore apud omnes, et passim Portugalliæ rex appellatur; et magnus in occidentalibus partibus Angliæ fit apparatus ad illum, ut aiunt, in Lusitaniam ducendum.

XLVI.

List of recusants now or lately in Berkshire gaol [Reading castle, 1582].

From the original in the Public Record Office, London. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 154, n. 36.

Berk. The trewe certificate of Michael Molyns[4] esquier, heighe shereff of the countie aforesaid, of all suche recusants remaynynge in her Majesties gayole of the said countie. As also of all those that are delyvered out of the said gayole and by whose warrante, as foloweth, viz:

The names nowe remaynynge in the gayole—

Thomas Hulse gentleman	William Hygges yeoman
Johnes Hulse gentleman	Lawrence Spencer husbandman
Johes Palmer gentleman	Richard Mason taylor

The names of the nuns there—

Katheryn Kingeswell spyncer . Julyan Harmon spyncer

[1] "Everard Hance, *alias*, Ducket." Holinshed. Vol. IV., p. 446. [2] *a?* [3] Dom Antonio, prior of Crato, pretender to the crown of Portugal. [4] Michael Molens of Clapgate, high sheriff of Berkshire, anno 25 Eliz. Fuller's Worthies of England, p. 51.

The names of them thare are bayled—

Edward Keynes } bayled by the warrant of R. Leycestr, C. Haward,
Katheryne his wyef } C. Hatton, F. Walsingham.
Dothery Loveden by warrant from F. Walsingham.
Edmond Morrys by warrant from her Majestie pryvye Counsell.
Michael Molyns esquier, shereff.

Endorsed.

Certificate from the sheriffe of Barkeshire of the recusantes in the castle there.

XLVII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 11 August, 15[8]

From the original holograph in the archives of Stonyhurst College. Anglia, Vol. I., p. 37.

Pax Christi.

Pater optime; Joannes Mundeyn,[1] qui ista dabit, reliquit apud nos 20 aureos ut illic totidem scuta solvantur. Dignetur quæso paternitas vestra illi numerare et eundem in cæteris negotiis suis omn[i][2] consilio, ope et favore vestro prosequi. Nunquam fuit ex alumnis collegii hujus, licet suis expensis aliquandiu convixerit. Homo est plane catholicus et honestus, devotionisque causa maxime ad Urbem proficiscitur. Non est ad sacerdotium ineptus; tamen hactenus illud non postulavit, nec nos [eum][2] ursimus multum quia non vixit ex collegii sumptibus. Sed si forsan nunc cupiat, aut ad eam rem pecunia indigeat, pro 8 aut (si necesse fuerit) pro 12 aureis præter supradict[os][2] 20 respondebo. In dirigendis talibus extraordinariis hominibus erit aliquid molestiarum semper; sed quia affectu estis jam diu facti Angli Anglis, audacius et confidentius isti interpellant, ac pro omnibus intercedimus. Valete in Christo Jesu. Remis, 11 Augusti, 1581.

Vestræ R. P.

G. Alanus.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso [Agazzario] collegii Anglorum in [Urbe] rectori.

[1] Martyred at Tyburn, 12 February, 1584.

[2] MS. worn away.

XLVIII.

Sir Francis Englefield to Dr William Allen. Madrid, 4 September, 1581.

From the original in the archives of the see of Westminster. II., 180 *bis.*
Also printed in Dodd. Vol. II., *p.* 240.

Right worshipfull deare Sir; Albeyt my last unto you of the 21st of August were so late that I have nothing to ad of newe from hens; yet having syns recevyd yours wrytten at Montz the 15th of July, I can not pretermytt to acknowledge yt, and withall to advise you that in myne opinion the Prynce of Parma sheweth lytle good-will to our spyrytuall companye in wresting the words of the Kyngs letter to the worst sens for them that possybly the words can be drawen unto: the Kyngs meanyng beyng undoubtedly that bothe the treasuryes of his fynances and exercito should be chargeable with that almes from tyme to tyme; and so ys the literall and most apparant sens of his woords. And I warrant you yt will well appeare so, when soever your company shall by any new sewte for want of payment shewe forth the expresse words of his Majesties graunt, and the prejudicialle interpretation made of them to your hynderance. And touching the partyculer provisions expected by pryvate men out of that surplusag that ys to be dysposed by Mr D. Brystowe and you, I doe remember not past fyve or 6 persons that can justly chalenge any partyculer porcyon thereof, to wytt, Mr D. Knott, Mr Hargatt, Mr Taylor, Mr Freman and Mr D. Paulley with Fa. Dutche; no mo beyng alyve and present which were allotted any porcyons by the Duke: and theyr porcyons amountyng in all but to 390 florynes by the yeare, there will remayne to your disposition 1210 florynes yerely besyds. For as to the rest which had partyculer allottments by the fyve dystrybutors, no one of them all can justly chalenge any farthing in pryvate, beyng neyther the Kyngs meanyng nor the Dukes that any one should have any permanent state or tyme in that distribution, but that the fyve distributors should at every recept dyspose the money anewe, and not to them which had yt at the last payment, but as they should fynde the necessytie and worthines of every partye. So as the fyve former distributors in nominating 30 persons only to partake the same dyd not only prejudice theyr owne libertie and authorytie therby, but dyd also playne injury to all the rest of the nation that were pore and worthie therof (which by the Kyngs graunt and the Dukes meanyng had as much interest and title therto as any of them that recevyd the money, whensoever the distributors should think them worthie therof) and this awthorytie beyng nowe comytted to Mr D. Bristowe and you, you should not doe well in myne opynion to suffer that former error to have any longer contynuance. Neyther doe I see howe you can suffer such to enjoye yt as will chalenge yt by the tytle of the fyrst distributors, but that you should therby confyrme the error and bynde your selves to contynue the same by namying still some mo to fyll up the nomber of 30 as at fyrst, and therby doe wrong to all the rest that be come syns, or be to come hereafter, that

are to be made partakers of yt by your disposition and discretion as you shall fynde theyr towardnes and necessite to requyre. I am easely inducyd to beleve that you fynde these courtly sewtes for money very tediouse and disagreable to your mynde: for truly my self dyd fynde them so to me many yeares together; but therin you must exercise your pacience as not the lest penance incident to our banyshment. And yf you dyd see the melancoly condytion and desolate lyfe which I passe and endure here in this tyme of fyre and flame, you should se that I want not my part of tediouse travells and tourmoyles howesoever they may differ in qualytie from those which you and others doe susteyne. In your letter from Montz you requyre me to performe for Mr D. Vandeville the pleasure which you requyre of me in his behalf; but other mencion therof you make none in the world, nor expresse not by any lest sillable what the same ys nor wherin yt consysteth. Belyke you ment to wryte yt in a paper aparte, and by the other cares of your myndé forgat yt when you made up your letter. In Portugalle newe treasons and conspiracies be discoveryd agaynst this Kyng, which maye occasyon his retorne thens the soner. We heare not yet that Tercera ys recoveryd, nor where the Turks forc[e]s arryved at Algier shalbe ymployed. A cyvile sedition ys also befallen in Malta, where the Great Master ys ymprysoned by the knights of his order. The yong duke of Feria ys nowe free from his fever, and his mother not yet all free therof; though none of bothe be in any peryll, as the doctors affyrme. Fayne I would heare what you can and will doe for Ro. Heightyngton, that I might resolve upon the rest, beyng presently pressed with beggying letters from England, from Lovayne, from Namur, from Remes, from Roan, from Parys and from Rome, and nothing here to be gotten, therof assure you. And so to our Lord I commende you, and my selfe right hartely unto you. At Madryd, the 4th of Septemb., 1581.

Your owne frend,

F. ENGLEFYLD.

The death of Mr D. Sander ys not yet confyrmed from England nor from Ireland, other then upon the report of Mr Walsyngham and his company.

Addressed.

To the right worshipfull and my assuryd good frynd, Mr doctor Allen. Reyms.

XLIX.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 20 December, 1581.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 299.

Ill^mo ac Rev^mo in Christo patri ac d^no, D. Cardinali Comensi, d^no suo benign^mo.

Illustrissimo ac reverendissimo domine Cardinalis.

Illud desiderium catholicorum de retinendo in Anglia illustri domino Bernardino Mendosio, suæ Majestatis Catholicæ oratore (quod ante aliquot menses tuæ Celsitudini

per literas insinuavi) puto vestro de ea re silentio castigatum aut refutatum. Jam tum enim ipse de æquitate illius postulati dubitabam et admodum timide ve[illegible] sapientiæ commendavi; tamen quia iterum jam nostri in Insula urgent, qui in [illegible] sæva persecutionis tempestate undecunque suarum calamitatum quantulumcunq[illegible] levamen prensant, sentiuntque se variis modis ab illo oratore juvari posse, eorum petitionem nec potui negligere nec apud tuam Amplitudinem debui tacere. Illi existimant Sanctissimi Domini nostri uno apud Catholicum Regem verbulo fieri posse ut vel illinc non revocetur vel saltem ut in aliquo vicino Galliarum aut Belgii loco ad summum catholicorum commodum et solatium collocetur, cum nemo sit exterorum cui aut res nostræ sint magis cordi aut magis cognitæ. Si ergo iniqua non videatur petitio, dignetur semel tua ill^ma^ D. eam suæ Sanctitati innuere. Cujus rei rationes nobilissimus dominus Georgius Gilbertus, vir magna pietate et multis in gentem suam meritis clarus, qui has literas dabit, fusius explicabit; qui etiam poterit vestræ pietati veram historiam texere gloriosissimi martyrii Edmundi Campiani Jesuitæ, Radulphi Cervini et Alexandri Brianti sacerdotum et utriusque collegii alumnorum; qui, superatis fortiter variis tormentis, tandem primo Decembris, infelici dicam an felici laqueo nescio, in cœlum evolarunt, hominum myriadibus et aspectantibus et mirantibus et gementibus. Nolebat Regina eos religionis sed proditionis ac in vitam ipsius conspirationis causa capitis condemnari. Damnati sunt etiam octo vel decem alii, quorum exitum brevi fortassis audiemus. His flagellis castigat nos Dominus; his benedictionibus nos beat Dominus. Erat tunc (ut nunc est) in aula Christianissimi Regis frater,[1] cujus gratia apud Reginam sperabatur fore ut liberarentur ab extremo supplicio; sed vana spes hominum. Vivat floreatque sanctissimus Papa noster Gregorius. Vivas valeasque tu diu, optime Cardinalis. Remis, 20 Decembris, 1581.

[V.] Ill^mæ^ ac Rev^mæ^ Paternitatis servus et orator,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

L.

A paper entitled "To Dr Allan at Rheims."[2] [1581—1585.]

From the original in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 207.

Dominus Mauritius Fanus, fidus servus et explorator domini Francisci Walsingham, egit diu in Gallia exploratorem; quem cum experientia didicissent diligenter et astute officium præstitisse vocarunt in Angliam, et tam Regina ipsa quam Walsingham hominem instruxerunt ut Summo Pontifici et Regi Hispaniæ insidiaretur, tum ut eorum ditiones turbaret, tum ut eis vitam veneno aut alia quavis arte præriperet,

[1] Duke of Anjou.

[2] This document is in an Elizabethan hand; but the title is of a very much later date.

[redacted] præmiis propositis et perpetuis quidem et ad ejus hæredes transituris; sed ut [redacted] imprimis disceret veneni ad tollendum e medio Regem Hispaniæ, minus vero de [redacted]a curandum quippe qui mox successorem esset habiturus ætatis satis maturæ, et [redacted]o omnia genera veneni disceret quo Regis aut staffam aut ephippium aut vestes [redacted]ficeret, si alias non posset perficere.

Duo Angli nomine Litleston et Cornowallis tribus annis versati sunt in aula Regis Hispaniæ et hanc artem occidendi Regem exercuerunt, qui post navatam operam in Angliam reversi donati sunt mercede redditus cujusdam perpetui.

Anno superiore eandem artem exercuit magister Caru, Anglus, qui testatus est se Regis vestes veneno infecisse; qui postea in Angliam reversus donatus fuit simili mercede.

Anno 1581 dum Fanus esset in Gallia et statim in Italiam venturus, Walsingham audiens initium cujusdam dissidii exortum Mediolani inter Hispanos et cives misit suum secretarium ad hunc Fanum ut eum admoneret ut cito Mediolanum advolaret et nihil relinqueret intactum quod illud dissidium inflammare posset.

Testatus est idem Fanus (quod per multos alios etiam comperuerunt esse certissimum) omnes emissarios Reginæ hoc in mandatis habere, ut in omni regione ubicunque fuerint expiscentur et intelligant Principis aut reipublicæ statum, vires, animos nobilium et procerum aut eorum qui pollent fide, authoritate aut consilio apud Principem aut rempublicam, et an possint averti illorum animi a suis superioribus et turbæ excitari ullo pretio, arte aut alia via, et ut id imprimis procurent; id enim ad Angliæ pacem vehementer facere.

In Italia hoc singulare documentum habent, ut persuadeant principibus et populo defectionem a Pontifice et Rege Hispaniæ, quod eis commodo esset tum imprimis ut ea emolumenta quæ Rex Hispaniæ in Italia percipit et largitur Hispanis inter eos dividantur.

Ista omnia constant ex confessione et depositione dicti Fani facta in Sancto Officio Inquisitionis, subscripta ejus propria manu, 13 Augusti, 1581. Eadem prorsus sponte confessus fuit antea Mediolani D. N. vicario et auditori Cardinalis Boromei, conscientia motus.

Extant in dicto Officio Inquisitionis plurimæ literæ scriptæ manu propria Walsinghami de hoc et similibus argumentis et nonnullæ etiam D. Christofori Hatton, quibus multum suadent profectionem Fani in Hispaniam ad accelerandam suam commissionem contra illum Regem. Et in instructionibus ista continentur ad molestandum Hispaniæ Regem; ut procurentur diligenter omnia quæ fieri poterunt ad ejus insulas occupandas; ut domino Antonio ferantur auxilia; ut suscitentur duo filii spurii Regis contra filios legitimos, qui propter sanguinis propinquitatem non possunt nec debent patri succedere quia dispensare cum tali uxore ita sanguine juncta non potuit Papa; de excitandis quibusdam nobilibus contra Regem Mediolani, Neapoli, in Cecilia,[1] Calabria; et de aliquo portu et præsidio occupando in insula Maltæ; de con-

[1] Sicilia?

federatione ineunda cum Turcis ad vexandum Regem Hispaniæ et Papam. In omnibus his rebus fuit jam aliquid tentatum; sed Dei bonitate factum est ut jam omnia sint detecta, et indies prospicitur et capiuntur exploratores et proditores.

Continetur quoque in horum instructionibus ut diligenter despiciant qui Angli accessum habeant ad ducem Guysianum et ejus fratrem. Item an Rex Galliæ det aliquas pensiones rebellibus et fugitivis ab Anglia.

LI.

Dr William Allen to Mr George Gilbert (Italian translation). Reims, 15 January, 1582.

From an ancient transcript in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 11.

Copia d'una lettera mandata dal Sig^re^ Alano al Sig^r^ Giorgio Gilberto da Remis il 15 di Genaro, 1582.

La constantia inesplicabile delli nostri in Inghilterra nel servitio della chiesa santa e sede Apostolica d'un canto, e dall' altro la crudeltà e diligenza delli nemici, che cercano ogni mezzo d'estinguere il nostro povero seme e seminario e tutti li catolici del regno, ecciterà il sant^mo^ Papa e tutti gli altri (come spero) d'havere compassione dell' afflittione di quelli che sono dentro il regno, e della nostra necessità che siamo fuora. Io sono stato avisato da molti ch' avessi grande cura, e mi guardassi di tradimento, è che mi partisse di qua à Doaco; ma veramente non n'hò paura nissuna, ne mai lascierò li miei per pericolo ò cosa alcuna che mi possa accadere. L'imbasciatore di Spagna scrive ch' una delle conditioni del matrimonio che si pensava di fare fù che questo seminario fosse cacciato non solamente da Remis ma fuor' delle dominationi del Rè di Francia: ma il matrimonio non pigliando effetto, spero che non ne sentiremo più. Noi siamo stati tutto quest' anno più di 120, et hò mandato al padre Rettore il conto delle spese che habbiamo fatto e debbiamo fare ogn' anno se vogliamo fare quel buon servitio che per gratia d'Iddio habbiamo fatto. La provisione ordinaria di S. S^ta^ non può trattenere più di 40 scholari, il che come sapete sarà un numero quasi contemtibile et inutile per un tanto bisogno e per sodisfare à tanti officii et cosi grandi servigii che s'aspetta e si spera che saranno fatti da noi: ne si sarebbero[1] fatte tante conversioni d'anime se non fussimo stati più di quel numero. Non hò speranza alcuna di ricevere cosa veruna da Inghilterra, di dove vengono ogni dì delli nobili et altri scacciati per la persecutione, dal che si accresce il numero. La stampa del Testamento, che pensai non sarebbe costata più di 1000 scudi, costarà 500 scudi più; et tutti quelli mille scudi, delli quali dovevamo pagare la stampa del predetto libro, habbiamo già spesi *bona fide* nel mangiare e vitto. Il P. Martino hà fatto ancora un libretto nel quale hà raccolto insieme tutte le corruttioni e falsificationi delli heretici nella loro Biblia, e questo ancora neces-

[1] In MS. *sarebbeno.*

sariamente debbiamo far' stampare, altrimenti non faremmo quel servitio alla patria nostra che si richiede. Oltra di questi libri habbiamo le spese del mangiare, vestimenti, libri, fuoco, camere, medicine, et infiniti altri carichi per tanto grande numero, oltre le molte spese che si fanno per mandare sacerdoti in Inghilterra, et li scholari à Roma, e le spese quando si fanno preti, andando due giornate discosto e stando sei ò otto dì fuori, il porto di tante lettere, oltra la continua spesa delli nostri paesani che vengono quà per risolutione de casi di conscientia, instruttioni e conforto. Io havevo altra volta una præbenda in Fiandra e qualche cosa del mio proprio fuor' d'Inghilterra, col quale vissi et anche aiutai questo collegio; hora io, il mio nipote e servo viviamo delle communi spese del collegio, non havendo più altro: et acciò che gli heretici vedessero che non fussimo straccati e sforzati di rimandare delli scholari per necessità, sonno trenta della nostra compagnia che vivono con manco d'un scudo il mese e qualche fragmenti dalla tavola nostra, più tosto che ci vogliano lasciare. Tutto questo vi scrivo questa volta acciò che sappiate la nostra conditione e necessità, e lo dichiariate al padre Rettore, acciò che S. S^ta^ possi esserne informata; et se piacesse à Dio che havessimo di sostentarci, con necessario soccorso faremmo al presente più bene e profitto che mai fusse stato fatto in Inghilterra, et hora per mancamento di danari si perde totalmente, overo s'impedisce tanto che non possiamo stampare ne fare la mità del bene ch' altrimente faremmo.

LII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 7 February, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 15.

Reverende pater, amice unice, salve in Christo. Literas V. R. scriptas 8 Januarii recepi, ac etiam eas quas illustrissimus Protector dedit 23 Decembris vestris inclusas, quibus multa mihi benignissime profecto de amore suo in utrumque collegium recenset et quam libenter admittat eos quos mitto; monens ut ex selectioribus semper dem. Scribere statuo suæ Celsitudini in gratiarum actionem hoc tempore, ipsique mittere hoc schema quod curavimus qualibuscumque versibus describi ad honorem martyrum nostrorum recentium et ad permovendos proceres ecclesiæ ac cæteros Christianos ut considerent super miserias gentis nostræ ne et ipsi tententur. Si possum invenire hodie in urbe ista hoc genus holoserici in quo Romæ talia depingunt, curabo 3 aut 4 exemplaria pro Papa, Protectore et Cardinali Comensi atque pro P. Generali in tali materia imprimi; sin minus in charta. In his locis non potuimus melius facere: vos ibi aliquid excellentius fortassis formabitis. Accepi ante decem dies reverendissimi patris Generalis literas suavissimas quibus jubet me sine omni exceptione et difficultate uti ipsius in communi causa opera, seque jam S. D. N. de illis facultatibus[1] variis quas

[1] See First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 364.

patribus nostrisque necessarias esse diximus adiisse dicit ac eas impetrasse; quod et tua R. mihi etiam significavit. Erunt illæ valde utiles, quia (uti spero) habebimus largiorem quam unquam antea propter aliquam Scotiæ, ut scitis, adeundæ spem. Ista martyria insigniter percellunt animos hostium et augent catholicorum numerum et constantiam. Excusate me quæso apud R. P. Generalem quod nunc non scribo. Est unus nobilis qui nuper venit ex aula Anglica qui habet particulam ossis P. Campiani, sed tam est parva ut non possit commode nobis aliquid impartiri: sed catholici in Anglia pretio a carnificibus redemerunt unam costam ejus, cujus me habiturum partem spero, et tunc mittam aliquid ejus benedictionis collegio nostro et P. Generali. Cupio unam chartam dari amplissimo viro, amico nostro charissimo, D. Hieronimo Hurtado, cujus literas proximas plenas pietatis unacum vestris accepi. Detur una etiam imprimis reverendissimo D. Assaphensi cum meis literis: per proximum nuntium mittam plures, ut abundetis. Nos meditamur prolixiorem de martyrio et actis istorum in Anglia historiam, si Deus vitam et quietem dederit. Omnium martyrum nomina temporibus Henrici VIII. et hujus Elizabethæ post paucas dies mittam, sicut requiritis. Quare Baileus non potuit ad vos hoc anno venire aliis literis scripsi jam diu. Quod cum tanto honore scholastico et gratia dimittetis Gulielmum[1] nostrum lætor et valde probo. Si P. Barrettus veniat sive ad P. Rob.[2] sive ad nos, suscipietur obviis ulnis. Si tamen sit vobis necessarius, non urgebo. Quicquid circa meos ac tuos statuis semper probabo gratumque ac ratum habebo. Jam pridem circa receptionem quorumdam nostrorum in Societatem prolixe respondi, neque erit opus repetere breviter. Ego nollem tales impedire a meliori proposito, modo fiat cum licentia Papæ aut Protectoris, quam velim ipsos coram petere. Video P. V. pene effecisse ut Breve Apostolicum ad Principes hortatorium habeamus. Deo gratias. Sed ut scripsi, mi pater, nisi habeamus 3 aut 4 exemplaria non adeo nobis proderunt. Cupio enim, quando adhuc data Brevis est recens, per certos a me constitutos in variis gentibus procuratores illo uti; quod non possumus facere si unum tantum exemplar habeamus. Quod ad istos hujus provinciæ in qua habitamus non possumus multa sperare; quia partim tota ecclesia est afflicta diuturnis malis et exactionibus, partim quia putant (sicut nos etiam accipimus) multum beneficii nobis ab illis præstari quod quietam et benignam cohabitationem tribuunt, de qua nos ejicere continuo per literas et legatos Reginæ compellantur. Proinde non intendimus illos multum urgere; sed spes aliquid consequendi erit, ut mihi videtur, maxime in Hispania et Italia atque Lotharingia, Sabaudia atque etiam Germania ubi prælati sunt catholici. Quicquid sit, debemus omnia honesta tentare ut nostri fame foris aut domi hæresi non pereant: si enim in exilio alere non possumus, cogentur multi domum redire. Orate ne P. Joannes Gorus ineat malum consilium: nam scriptum est mihi secreto Lutetia illum vacillare in fide, et cogitare de revertendo in Angliam cum hac mala mente; quod ante secundum fidem et jus-

[1] William Gifford.

[2] F. Persons, who was then at Rouen.

jurandum[1] suum non potuit adduci ut faceret. Locutus est multa de ea re cum bono patre Thoma Darbishire, qui conatus est ipsum ab illa mala mente et dubitatione removere. Non voluit fateri Romanam ecclesiam esse veram ecclesiam neque Pontificem esse caput ecclesiæ. Ego adhuc interpretor ista ex aliqua phrenesi aut melancholia potius quam ex hæresi provenire; scio enim ipsum esse proclivem ad talem morbum. Propterea nollem de ipso aliquid divulgari antequam exitum rei videamus. Sed omnia timeo in homine tam furiosi ingenii et præcipitis. Deus avertat iram suam ab ipso. Judex[2] qui sententiam condemnationis protulit in P. Campianum et socios suos est ejus avunculus; corde quidem catholicus sed externo opere, uti videtis, Pilatus. Fortasse Deus puniet ejus iniquitatem in cognatis suis permittendo ipsos labi. Post hesternas literas quas scripsi P. Gulielmo Good datæ sunt mihi literæ quædam a D. archidiacono[3] scriptæ Mediolani tribus pene ab hinc mensibus. In illis ita scribit: "Collegium nostratium Romæ (laus Deo) floret; de quo multum gaudeo; sed vestri amici non sunt identidem mihi amici. Nepos meus Hugo[4] jam complevit cursum philosophiæ. Scripsit dominus Cardinalis S. Sixti[5] ad me suadens ut illum ad me ex Urbe revocarem; quod libenter facerem, si non esset ad quædam mea et archiepiscopi nostri Cameracensis negotia illic persequenda necessarius. Conqueruntur quod multa loquatur contra collegium: nescio; sed suavi et amica tractatione possent illum habere amicissimum. Quicquid sit, spero (mi Alane) nihil nostram quæ jam diu inter te et me intercessit amicitiam interrupturum; nihil enim [me][6] vel a te vel a collegiis avertet, etc." Sic scribit ille: sed nollem cuiquam istud dicatur; tibi enim, mi pater, soli impartior. Ego hac occasione literarum suadebo ipsi quantum possum pertinere ad honorem suum ut nepotem suum revocet, ac id quoque esse ad salutem juvenis et collegii pacem omniumque animorum reconciliationem. Et certe ego plane cuperem D. archidiaconum solide esse collegio ac Societatis patribus reconciliatum: scio ejus virtutes et ejus infirmitates; potest esse multum utilis et multum nocere in utramque partem. Quomodo possumus, pater, duo vel 3 Testamenta[7] ista jam pene excusa ad vos mittere. Profecto majora sunt quam ut a peditibus nostris proxime venturis portari queant. De numero scholarium adhuc nihil certi statui. Illustrissimus D. Protector dicit circa sex. Vos scitis audaciam nostram in addendo semper unum aut alterum supernumerarium, de quo ita scripsit benignissime D. Protector: "Indignum existimantes in tantis angustiis quenquam a te missum rejicere:" sic ille. Sed plura scripsi quam ab initio proposueram. Salutate quæso mihi bonum studiorum præfectum vestrum, patrem ministrum etiam optimum et reliquos. De P. Engenamo aliis scripsi literis. Christus Jesus vos omnes custodiat. De Powellorum pecuniis assequendis laboro quantum possum; de cæteris pene despero. Imposterum ego nunquam

[1] The college oath to return to England and serve upon the mission at the bidding of superiors.
[2] The Lord Chief Justice, Sir Christopher Wray. [3] Dr. Owen Lewis. [4] Hugh Griffith.
[5] The Cardinal Protector of the college. [6] Supplied to complete the sense. [7] The New Testament translated into English.

commendabo illos ad convictum collegii qui non tendant ad sacros ordines, nisi habituri certe videantur pecunias. Sed hæc sævitia in parentes et eorum metus est extraordinarius. Et ita vult Deus ut vos quoque aliquam hujus persecutionis pœnam nobiscum patiamini. Iterum valeat vestra charitas mihi dilectissima. Remis, 7 Feb., 1582.

Vester totus in æternum,

G. ALANUS.

Incidimus in holosericum qualecunque; proinde 5 aut sex exemplaria in illa materia mittimus. Unum est magis figuræ claræ et expressæ, quod cupio per V. P. tradi illustrissimo D^no^ Protectori pro S. D. nostro. Rogavi enim suam illustrissimam Dominationem ut unum suæ Sanctitati offerat: alterum exemplum dabitis Protectori nostro, unum Cardinali Comensi, P. Generali unum, vobis unum, et quid superest cui vultis, in primis D. Gilberto. In charta sunt magis expressa, quia impressor non habuit usum ponendi serico. Gulielmus Hartus est sollicitus de fratre suo,[1] quod simul cum cæteris non subierit crucem; sed nec ipse nec cæteri undecim qui supersunt quidquam hostibus concesserunt; sed dicuntur servari tantum ne hominum judicio nimis crudeles habeantur. Gulielmus Hartus, presbyter, est insignis operarius et concionator multumque proficit. Mater Joannis Harti insigniter animavit filium suum ad martyrium.[2]

LIII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 12 February, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 19.

Pax Christi.

Reverende pater; Scripsi admodum prolixe nudius tertius: hæc nunc adjicio, partim ut comportentur hæc etiam exemplaria schematis, cujusmodi prius plura partim serica partim chartasea misi, partim ut significem id quod mihi peculiaris nunc ex Anglia nuntius narrat, et quod etiam aliunde R. P. Rob.[3] scribit: nimirum, missum esse ad eos qui morti jam pridem fuerant addicti et condemnati ut culpam in Reginam commissam confiteantur veniamque petant, suamque M. pro clementia sua facile concessuram, atque ea conditione etiam offerre gratiam. Sed confessores, cum singuli seorsim interrogarentur si id facere vellent admonerenturque ut id facerent, responderunt omnes gratam ipsis fore regiam clementiam, sed non posse deprecari culpam quam nunquam commiserant, ac proinde se rem omnem Deo committere. Postea nihil fuit in ipsos factum gravius: solum in Joannem Hartum sæviunt magis quam in cæteros quod nolit quidquam illis

[1] John Hart. [2] The writing fills the four sides of the sheet of paper, so that there is no space for an address. [3] F. Robert Persons, who had left England in the autumn of 1581, not long after the seizure of Mr Stephen Brinkley and the printing-press in August, and was spending the winter at Rouen. "Tutto questo inverno stette il P^e^ Personio in Roan di Francia." Punti della Missione d'Inghilterra per l'anno 1582, by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 24. Compare ib. 229.

in religione cedere; apud quem minis, suppliciis, terroribusque sperabant propter juvenilem ætatem se aliquid effecturos. Ducebant ipsum extra carcerem eo die quo P. Campianus obiit, tentantes si terrore mortis ejus labefacere animum possint. Postea his diebus conjecerunt ipsum in lacum horridum, ex quo postea eduxerunt ipsum ad colloquium cum ministris qui ad ipsum pervertendum erant adducti. Cum nihil profecerunt, iterum trudunt in limbum, secundoque ac tertio educunt et reducunt. Sed hactenus Dei benignitate præbet se fortem Dei athletam. De Joanne Nicols mirum aliquid scripsi D. Georgio Gilberto. Postquam aliquid certius intellexero scribam. Patres in Anglia optime valent, nisi quod P. Gaspar[1] laboret nonnunquam sciatica. Scripsi in proximo fasciculo ad illustrissimum D. Protectorem, ad P. Gulielmum,[2] ad reverendissimum D. Assaphensem multosque alios. Nunc quod porro scribam nihil est. Dominus Jesus vos omnes conservet. 12 Feb., 1582.

V. R. P. frater et filius dilectissimus,

G. ALANUS.

Quæ de [3] in proximis scripsi literis nollem palam dici; quia puto profecta esse ex aliqua mania potius quam ex deliberato judicio profecta esse.

Addressed.

Reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazario, collegii Anglorum rectori. Romæ.

LIV.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 18 February, 1582.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 370.

Ill^mo et Rev^mo in Christo patri ac domino, domino Cardinali Comensi, domino suo benignissimo.

Ill^me ac Rev^me domine.

Habuimus in Scotiæ primaria urbe Edenburgo duos hac hyeme sacerdotes qui de religione Principis ac nobilium animos tentarent: alter est Societatis Jesu,[4] alter collegii nostri alumnus.[5] Ceperunt ipsi, et nobis per literas antea dederunt spem non exiguam, ut jam pridem significavimus: at nunc in principio hujus Februarii eorum alter, ut fusius tutiusque cuncta aperiret, Londinum in Angliam venit; unde ad me multa de pluribus mittendis illue operariis deque reipublicæ et religionis statu diligenter scripsit. Atque cætera quidem nos cum R. P. Societatis Generali transigemus; sed hæc pauca quæ isto adjuncto scripto continentur censui potius Sanctissimo Domino nostro per Celsitudinem tuam indicanda, quia et maximi sunt momenti et secretissime

[1] F. Gaspar Heywood. [2] F. William Good. [3] Word erased in MS.; but it is evidently *Gore*. [4] F. William Holt, who arrived in England with F. Gaspar Heywood soon after F. Campion's apprehension, July 17, 1581, and had been despatched by F. Persons to Scotland. [5] William Watts.

geri debent. Ut enim ille Princeps, cui jure hæreditario olim per Dei gratiam tota obveniet Britannia nostra, fiat ecclesiæ filius ad universum orbem Christianum summopere pertinet. Si de vescendis carnibus, secundum illud quod in scripto continetur, sua Sanctitas indulgendum judicet, ne gravetur tua ill^ma^ Dominatio uno verbulo significare. Ista observantiæ causa scripsi; cætera vestræ committo sapientiæ, meque ipsum obsecro, Cardinalis amplissime, inter alumnos tuos continuo connumera. Remis, 18 Febr., 1582.

Tuæ Ill^mæ^ ac Rev^mæ^ Dominationis in Christo servus et orator,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

Status regni Scotiæ ita se habet. Rex ab hæreticorum ministris hactenus male educatus nihil fere novit quod ad fidem catholicam pertinet; ita tamen obstinate hæreticus non est quin speremus eum libenter catholicorum rationes auditurum, sicut et Reginæ matri suæ per literas id solicitanti se facturum promisit: genitricis enim suæ, licet sibi nunquam visæ, est amantissimus.

Multi ex nobilibus in catholicam partem inclinantur, et illius religionis in sua regione stabilimenta exoptant: per se tamen hoc se effecturos diffidunt, tum quia se ab Anglo impediendos pertimescant, tum quia de auxilio omni externo incerti sint. Cogitant tamen de istis mediis ad suum propositum maxime (ut ipsi putant) accommodatis, ut primum cum Rege per viros doctos agatur, et ad disputationem publicam inter catholicos sacerdotes et hæreticorum ministros religionis causa, etiam Reginæ authoritate adhibita, procedatur; vel si hoc non possint efficere, ut tunc a Regina facultatem ac licentiam petant Regem filium, si opus fuerit, transmittendi in regionem aliquam catholicam, ubi et melius in fide instrui et ad regni gubernacula informari et potentiorum Principum amicitias et affinitatem sibi procurare possit, salvo semper suo jure et dignitate. Putant enim propter incertum sui et Anglicani regni statum parum tutas amicitias sine externo milite posse conciliari: a Franco tamen auxilia se impetraturos non sperant: a Summo Pontifice vel Hispaniæ Rege quærerent quidem lubentius, si vel minima esset consequendi spes, et non dubitant paucorum militum externorum numerum sibi fore satis, Italosque cæteris aptiores ad eam rem esse arbitrantur.

Interim ex nobilitate præcipui aliique multi nostrates sacerdotes Anglos libenter suscipiunt, idque publice ac palam, nomine quidem exulum ex vicina Anglia (ut fit) fugientium propter aliquid contra leges commissum, sed revera tamen et eorum sacris occulte interesse et conciones audire desiderant. Linguæ enim fere nulla differentia est, multosque ex nobilitate tam ferventes jam videmus ut si brevi conscientiæ saltem libertatem impetrare nequeant, patriam se relicturos et in alienis terris salutem animarum suarum prosecuturos affirment: eosque vel id quoque multum ad hoc incitat quod cernant nec sibi nec Regi puero quidquam tutum esse ab hæreticis et suis et Anglis, nec ullam esse spem consequendi post Reginæ mortem regnum Angliæ, quod

illi jure materno debebitur, nisi per catholicos et catholicæ fidei professionem; regnandi enim cupiditas in hujusmodi rebus multum valet in omnem partem.

Rei catholicæ præcipui fautores et procuratores sunt dux Leonorii,[1] comes Huntlæus, comes Eglingonius,[2] comes de Argile, comes de Catnes,[3] dynasta de Hume et dynasta de Seton et alii aliquot magnates. Qui D. de Seton, pater illius D. Alexandri Setonii non ante multos annos in Romano seminario educati, pollicetur se et chirographum procuraturum istorum omnium nobilium aliorumque quorundam et filium suum primogenitum obsidem daturum, si externum militem ea ratione ab ullo Principe impetrare posset.

Inimici hujus causæ sunt ingratissimus Aranius,[4] nuper Regis beneficio comes creatus, cum ministris, id est, pseudo-sacerdotibus hæreticorum. In civitatibus sunt etiam plures hæretici quam catholici: interim tamen in ipsa urbe præcipua Edinburgo multi catholici sparsim inveniuntur, ita ut nostrum alter centum communicaverit hoc Natali Domini.

Opinio etiam Scotorum est, quod suæ gentis sacerdotes nec tam tuto nec forte tam fructuose ibi hoc tempore degere queant atque Angli, qui exulum nomine (ut dixi) recipiuntur ubique; cum tamen serenissima Regina Scotorum timuerit ab initio Anglos propter antiquum illorum inter se odium non potuisse fructuose laborare. Sed contrarium experti sumus; maxime cum nobiles Scotos in principio pauciores, Anglos paulo plures, sed non valde tamen multos esse expedire judicent. Qui Angli ad sustentationem hoc solo egent quod ad vestimenta comparanda et reliquas in itineribus faciendis expensas spectat, sine quibus subsidiis necessariis nihil agere possunt: cum quibus tamen tanta spes illius gentis est et tantus amor causæ ut vitam profundere non dubitent, si eo modo possint hanc rem procurare.

Putant etiam ipsi Scoti non inconveniens medium ad hoc propositum esse si a Rege Catholico ad Scotiæ Regem sub aliquo alio prætextu legatus mitteretur, qui viros doctos apud se et prudentes et catholicam causam vehementer zelantes haberet. Ipsi enim in curia semper versarentur et auribus Regis atque aulicorum instillarent quæ ad fidem catholicam et ad causæ catholicæ procurationem spectarent, et si Regi Catholico ita videretur, matrimonium etiam inter Regis Catholici filiam et ipsum Regem tractarent: quod tamen Scoti propter Regis sui paupertatem non multum sperant.

Tempore Natalis Domini in domo dynastæ de Seton celebravimus quotidie, concionatique etiam sumus coram præcipua parte illius familiæ quæ numerosissima est.

Sacerdotes vestri ex Gallia venientes ubique possunt appellere in Scotia; sed portus Leth[5] est convenientissimus, qui non distat nisi sex milliaria a domo D. Setoni; quo quando aliquis eorum appulerit, debet certiorem facere D. Setonum de suo adventu. Ex doctioribus atque ad disputandum et concionandum aptioribus valde

[1] Lennox. [2] Eglinton. [3] Caithness. [4] Arran. [5] Leith.

desiderant, imprimisque (præter illos quos P. Robertus[1] de Societate adducturus speratur) cupiunt vestri collegii Gulielmum Reinoldum et Mauricium ac Richardum Barrettum de Romano collegio, si carere potestis.

Ego de nobilium catholicorum voluntate et ex consilio socii ac compresbyteri mei transivi satis tuto fines utriusque regni et Londinum veni, ut citius vobis ista indicarem et ut videatis quid porro facto opus sit de supplemento sacerdotum, etc. Interim sodalis meus manet in ædibus illustrissimi D. Setoni ad catholicæ causæ, dum revertor, procurationem. Atque animus quidem erat hic Londini subsistendi donec responsum a vobis aut a P. Roberto acceperim; sed nunc consultius putatur hic ut continuo revertar, ne fines Scotiæ ac viæ concludantur propter motus quos hujus mutationis metu Aranius et pseudo-presbyteri dicuntur moliri contra Regem et Ducem Lenoxii: heri enim venit de Scotia nuntius qui narrat Ordines iterum regia authoritate convocandos ad rescindenda quæ antea contra catholicos in Scotia sancita sunt decreta; atque in eo loco (id est in palatio Ducis) designata esse comitia, quo Aranius et prædicti pseudo-ministri non sunt ausi venire; atque propterea ipsos hæreticos in armis esse, eo prætextu ut ejiciant Ducem Lenoxii, quod exterus sit, ab omni gubernatione.

Atque ita quidem hoc præterito Januario se habebant res Scotiæ. Vestra Reverentia de rebus omnibus vel Londinum vel Edinburgum in Scotiam per cyphras scribere potest.

Prorsus in Scotia exolevit jejunandi religio, ex quo sacerdotes nostri cum comedere recusent, sæpe se immature cogentur prodere ad causæ catholicæ detrimentum. Proinde videat Dominatio tua si sua Sanctitas velit dispensare, ubi necessitas urgebit, de vescendo carnibus. Desideramus unum qui bene loquatur gallice; nam D. Dux nullam aliam linguam novit, quocum tamen sæpius agendum est. Mittite obsecro vestros quam citissime: nos illis et viam aperiemus et pericula si quæ eminent ex hæreticorum vigilantia per Dei gratiam præveniemus. Frustra addidero ut in hanc Christi causam strenue (ut cœpistis) incumbatis, aut ut pro nobis orari faciatis. Vale igitur mi domine reverende. Ille illustris dominus, in cujus cyphra hæc scribo, nos omnibus modis juvat et consolatur, dominique sui nomine omnia pollicetur, ac de iisdem etiam negotiis prolixe scribit ad vos hodie et ad Principes quosdam.[2]

[1] F. Robert Persons.

[2] "Succedette un altra occasione o più presto necessità d'impiegare il P. Holto in Scotia; perche essendo fatto morire nelli mesi passati e tagliata la testa al Conte Mortono, governatore di Scotia, grande heretico e servitore della Regina d' Inghilterra, ma inimico capitale della Regina di Scotia che stava presa in Inghilterra et delli catolici amici suoi, et essendo fatto governatore in loco suo Monsieur d'Obigni creato gia Duca di Lenox, il quale favoriva secretamente la religione catolica, desiderava grandemente la detta Regina di Scotia che si mandassero presto a Scotia alcune persone che potessero prudentemente promovere la causa catolica apresso il detto Duca et altri amici suoi, essendo il Rè suo figliolo tenero ancora nell' età, cioè fra 14 o 15 anni, et il peso dell' governo nelle mani si puo dire de catolici, cioè dell' detto Duca e del Sig^r Giacomo Stuarto, Conte d'Aran, capitan della guardia del Rè e del Baron Setono et altri amici della detta Regina madre presa. E così il P. Per-

LV.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 23 February, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 29.

Jesus.

Reverende pater; Qui dabit R. V. has literas vir est vere catholicus, vocatus Ingramus Thwingus, ex generosa et clara familia, qui sanctissimo comiti Northumbriæ ab ista Regina martyrio sublato et ante diu a puero et postea in sacro pro religione bello servivit: pro quo, et patria et fortunis omnibus privatus, diuturnum sustinuit exilium; diu militans in Belgica sub signis Catholicæ Majestatis contra rebelles, et varia bona officia etiam cum periculo vitæ suæ faciens interim pro restitutione religionis catholicæ in Anglia, pro qua re etiam adhuc est quidvis facere paratus ad nostrum vel prudentum judicium ac arbitrium. Sed nunc variis laboribus castrensibus corpore detritus non potest in militiam proficisci; et cum aliunde non habeat unde se alat cogitur ad illam sacram anchoram fugere Sanctitatis suæ; sicut et ego ad vestram pietatem, quæ jam est mihi adeo cognita ut omnia ausim de vestra prompta voluntate isti optimo viro polliceri, licet de eventu ac successu postulationis non ita possumus esse certi: atque ille est bonus ac prudens, nec mirabitur si omnia ex desiderio suo, vestro atque nostro non eveniant. Illustris dominus Englefildus utitur illo in rebus secretissimis, et ipse, credo, jam pridem illum vel paternitati vestræ vel R. P. Gulielmo[1] prolixe commendavit. Si utriusque nostrum in hac re testimonium quidquam juvare possit, uti potestis, præsertim D. Englefildi, qui fortassis audietur citius quod rarius sollicitat quam ego qui pro tam multis interpello. Utimini in hac re voluntate et judicio vestro. Et fortassis erit melius ut P. Gulielmus intercedat quam P. V., ne consuetudine postulandi pro nobis vilescat mediatio vestra. Sed utamini vestro

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senio mandò la prima un sacerdote secolare Inglese chiamato Guliermo Watz, che morì poi in Fiandra, huomo prudente e pratico in quelle parti; il quale andato là e ritornato a Londra con aviso di qualche buona speranza, parve espediente di mandare ancora un altro padre della Compagnia insieme con l'altro, e questo fu il P. Giglielmo Holto, il quale fin tanto che le cose della Scotia si rivolgevano di nuovo . . . utilmente travagliò in quella vinea." Punti della missione d' Inghilterra per l'anno 1581, by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 19. These notes were written by F. Persons in 1605, many years after the incidents related had taken place. This will account for some confusion in what he says about the date of F. Holt's mission to Scotland. At p. 32 of the same MS. he observes; "P. Gasparo Hayvodo, che restò superiore in Inghilterra [after F. Persons' departure] vedendosi solo per il martirio del P. Campiano e partita del P. Holto a Scotia, come s'e detto, benche restavano in prigione due altri de nostri, cioè Mettamo e Pondo, dimandò più aiuto." Now since F. Campion was martyred December 1, 1581, and F. Holt had apparently been sent to Scotland before this date, he must have been the father of the Society who spent the winter at Edinburgh, according to the statement of William Watts in Dr. Allen's letter.

[1] F. William Good.

arbitrio, ac pro ratione temporum facite. Tantum significo me bene isti optimo viro velle. Sicut etiam multo magis cupio cuidam socio suo hic apud me degenti, D. Roberto Heyhingtono, cujus filium vos habetis, prædicto Comiti martyri, D. Englefildo et mihi intimo; qui cum liberis pulsus a patria jam diu et illustrissimæ Comitissæ a secretis, ac tandem ab ipsa etiam propter imminutas fortunas dimissus, cogitur ad nos divertere interim dum Deus provideat; et hic desiderat etiam vel seorsim licet absens (quia pro imbecillitate et ætate tantum iter facere non potest) vel conjunctus cum alio supplicare, quia pene par est utriusque fortuna. Sed nollem dum utrique beneficium fieri cupimus neutri bene consulere, et quid in eorum negotio sequendum sit ex re illic nata paternitas vestra, adhibito r. patre confessario, decernere melius potest: quare totam causam Deo et charitati vestræ commendo et committo. Et hoc generaliter a me et de meis postulatis vobis notum esse volo, nolle nos petitionibus privatorum hominum vel dignissimorum mihique amantissimorum quidquam impedire bonum collegiorum aut nationis commune. Proinde id totum vestræ prudentiæ considerandum semper sine omni exceptione relinquo. Christus Jesus vos conservet. Remis, 23 Feb., 1582.

V. R. in Christo conservus,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, collegii Anglicani rectori, vel R. P. Gulielmo Good, [eju]sdem collegii confessario. Romam.

LVI.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 23 February, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 25.

Jesus, Maria.

Reverende in Christo pater; Hos omnes, numero octo, illustrissimi D. Protectoris nostri gratia ac clementia tuaque charitate confisus, in collegium cooptandos commendo; cunctos illa sanctissima Romana institutione et tutela ac amore vestro (uti sane spero) dignos. 1. Gulielmus Chadocus, 2. Joannes Richardi, 3. Oliverius Almundus, 4. Petrus Fletcherus, 5. Gulielmus Powelus, 6. Edmundus Arosmitheus, 7. Edoardus Olcornus, 8. Hugo Scrivinerus. Omnes sunt logici vel phisici præter primum, qui est ad theologiam valde aptus et nonnihil in ea versatus, atque ad omnem pietatem ac humilitatem maxime et natura et gratia compositus, cæterosque omnes habeo pro mitissimis. Si videbitur, potestis eos sistere coram benignissimo Protectore nostro, ad quem etiam pro ipsis scripsi, cætera committens vestræ relationi. Frustra scrip-

sero reliqua, cum interim dum illi sunt in itinere aliquoties scribendum sit. Dominus ergo Jesus vos vestrosque omnes mihi dilectissimos conservet. Remis, 23 Feb., 1582.

V. R. P. in Christo confrater et conservus,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Aga[zz]erio, collegii Anglorum [in U]rbe rectori pru[dentiss]imo mihique observandissimo. Romam.

LVII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 3 March, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 47.

Reverende mi pater, intimeque dilecte confrater; Literis P.V. 22 Januarii datis licet mihi meisque propter multas suavissimas consolationes vestras mirifice gratis, tamen propter bidui adversam valetudinem et aliqua negotia tum urgentia non potui mox respondere. Sed interim scholares versus vos iter ceperunt, onusti literis et aliis quibusdam rebus; et aliæ literæ vestræ veniunt nobis similiter jucundissimæ cum aliquot impressis Brevis Apostolici exemplaribus. Unde plane spero fore ut per summam Dei in nos misericordiam ad unum aut alterum annum ab hac ingenti rei familiaris solicitudine meorumque necessitatibus utcunque vel levemur vel liberemur; qua re ita his annis fui gravatus animo et corpore ut pene tæderet vivere. Sed sit benedictus Deus, et sit benedicta anima tua, quæ per ipsius gratiam nobis hæc tanta charitatis officia indies præstat.

Maxima spes consequendi aliquid insignis adjumenti est in Italia et Hispania; et illic in Italia quidem eo magis quod sumus per vos assecuti tales principes, patronos et procuratores pro quibus sicut pro cæteris adjutoribus nostris in Domino incipimus jam et publice et privatim orare. Sed cupimus scire nomina illorum, maxime quatuor prælatorum tam sanctorum. In Hispania si idem vel simile patrocinium possemus nancisci, summum etiam ibi divinæ misericordiæ proventum expectare possemus; sed quam viam insistere debeamus pro illa collectione prorsus sum incertus, tum quia ibi non habemus apud principes ac prælatos tales adjutores, tum quia status afflictionum nostrarum Britannicarum non est ibi summis viris ita cognitus sicut Romanis et Italis. Si mitteremus duos nostrates sacerdotes illuc cum Brevi Apostolico tantum, vel constitueremus illic jam apud illustrissimam Comitissam[1] vel dominum Englefildum commorantes qui eleemosynas peterent ac colligerent, certe non ita multum videntur

[1] Perhaps the Duchess of Feria is meant. She was for a time Countess of Feria before her husband was made Duke.

collaturi. Proinde noluimus rem in Hispania aggredi nisi vestro prius cognito judicio et consilio; præsertim cum sciam quantum hæc res sit cordi amplissimo et pientissimo amico nostro, D. Hieronimo Hurtado; pro quo misi ad vos per scholares quædam de martyrio nostratium tempore Henrici VIII. Quicquid ergo faciendum nobis significaveritis faciemus sine mora, et quicquid vos feceritis vel erga Hispaniam, quæ nunc etiam continet Lusitaniam, vel alias partes Christiani orbis, id totum erit ratum atque summe gratum et (uti spero) erit quoque Deo gratissimum sacrificium. De Superiori etiam Germania quomodo transigemus adhuc nihil est nobis constitutum, et abierit fortasse quadragesima hæc, antequam tam longe dissitæ provinciæ obiri queant. Cupimus etiam de collecta illius provinciæ habere consilium vestrum, quia sunt in collegio Germanico et in Societate vestra qui quid nobis faciendum sit salubriter suggerere possint. Scribite ergo quæso vos quamprimum, si nos ad illas et Hispanicas provincias mittere ex nostris debeamus, an aliquid aliud consilium et viam inire. Hoc ipso die mittimus D. Baileum nostrum Parisios qui cum plenis mandatis et instructionibus persequatur rem in illa civitate et agat cum reverendissimo D. Nuntio Apostolico ac provinciali Societatis vestræ in Francia, qui sunt nobis deditissimi, ut secundum illorum consilium in Gallia et vicinis locis, nempe Lotharingia et Sabaudia, agamus per procuratores: licet ex his vicinis locis propter bellorum continuos motus non multum expectemus; et populus, qui videtur multum nobis tribuere quod cum ipso et per ipsius hospitalitatem hic pacifice degamus, si multum ab illo etiam peteremus quod in suorum pauperum usum cedere debeat, fortassis paulo iniquius ferret: sed utemur moderatione omni et amicissimorum virorum consiliis.

Quicunque erunt hujus sacræ eleemosynæ vel a vobis ibi procurati vel a nobis constituti collectores debent pecunias omnes, cum venerint ad aliquam justam summam, deponere apud collegia Societatis vestræ, ut possint superiorum illorum collegiorum prudentia consignari mercatoribus earum civitatum ubi habitant vel propinquarum urbium, qui possint opportuno tempore Lutetiam vel Lugdunum ad collegium vestrum ibi per literas cambii vel alio modo facere. Nam alioqui collectores non possunt tuto deferre secum pecunias collectas: quod maxime observandum est in Superioris Germaniæ provinciis, unde non est tam facilis ratio cambii aut commercii. In Hispania quod colligitur potest vel per dominam Ducissam [1] vel per D. Englefildum vel optime fortasse mediantibus patribus ad oratorem Regis Catholici in Gallia [mitti].[2] Scribo nunc de tota hac re vage et incerte, quia absum a vestris melioribus consiliis et colloquiis longius; sed Deus, qui in vobis incœpit hoc sanctum opus, perficiet (ut spero) et in proximis literis suggeretis nobis plura. De Italia non sum sollicitus, quia vos estis præsentes; sed maxima cura est ut recte res tractetur in Hispaniis. Illæ literæ vel Sanctissimi D. N. vel illustrissimorum Cardinalium ad quosdam Hispaniæ Germaniæque in causæ commendationem multum proderunt. Quod de illis

[1] Duchess of Feria, by birth Jane Dormer.

[2] Word added to complete the sense.

habendis spes esset scripsit P. Fabricius, præfectus studiorum, cujus mihi primæ literæ erant sane jucundissimæ; quarum quoad delectum scholarium ero semper memor. Rescribam ad illum hoc tempore, si minimum mihi tempus concedatur, sin minus vice proxima. Illum multum diligo, quia diligit vobiscum gentem nostram, et fuit mihi sæpe a R. P. Rob.[1] nostro unice commendatus et pro Britannia nostra desideratus.

Spero istos juvenes quos jam ante 7 dies in viam misimus et bonos et valde idoneos esse. Misimus sane octo. De numero scripsi etiam ad illustrissimum Protectorem. Dabunt V. P. literas cum quatuor paribus chirothecarum. Unum est quod, me inscio, errore sed amore cujusdam ex meis accidit; nimirum ut Novum Testamentum non adhuc absolutum mitteretur Creswello meo: quod factum nolebam omnino antequam opus esset perfectum; nec volui ut alumnorum quisquam haberet illic vel hinc mitteret, antequam collegium haberet a me repræsentatum vobis. Porro etiam reverendissimus D. Assaphensis, qui dedit in impressionem aliquot aureos et continuo unum exemplar expectat ac postulat, ægre ferret sibi non esse satisfactum æque ac scholaribus. Proinde rogo R. V. ut Creswello nostro mandet ne cuiquam communicet librum antequam reliqua exemplaria mittantur, sed ut vel V. R. det vel apud se secretissime servet. Ego ante ejus discessum qui portare dicitur nihil cognovi prorsus nec suspicabar.

Spero vos accepisse chartas depictas persecutionis Anglicanæ cum poemate. Illa Epistola de Persecutione Anglicana non a nostra officina prodiit; quod addo ne quisquam suspicetur me ejus fuisse authorem: sed amicus noster et vester fecit.[2] Pauca sapienti; et sunt justæ causæ cur adhuc author prodi non debeat. Estote bono animo quia nos sumus optimo. Pene superavimus difficultatem in Anglia, et undique elucet Dei virtus et spes nostra. Magis piget hostes persecutionis quam nos tolerantiæ et sufferentiæ. Passim in vicos sparguntur et ad valvas affiguntur carmina latine, græce, anglice in laudem martyrum;[3] adeo ut dicantur 30 studiosi, quod essent de editis poemati[bu]s in mortem et martyrium P. Campiani encomiasticis suspecti, fugisse ex academia Oxoniensi et ad nos cogitare. Si ista collecta procedat, non curamus quam multi veniant, imo etiam invitabimus. Unus juvenis, qui dicebatur in tota Insula excellentissimus musicus, ex Cantabrigiensi academia adornabat ad nos fugam cum duobus aliis qui nunc appulerunt. Erat quodam infortunio captus ad littus et

[1] F. Robert Persons.

[2] F. Robert Persons, author of the Epistola de Persecutione Anglica. Romæ et Ingolstadii, 1582.

[3] "Infinitus est numerus librorum, dialogorum, discursuum, carminum, quæ facta fuerunt et edita, partim impressa partim scripta, in laudem horum martyrum [F. Campion and his companions] et vituperium adversariorum, quibus omnia quæ circa eos contingunt tractata sunt, comprehensiones, incarcerationes, tormenta, disputationes, judicia, responsa, condemnationes et mortes ipsæ. Adversarii fremunt sed frustra: ipsi enim pueri resistunt eis in faciem et exprobrant crudelitates in servos Dei. Duo reperti sunt nuper in academia Oxoniensi qui carmina publicaverant, ætate fere pueri: alter virgis cæsus fuit, alter vero aufugit." F. Persons to F. Agazzari, 1 March, 1582. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 28.

reductus Londinum ad Reginæ secretarium; et examinatus ab illo cur vellet deserere academiam suam et ad nos trajicere, excusans se ut potuit quod vellet linguas externas discere moresque alios videre, jussus est redire ad suam universitatem: pecunia etiam largiter data, et commendatitiæ literæ ad illius collegii præsidentes ut ipsi in omnibus prospiceretur ne quidquam ad vitam et studia deesset, datis etiam comitibus ne alio verteret cursum; nec gravius statuerunt, blanditiis et pollicitationibus eos tenentes. Sed si Deus dederit ex hac sua providentia panem ad vescendum et vestimentum quo operiantur, ego possum ex optimis quibusque ingeniis evocare; cum ex opulentia ad istam paupertatem ac tenuitatem homines tam avide veniant. Atque tunc (quod dictum cupio P. Fabricio Pallevicino vestro) dabimus excellentiores quosque homines.

Quod unus[1] ex nostris coram sua Sanctitate cum laude oraverit abunde lætamur: quod vero quotannis[2] ex collegio illo quispiam facere debeat est valde honorificum, benignissimoque Protectori nostro video nos multum debere. Proxima vice, si ætas non impediat, mittam fratrem Christophori Oweni, in quo erit fortasse in illo genere aliquid nativæ energiæ: laudatur a præceptoribus suis. Recepimus supra 300 aureos pro domino Georgio Gilberto. Illi summam exacte significabimus ut possit illi ibi per vestram reverentiam de nostra pecunia tantundem exsolvi; quæ via visa est utrique parti maxime facilis. Mandavi Thomæ Coverto nostro ut mox post receptam schedulam cambii et pecuniam a vobis per eandem nobis consignatam V. R. semper agnoscat solutionem; admonui etiam ut nullum prætereat nuntium quin de rebus Anglicis aut nostris aliquid scribat, ne forte literæ nostræ tardius quam pro singulis nuntiis Lutetiam veniant; quod sæpe accidit. Si Gilbertum[3] recipiendum putetis, quia ejus salutem propter optimos parentes et sui etiam causa vehementer cupimus, experiemur aliquandiu. Scribit ad me humillimas literas, culpam priorem partim excusans, partim deprecans. Pollicetur omnem obedientiam, omnes labores suos omnemque conformationem sine omni exceptione. Ego scribo ad ipsum. Cura quæso, pater, ut ipsi dentur hæ literæ. Baileus etiam facile sperat, quia amat ipsum. Meos istic omnes diligo nunc vere in Christo, quia undique ad me scribitur cunctos in summa pace et erga vos obedientia vivere gnaviterque studere; quo certe nihil mihi in rebus mortalibus potest esse nunc optabilius. Meum Gulielmum Haukesworthum propter sanguinis conjunctionem summe cupio bonum et doctum esse. Ipsum vestro amori, PP. confessarii, præfecti, et optimi P. ministri, quanto est fragilior tanto commendo magis.

Biscopus[4] fuit captus in portu, sua vel simplicitate vel divina Providentia, cum

[1] John Cornelius, martyr, 4 July, 1594. [2] On St. Stephen's day. [3] Gilbert Gifford.

[4] "Capti sunt nuperrime tres ex vestris sacerdotibus, Arthurus Pittus, Georgius Haddocus et Bishopus. Quorum priores duo eodem die Londini simul cum juvenibus quibusdam nobilibus comprehensi; Bishopus in portu examinatus cum subdubie responderet retentus est, cum eodem tempore duo alii sacerdotes eo quod alacriter et expedite loquerentur dimittebantur. Petebant a Bishopo quodnam genus vitæ profiteretur? Respondit ille mercaturam. Iterum quæsitum est, quarum mercium? Ille obticuit; et cum paulo vehementius urgeretur, fassus est se esse sacerdotem. Unde postero die ad Concilium regium ductus constantissimam fecit fidei confessionem et in carcerem con-

alii duo sacerdotes nostri in ejus comitatu sine omni periculo aut quæstione evaserint. Seipsum ita quasi aperuisse vel prodidisse dicitur, ut ipse portus præfectus fuerit, vel invitus, coactus ipsum ad Consilium mittere. Quid postea evenerit non audio hactenus. Sic scribit P. Robertus, qui non potest adhuc consequi acta publica in beatorum martyrum condemnatione, secundum quæ cupimus prolixam et particularem historiam scribere; alioquin jam pridem dedissemus aliquid tale prælo. Quidam est etiam incertus rumor quod Arthurus Pits et nescio quis alius inciderit in manus hostium. Sed ego obtundo vos tam longa narratione et oculos etiam offendam hac rudi et veloci scriptione, sed parcite amori; petoque a V. P. meisque omnibus ut mei peccatoris aliquando hoc sacro tempore reminiscantur apud sanctos Apostolos et Martyres. P. Fabritii epistola habuit aliquid de mittenda nobis oratione Cornelii nostri; sed non comparet. Scribemus forsan literas ad reverendissimum D. Datarium in gratiarum actionem, quas P. V. tradet. Vide si non sint petendæ literæ patentes R. P. mei Patris Generalis ad collegia sua ubicunque locorum, ut nostros procuratores, cum ad ipsa pervenerint, dignentur juvare et collectam pecuniam transmittere modo quo possunt commodiori, etc. Christus Jesus V. P. diutissime in sua charitate custodiat. Remis, 3 Martii, 1582.

V. R. P. filius et conservus in Domino,

G. ALANUS.

Dignetur R. V. solvere 10 scuta D. Gulielmo Wiges, si petat, pro totidem hic depositis.

Addressed.

Reverendo P. rectori collegii Anglorum. Romæ.

LVIII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Paris, 28 March, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 63.

Ex variis jam pridem Roma præsertim RR.PP. Gulielmi et Fabricii itemque D. Gilberti literis intellexi tuam r. febre et catarro his diebus laborasse: de quo et nostra et vestra et multorum causa doleo; sed illud me bene habuit quod prædicti amici adscripserant vos convalescere jam, nec morbum fuisse gravem. De illis Literis Apostolicis magna omnibus spes; de quibus coacti sumus hoc tempore Lutetiam venire, cum

jectus est. Tamen non multis probatur tanta simplicitas apud astutissimas vulpes. Sed quid dicemus? Deus mirabilis est in Providentia sua nobis incognita. Admonebatur Bishopus hujus rei tum cum mare ingressurus erat, sed ille rerum divinarum meditationi tam intentus videbatur ut rerum humanarum plane oblivisceretur. Forsan hoc voluit Deus contingere ut adversarius cerneret minime esse deterritos homines recenti martyrum nece quominus inceptum opus animose prosequantur." F. Persons to F. Agazzari. 1 March, 1582. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 27.

præsentia D. Bailei non judicaretur satis. Reverendissimus D. Nuntius Apostolicus multis modis nobis favet, habuitque peculiare a sua Sanctitate mandatum; tamen neque Parisiis neque in Galliis expectamus multum, colligendi enim modum convenientem qualem istic sequimini non inibunt. Facimus in eam rem omnia quæ possumus per patronos, amicos, nos ipsos; et patres (quantum licet) urgent non solum hic per se sed per universam Galliam. Fiat voluntas Domini. Si exurgat in Italia et Hispania summa aliqua magna su[pra] quam nunc ad solutionem debitorum et annuam sustentationem suffecerit, et aliquid nostratibus extra collegium constitutis impertiri potest, et reliqua pecunia potest nostro, id est, collegii hujus nomine illic vestro consilio in aliquem montem meliori et tutiori quo potest modo transferri, ut venturis continuis collegii impensis provideatur. Hac enim provisione nimis large effusa et consumpta, non est quod alium ullum modum faciendi pecuniam expectemus. Ubi autem de collecta pecunia quæ supererit collocanda constitutum erit, cupio mihi mitti conceptam formulam procuratorii juxta quam queam instrumentum authenticum nostro et collegii Remensis nomine vobis et rectoribus collegii Romani futuris mittere ad totius illius negotii procurationem. Reverende pater, dicat quæso V. R. Joanni Pricio nos recepisse a patre ipsius 100 aureos; pro fratre ejus apud nos 50, pro ipso alios 50; quos potestis accipere de provisione nostra et in rationes vestras nostrasque ducere. Curavimus hic excudi patrum consilio Literas Apostolicas gallice. Multum juvabit collectam illic apud vos libellus de Persecutione Anglicana quem scripsit P. Robertus; sed hoc non debet ab omnibus sciri. Sed ita cursitando istas plateas Lutetianas sum occupatus et defessus ut non vacet plura ad V. R. P. nec ad alios scribere. Igitur vale, multum in Domino dilectissime. Parisiis, [2]8[1] Martii, 1582.

Vester,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

Tradantur quæso hæ literæ illustrissimo Cardinali Senonensi, quibus ipsi gratias agimus, etc.

Addressed.

Reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazerio, collegii Anglicani rectori. Romæ.

LIX.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, Easter Monday, 16 April, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 65.

Pax Christi.

Literæ V. R. P. 19 Martii datæ eo nomine fuere gratiores quod post ægritudinem vestram erant primæ, et quasi convalescentiæ nuntiæ. Neque enim potest aliquid læ-

[1] The figure 2 is worn away in the MS. but has been supplied in the text from an old endorsement on the letter.

tius nobis nunc Roma scribi quam te bene valere, in quo tam multa erga nos nationemque nostram sita sunt; cum et cætera plurima antea et nunc ingentia tam spiritualia quam corporalia istinc afflictissimis rebus nostris vestra in primis opera dimanent bona: quæ dum procuras, nollem (id tamen quidem certe vereor) nimia in nos cura ac animi anxietate valetudinem lædi tuam, nedum ulla illorum dyscolorum juvenum vel ingratitudine vel incivilitate animum angi tuum. Faciunt illi cum tentatione proventum, cum agitatione clariorem virtutem tuam, nobisque vivis nunquam per Dei gratiam proficient. Proinde macte virtute, pater et collega amantissime: sit animus tuus in illo corpusculo fragili insuperabilis. Meus spiritus jam diu ad omnes adversos casus per Deum induruit; sed et consolationibus ab illa Urbe vestra et collegio repletus est.

Literæ clarissimi domini Hieronimi Hurtadi, qui est amicus meus a Deo datus, et charissimi domini Georgii Gilberti mirifice sunt nos omnes consolatæ, sed et pudore nos profecto affecerunt quod cernamus illam Urbem ita esse affectam pro nostris miseriis ut nos ipsi nec illas preces nec illas lachrymas nec illam pietatem nec illam sympathiam Anglicanarum calamitum adhibeamus. Et ego certe sic sentio, gentem nostram (nisi Dei hic consilia de nobis sint valde profunda) tanto omnium studio Sedisque Apostolicæ labore conquæsitam non posse perire, salutemque nostram propiorem esse quam putemus. Saltem, mi pater, spes non confundit, et pro eo laborare ac certare usque ad mortem mihi quidem est necessarium, tibi autem meritorium nimis per omnem modum.

Quod dominus Georgius scribit de quorundam alumnorum vestrorum, filiorum meorum charissimorum, studio, diligentia ac zelo in emendicatione stationaria pro nobis vehementer placuit, non propter emolumentum adeo, sed propter pium et Christianum affectum quo nostros esse imbutos summopere semper lætor. Multo tamen pulchrius et mirabilius visum est illud totum quod descripsit sigillatim de quadragena prece et personis variis temporibus eam obeuntibus cæterisque quæ fiunt et dicuntur a concionatoribus circa istam collectam. Omnia sunt plena divinissimi solatii. D. Gilbertus insinuavit suis literis posse hujusmodi indulgentiam obtineri pro nobis propter similem precem quadraginta horarum. Sed nos nullam habemus ecclesiam nostram, et eam qua utimur vix concedunt ad unam alteramve missam quotidie faciendam, ita est parochialibus occupata officiis, et præterea excitaret nobis vel invidiam vel suspicionem apud rudiorem populum ac etiam religiosos nonnullos, quos omni diligentia et officio placatos cupimus, ut habitatio nostra sit pacifica. Quæ res fecit ut prudentum consilio judicetur nullo modo expedire ut Breve Apostolicum de conferenda nobis eleemosyna hic legatur vel publicetur, atque nec in vicinis quidem urbibus hujus diœcesis vel provinciæ. Pauperes enim et religiosi mendicantes multum de nobis putarentur conquesturi quod populi eleemosynas ab ipsis interciperemus. Illustrissimus D. Cardinalis a Guisia, hujus loci archiepiscopus, cui ego Parisiis tradidi illustrissimi D. Protectoris de ea re literas, lubentissime fecisset quidvis, sed putavit potius (quod et nos ac amici

prudentissimi judicarunt) ut secreto tantum a quibusdam devotioribus personis subsidium peteretur, quibus Breve suæ Sanctitatis ostendi possit non minore commodo quam si publicaretur. Atque sua Celsitudo dedit jam pridem centum coronatos nobis, dicitque se in singulos annos daturum; quod est multum in Principe juvene et in aula exhausta. Vel hac vice vel proxima scribam literas pro actione gratiarum ad illustrissimum D. Protectorem pro tam variis hujus causa collectæ scriptis ad prælatos literis, quibus se mire nostri faventem ostendit; et petam ab ipso ut dignetur uno verbulo scribere ad prædictum Cardinalem de Guisia, ut significet hoc quod præstitit nobis esse sibi, imo suæ Sanctitati, pergratum: quod faciet ipsum (sicut mihi pollicitus est) imposterum etiam idem præstare; nam hujusmodi principes multum commoventur talibus collaudationibus. Sive hoc tempore sive proximo meæ ad Protectorem literæ ad vos venerint, dignetur tua paternitas easdem tradere, et agere apud ipsius secretarium ut tales ad Cardinalem Guisium scribantur literæ. Et licet hic non publicentur Literæ Pontificis, tamen concionator quadragesimalis in magno templo vir excellens nostram causam incredibili vi dicendi agit, et hominibus ecclesiasticis aliisque melioris notæ viris etiam Pontificis voluntatem ac literas ostendit; sicut et dominus Frisonius facit, qui est potens in hac civitate et multa nobis bona præstat. Ac nonnihil quidem pecuniarum et vini aliquot vasa nobis boni dederunt hac quadragesima. Cæterum ex Galliis nunquam speravi magnam fore collectam. 30 pene diebus partim Bayleus, partim ipse Parisiis fuimus, tamen, vel reverendissimo D. Nuntio instante apud Episcopum et concionatores, vix ante discessum nostrum poterat ulla colligendi utilis ratio inveniri. Suggessimus modum Romanum quo utimini; sed [non] inveniebantur prælati qui id facerent. Aliqui tamen habent magnam spem; sed quid sit futurum pauci dies declarabunt. Covertus est mire diligens. Cæteri qui in illa urbe nobiles et alii ex clero sparsim vivunt non apponunt manum ad opus; incipiunt tamen mussitare et vendicare partem futuri emolumenti; de quo latius scribam ad D. Gilbertum. Quicquid sit, quia aliquid magni in tam multis nationibus erogari est verisimile, ego non modo confidenter recipiam dignos quosque adventantes (quotidie autem veniunt) sed animus est evocare quosdam ingenio magis claro eruditioneque aut indole insignes et præmiis quasi allicere; quod antea non potui facere. Habebo enim, si possum, secretum procuratorem Oxonii, Cantabrigiæ et etiam Londini, qui continuo notabunt et tractabunt cum talibus ut ad nos concedant, ac, si opus fuerit, etiam viaticum nostro nomine dent. Sed de his hactenus.

Scripsi ante mensem de pecunia domini Gilberti, quam desideravimus illic per vos ipsi solvi de nostra pensione vel aliunde nunc ex illa collecta. Ipse quoque proximis literis ad me de eadem re scripsit; atque quod attinet ad rationes discriminis in commutatione, licet nobis multum (ut scitis) perderetur si demus pistoletum pro pistoleto, cum Parisiis semper accipiamus coronatum gallicum pro scuto auri in auro, tamen quia omnia debemus domino Gilberto, non est opus esse exactos aut scrupulosos: quod adscribo quia ipse in suis literis hoc postulat ut possit recipere pro pistoleto hic

pistoletum vel scutum auri in auro apud vos. Sum contentus; nam omnia sua nostra sunt et nostra sua.

Video vos misisse 500 scuta Parisios per proximas literas, et in his primitias collectæ sanctæ. Sit benedictus Deus. Veniunt illæ pecuniæ tempestive, quia nunc solvimus pro impressione Testamenti et alterius libri quem Martinus[1] fecit. Sed hei mihi, pater, vereor ne Martinus quoque pereat nobis secundum hoc sæculum, nam incidit in eum plane morbum quo Bristous[2] pridem extinctus est. Fiant, quæso, pro illo a sodalibus illic nostris orationes et sacrificia. Si illo privemur etiam, sicut jam pridem caremus Bristoo, debemus necessario petere Barettum propter istos quos nunc expectamus; sed de hac re alias fusius. De illo Duacensi Lentuilero, cui ad instantiam cujusdam patris Societatis mutuo dedistis aliquot aureos nobis hic reddendos, nihil hactenus satisfactionis sentio, et pene sumus exclusi ab omni illorum locorum commercio; ita miles omnes vias occupat. Si quid obveniat postea intra illud tempus quod debitori præscripsistis significabo.

Scribit ad me P. Engeamus de quodam familiari quondam suo, musices perito, quem apud nos esse audierat. Sed hic non est quisquam eo nomine aut arte excellens aut multum exercitatus, quod sciam. Sunt duo aut tres qui mediocriter tantum cantant, et unus qui organis scit, sed notabiliter nullus; vix etenim mediocritatem attigerunt; et eos misissem aut imposterum mitterem, si non essent viri provecti et jam parum ad studia ac disciplinam vestram accommodati. Si vultis tamen dabimus. Sed si ex Anglia pueri in ea scientia educati evocarentur, melius esset consultum vestro choro: vix enim, ut nunc sunt tempora, reperiemus ullos qui et catholici sint et bonarum literarum ac musices gnari. Tentabimus tamen omnia. Scripsit ea de re ad P. Rob. etiam D. Gilbertus. Saluta, quæso, optimum patrem ministrum, cujus desiderio in hac re sancto vere cupio satisfactum esse. Multam etiam salutem p. præfecto studiorum, P. Mutio charissimo, ac reliquis coadjutoribus nostris amantissimis, denique optimo patri meo Gulielmo Good, cujus literas recipio et lego lubenter et earum omnia puncta recondo apud me semper diligentissime, licet ad singula scribere non soleam. Vale, mi pater dulcissime. Valeant omnes dilectissimi mihi juvenes. Remis, 2 feria Paschæ, 1582.

Vester totus,

ALANUS.

Cum P. Goro Parisiis locutus sum quæ videbantur mihi necessaria. Credo quod dimiserit priores cogitationes. Vivit solitarie et melancholice. Facit tamen sacrum, ut opinor, quotidie. De paupertate questus est apud me et quod justo metu sui et amicorum non posset ire in Angliam.

Addressed.

Reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazario, collegii Anglicani in Urbe rectori [prude]ntissimo. Romæ.

[1] The Rev. Gregory Martin.

[2] Dr Richard Bristow (+14 October, 1581).

LX.

Dr William Allen to Pope Gregory XIII. St. Denis, 24 April, 1582.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Inghilterra, Vol. I., pag. 227).

Beatissime Pater.

Etsi raro ac timide propter excelsam dignitatem tuam ipse ad te scribo, et frequentissimis postulatis nostris vel clementissimi Protectoris nostri vel illustrissimi Cardinalis Comensis patrocinio ac intercessione annuere soleas, tamen facit nunc negotii [1] ac desiderii nostri magnitudo ut meis etiam literis Sanctitatem tuam confidentius alloquar. Lator igitur præsentium r. pater Gulielmus Creyttonius e Societate Nominis Jesu, in Scotiam ante aliquot menses superiorum jussu profectus, rediit his diebus cum amplissimis ab illius gentis principibus viris mandatis ac instructionibus

[1] "Another cause also of my coming over [from England to France] was to make a mission of Scotch fathers into Scotland, which by letters I had procured before from the General, and F. Edw. Hayes and F. William Critton were appointed, but first to take direction from me: wherfore upon conference with F. Critton at Roan, he went into Scotland and I sent Rafe Emerson with him and promised to expect his returne at Roan, as I did. F. Critton returned in April, 1582, and brought answer from the Duke of Lenox, then governor of Scotland and of the young King, to the full contentment of the Duke of Guise (with whome we had conferred before att his house at Ewe, in Normandy about the advancement of the Catholic cause in both realmes of England and Scotland and for the delivery of the Q. of Scotts then prisoner) and therupon we repayring to him againe to give him the answer, he first gave me a hundred pound a yeare for a seminary of English youth in Ewe, and the fathers gave me the use of a house for them: whereupon I called Mr Man, otherwise Chambers, to the government thereof: it lasted until the yeare 1588 that the Duke was slayne. After this established, he went to Paris with us and calling thither Dr Allen and F. Claudius Matthæus he consulted in Paris with the Pope's Nuncius, the Archbishop of Glasco and the Spanish embassador; in which consultation it was agreed that I must needes be sent to Spaine and F. Critton to Rome to propose the necessities of both kingdomes for restoring the catholic religion. We departed from Paris primo Maii, and I arryved in Lisboe 15 June with noe small paines."—Autobiographical notes by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 229.

"Tornato il P. Crittono e riferito il stato delle cose in Scotia, si congregarono in Parigi il Nuncio Apostolico, vescovo di Rimini, insieme con l'arcivescovo di Glasco, Scozzese, ambasciatore della Regina di Scotia che stava prigione, e Gio. Batt[a] Tassis, ambasciatore del Re Cattolico, et il Duca di Guiza; et alla medesima consulta chiamarono il P. Claudio Matteo, provinciale di Francia, et il dottor Alano, presidente del seminario di Rhemis: e tutti furono di parere che si dovesse rappresentare il caso a Papa Gregorio XIII. et al Re di Spagna; e per esser negotio della religione e di tanta importanza e bisogno, determinarono che andasse al Papa il P. Crittono et al Re di Spagna il P. Personio, i quali, benchè vedevano le difficoltà di cosi lunghi viaggi, tuttavia commandandoglilo il Nuncio Apostolico e persuadendoglilo li altri non pottetero ricusare."—Punti della Missione d'Inghilterra by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 34. Compare the despatch in cipher of the Nuncio at Paris to the Cardinal of Como, 22 May, 1582. First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 337. A joint letter from F. William Creytton and F. Edmund Hay to F. Agazzari, Paris, 16 January, 1582, shows that the former had not left France at that date. Archives of the see of Westminster. III., 7.

ad S. V. et suam Ma^tem Catholicam, jussus antea, quia negotium ad Angliæ quoque nostræ salutem pertinebat, R^mo D. Glasguensi, serenissimæ Reginæ Scotiæ oratori, et mihi rem omnem communicare. Convenimus in locum a domino oratore constitutum, collocuti sumus, consensimus summam esse pro utraque natione et (nisi fallimur) pene postremam rei bene gerendæ occasionem. Judicavimus quoque primo ac eodem tempore P. Creyttonium ad B. V. et R. P. Robertum Personium, rerum Anglicarum totiusque causæ scientissimum hominem, ad serenissimum Regem Hispaniarum mittendos. Quia ergo utramque nationem salvam esse cupimus, et quia post Christum non habemus alium præter S. V. in quo confidamus, et quia serenissimus Rex tua Beatitudine instigante rem tam gloriosam, tam ecclesiæ tamque sibi quam nobis salutarem et necessariam, aggredi tandem S. V. auspiciis non recusabit, quia denique optamus et speramus fore ut in diebus tuis, Beatissime Pater, videas hoc tantum bonum, projectus supplex ad pedes beatissimos rogo te, parens ac pastor unice, per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri ut hunc patrem clementer exaudias et ut hoc unico tandem ac summo beneficio cætera omnia in Britanniam nostram divina ac infinita merita compleas ac concludas: hoc enim liberalitatis compendio et S. S. et Sedem Apostolicam ab infinitis ac diuturnis molestiis et expensis (ut speramus) vendicabit. Post sanctissimorum pedum oscula precor Christum Jesum, tui celsissimi præsulatus institutorem ac datorem, ut S. V. nobis multis annis felicem et florentem conservet. Datum apud fanum D. Dyonisii in Francia, 24 Aprilis, 1582.

Beatitudinis vestræ humillimus servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

Addressed.

S^mo Domino Nostro.

LXI.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como, [St. Denis] 24 April, 1582.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Inghilterra, Vol. I., pag. 228).

Ill^me ac R^me domine; De ill^mo domino Bernardino Mendosio quod dignatus es apud S. D. nostrum agere, deque benignissimis literis humillimas ago gratias; gaudebunt etenim nostrates catholici quos continuo mirifice juvat et consolatur, atque in hoc negotio maximo, quod R. P. Gulielmus Crittonius apud Sanctitatem suam aget, primas pro incredibili pietate sua partes tenet.

Totius Insulæ, sapientissime Cardinalis, Christo ac legitimo Principi restituendæ magna hoc tempore (nisi fallimur) ac pene postrema existit spes, sicut idem pater qui ista dabit et sua experientia et principum Scotiæ mandatis ac instructionibus et aliquorum hic summorum virorum judicio coram tuæ Celsitudini declarabit fusius.

Ipsum ergo quæso, ill^me domine, pro tuo in ecclesiam, in gentem nostram, in me

ipsum etiam antiquum studium ac amorem[1] clementer exaudi et solita benignitate apud Sanctitatem suam pro nobis, id est, pro utroque regno ac universa Britannia recuperanda quantum potes et licet intercede: bonorum[2] ac prudentum omnium hic est pene communis sensus, nisi hoc anno et his mensibus succurratur nobis, summam rei bene gerendæ occasionem abire. Magna est hæreticorum nostrorum desperatio, furor, metus; catholicorum incomparabilis patientia, constantia, expectatio; Scotiæ talis opportunitas et tanta principum virorum in hanc rem animorumque conspiratio ut nihil his annis hactenus tale acciderit. Quid autem sit iste diligenter commemorabit. Exiit aliud edictum ab Herodiade nostra, publicatum Londini primo Aprilis, in quo continetur apologia condemnationis ac mortis Campiani ac duorum simul cum illo occisorum sacerdotum, ut ita utcumque satisfiat populo de ipsorum iniquissima damnatione variis libellis, carminibus, vocibus conquerenti; ac deinde declarantur læsæ majestatis rei Jesuitæ omnes atque utriusque collegii studiosi singuli; fisco denique jubentur addici ipso facto eorum omnium bona ac possessiones, atque personas perpetuo carceri tradi, qui ex seminariis vel Societate quempiam redeuntem in domum receperint, aluerint, juverint; postremo sub pœna capitis jubet omnes studiosos intra tres menses in Insulam redire. Sed ita vivat Gregorius 13, ita valeas patrone optime, et non terremur. Vale. Aprilis 24, 1582.

Vestræ Ill^mæ Dominationis orator et servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

On the back.

Lator præsentium tam diu superiorum jussu hic expectavit ut illustrissimi Ducis Guisiani judicium accesserit, qui et vitam ac omnia studia sua lubenter in hanc rem impendet.

Addressed.

Ill^mo ac R^mo in Christo patri ac domino, D. Cardinali Comensi. Romam.

LXII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. [Reims] 4 May, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 79.

Reverende mi pater; Jam mensis est fere quod nihil literarum a vobis, nec ex Urbe; cum interim tamen non obliti nostri bis miseritis per literas (ut per Covertum nostrum intelligo) pecunias, 500 prius partim pro pensione menstrua partim pro collecta, deinde iterum 800 scuta. Nunc ego scribo raptim cum ad P. V. tum (quia scribere omnino hac vice debui) ad illustrissimum D. Protectorem; cui in his literis mitto exemplar novi furiosi edicti versi latine, cujus anglicam copiam vobis per P. Gulielmum Goodum aut D. Gilbertum interpretandam mitto. De glorioso Payni presbyteri martyrio quod subiit in patibulo 5 Aprilis scio audivistis. Non erat unus ex prius

[1] *antiquo studio ac amore?* [2] *enim* omitted?

condemnatis, sed alius propter similem causam. Non potui plura scribere; nisi illud non sciatis, Nicolaum vestrum Smithum iterum ingressum Societatem cum aliis e nostris duobus, qui tamen sunt collocati in variis collegiis. Valete in Christo: fusius postea. 4 Maii, 1582.

Vester totus,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, rectori. Romam.

LXIII.

Dr William Allen to [Mr George Gilbert]. Reims, 12 May, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 83.

My derest good friend and sir; By yours and good father Rectors of the 17 of April, as well by the contents as by consyderation of the time, I feare one packet and postage is miscaried. For in deede you make mention of your former of the 2 of Aprel, which you say conteined certayne things which you wold not repeat, as father Rector also doth, of 1600 crownes made at soondry times to Paris of the Lent collection, wheras we heare of none but 800 and 300, which make 1100 onely: wherby and because none came of a month together, and also for that you make mention of a letter from father minister which is not received, I doubt much our packet of that toorne is wholy intercepted or lost; wherafter I harkened in Paris as wel as I could, but can have no certaynty; and now we feare every thing, so great treachery is used every way towards us. And allso because of thes accompts and billes of exchange we must be more wary. Signifye to good father Rector the case, I pray you particularly, specially about the moony matters, that it may be lesse troublesom to him, who I feare be tow much pestered and distracted with our affayres, whom God reward according to the measure of his aboundant charity towards us. I wrote to him the last day and perchance shall not write to him now, praying yow to supply all. That he may understand the matter better, thes be his words in his last to me that were written 17 Aprilis. *Misimus ad vos pro ista causa* 1600 *scuta*[1] *superioribus tabellariis Reliqua quæ hic habemus vel aliunde recipiemus servabuntur quousque significetis nobis mentem vestram, secundum ea quæ scripsit vobis in proximis literis dominus Georgius.* Unto which I can not answer, because those your letters be not received nor so much moony heard of: as yet onely we have received by father Rectors letters 18 Martii 500 scuta, videlicet 200 for our ordinary pension and 300 for the collection, and afterward 800 scuta for the collection; so as ther semeth to be 500 scuta made by som other letters which we yet heare not of. Thus much intimate, I pray you. Touching your owne 100li with the odde six crownes, which afterward Mr Shelton

[1] In the MS. the word *scuta* is represented by an equilateral triangle standing on its apex with the letters *ta* written above on the right hand of the base.

added conformably to Mr Deacons rekening, and we are to answere for all and you are to receive it ther at father Rectors hands of what moony so ever belongeth to us, what difference or losse ther was in thexchaunge from England I know not, but the difference of the exchaunge betwixt Paris and Rome (thoughe ther must be in every peece ether lost to you or to us ii soulz) yet shal not be counted nor cared for betwene us; for that that you win we shal not loose. Therfore I willed father Rector to pay you so that ther be no loss to you: and let that so end; let father Rector and you order that matter as you like. Farther, Sir, about moony matters; here is one Mr Robert Walley that hath here 1000 crownes, and wold gladly receive the same in Rome and bank the same or bye a rent as you and Mr Basset[1] intend to doo. I pray you know of father Rector whether he shall be able shortly to pay him of any money of ours so much, that is, 1000 scuta auri in auro.

No grateful effect ryseth yet in any place that I heare of of this collection, saving in Italy and Rome specially; which we attribut much to good father Rectors great diligence and charity. For Spayne we will doo no other but as you and Signor Hieronimo Hurtado counselleth. Mary, my L. Dutches[2] that never cumeth abrode can be no solliciter, and to doo it by servaunts will not be fit. Sir F.[3] keepeth his chamber, good gentleman, altogether, and can doo nothing. I trust the Cardinal our good Protectors letters will doo much, and Father Generals presence ther specially; of whose absence for all that from Rome I feare we shall have exceeding great want. God graunt his vicar-general be as favorable, and specially that ther be no chaunge of our Rector. Whereof I conceive som feare, for that F. Rector writeth to me of his going to Sienna. If you see any apparaunce of such a thing, for love of God make sute in my name to our Protector for his staying, and what so ever you doo therin I will confirme by my letters to the Protectors grace. Yf father Rector be coom home from Sienna, I wold have him and you together, or whether of you shal be thought most fit, to deliver this my letter enclosed to the Lord Cardinal Savello,[4] which I write to his Grace for thanks for his goodnes to our college and nation, but upon occasion of a little sute touching a license to be obtayned by his L. favor for a certayne French doctor of good renowne here in Fraunce, of Sorbon, *canonicus et ecclesiastes Bellovacensis*, a great dooer against heretiks and of mervelous zele, one that hath doone as much for our nation and loveth me and this college as well as any in all Fraunce: his name Gulielmus Lucanus and of the qualities before sayde. Now my requist is to

[1] Charles Basset was sent to Rome by F. Persons in the autumn of 1581 with a letter of introduction to F. Agazzari, in which he writes: "Juvenis est familiæ illustris et divitis quique, si cætera non essent, eo solo nomine vobis carus esse deberet quod pronepos sit illustrissimi martyris Thomæ Mori; sed habet adhuc alia in seipso clariora; habet enim ingenium, mores, virtutes, digna se suisque majoribus et (nisi fallor) dignissima illo vestro sancto contubernio." Stonyhurst MSS. P. 17.
[2] Duchess of Feria. [3] Sir Francis Englefield. [4] James Cardinal Savelli, one of the Cardinals of the Holy Office and Cardinal Vicar of Rome.

you, my good frind, specially (that father Rector may be the lesse troobled) that you wold for my sake vouchsafe [to] cause a supplication to be drawne in forme of that Court contening his name and dignities and his learning and continual travels against heretiks, and asking humbly license to read all heretical bookes for ther better refutation; and to offer it together with my letter or as he shall will you, and to cause som body to sollicit it and he shal have for his labor. This I desire very hartely to be done with as much speede as you can, for the man is an excellent good man, and we are much beholden to him. So much for that poynt.

I will write nothing of father Persons, of whose affayres you may allwayes know by his owne letters sooner then by myne specially at this present. Of your mens[1] imprisonment, seeing it is doone, it were not to be wisshed other wayes: and assure you if yet they should goe into England, they wold undow thousants. Therfor be not beguiled. I thank you for helping Mr Thwing with necessaries or credit till his moony be payed, which was but forgetfulnes on our parts here. I much desire that the poore gentleman should speade well, but the disorder of som maketh others fare worse. Tell Mr Thwing, I pray you, that I have received his letters, and am very glad of his and the rests safe arrivall. Remember also to tell W. Hart that I have received his letter, but have not leisure to answer him at this time, and the rather for that the matter he moveth is of importance. You see how, to save me som labor, I am bold to make your letter the shop of other men's affayres. Mr Tresham is gone from here to Paris. Your letters to him I will send to him.

Cardinal Como wrote to me this weeke that I shall now be able to foornish our priests, if any neede for Scotland, of my selfe without his Holines charge of this almes, which was hoped wold aryse *ad non modicam summam*. Those were his words, written as from the Pope unto me, upon other occasions. Wherby you may conjecture the Popes Holines wold be as much eased as he can, and therfore we must take heede to be too bold: allthough we must advertise his Holines, as occasion serveth, that if all extraordinary borthens be layde upon us by reason of this collection, all will be spent at once and we shall be as new to begin the next yeare as ever we were, when all other meanes of help but his Holines shall fayle; and that this almes must pay our debts and serve us some yeares to coom, if it aryse to any such som as perhaps his

[1] Robert Alfield, brother of the martyr Thomas and servant of F. Persons when he was on the mission in England, and Roger, "tutti due di natura feroce, mostrandosi scontenti e minacciando che volevano tornar in Inghilterra, il Papa Gregorio per più sicurtà li haveva posti sotto custodia, benche continuandoli sempre la pensione che prima li haveva dato; ma loro dimandavano la libertà, et Agazzario scrisse ad Alano che consultasse il caso con il Personio se fosse tornato da Spagna o almanco ne scrivesse il suo parere: il quale rispose per lettera di 23 Apr. [1583] ... Con questa risposta il P. Agazzario li procurò la libertà e la continuazione della pensione da pagarsili in Francia, come essi havevano dimandato, e Rogerio fece bene, ma Roberto Alfildo divenne triste e sciagurato e fece di poi gran male in Inghilterra." —Punti della missione d'Inghilterra by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 32, 43.

Holines thinketh; as I think veryly will not prove so. Well, God will provide for us I trust. All that is yet gathered, for any that I know, will not pay for the printing of our bookes this yeare past.

You are desirous of two Testaments one for your selfe and another for your good son,[1] to whome I pray you commend me hartely. But I think it not good to send them, as you require, by post ether of your pourse or ours; for they will stand in 10 or 12 crownes the cariage by post, and by mulitors they will not coom to you this halfe yeare; and therfore I thought better to stay both them and two other bookes, that F. Robert sendeth, of devotion till som of our owne folkes coom by horse. In the meane time, if promes be kept, I shall have two there er it be loung, one for the college which goe indifferently and which you may specially occupye in term, another to my L. of S. Assaph. Those from F. Persons a certayne yonge gentleman of the ynnes of court called Dolman should have brought them up, intending to have coom up now this spring, but finding the time far spent he toorned hether to us till the fall of the leafe. Our priests appeare not yet. I am in great joy of hart that you all ther be so quiet and in such a blessed peace. Tell all my loving bretheren and children so, and that if they wold have me live longe to serve them and my coontry, for which onely I desyre to live, lett them study to kepe order, unity and obedience, and love that good Rector whose charity and his bretherens towards us all is surely incomparable. Embrace them al for me beginning with old Richard Barret,[2] whose letters not longe sith I received. Mr Tirell writeth that he hath written som what to me before concerning Mr. Banes, for whose troobles I am right sory; but tell him, I pray you, that I have not received his letters. I have no more els now to say to you but that I send you here inclosed a little peece of father Campians holy ribbe. Take halfe to your selfe and give thother halfe to father Rector. Commend me to father Good, father minister, father Pallevicino and all els. Christ Jesus keepe you, and blesse you. Reims, this 12 of May, 1582.[3]

W. ALLEN.

LXIV.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 28 May, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 95.

Jesus.

Spero te, mi pater, jam pridem Senis ad suos rediisse; atque ne diu absis vehementer velim, licet illam vacationem a nostrorum continuis negotiis perquam tibi

[1] *i.e.* godson. [2] Dr Richard Barret, "huomo grave, il quale era stato primo procuratore dell'università d'Ossoniò in Inghilterra, che è ufficio principale in quella università, e di poi fatto catholico venne a Roma."—Punti della missione d'Inghilterra by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 37. [3] The date 1582 is from an old endorsement. The letter is without address, but was evidently written to Mr George Gilbert.

necessariam esse judicem, cupiamque supra omnia vitam et valetudinem diutissime nobis servatam. Abfui etiam ipse domo aliquoties superioribus diebus non ad recreationem mentis aut corporis, quæ mihi esset quoque necessaria, sed ad quædam gravia expedienda negotia, nec eram domi cum appulerunt patres vestri cum Rob. Middelmoro; quæ res fecit ut diutius hic quam vellem manerent; neque enim adhuc quisquam præter P. Bellum discessit, cum hic sit decimus octavus dies a quo advenerunt. Sed tres crastina die videntur per Dei gratiam cum totidem ex nostris presbyteris profecturi. P. Coulinus nihil mihi hactenus de hic subsistendo dixit; sed non videtur abiturire multum. Persecutio viget in Anglia supra modum: animi etiam nostrorum ad perferendum mire ardent, nec unquam tam ardenter isti sacerdotes ut mittantur postulant atque nunc. Sunt duodecim hic qui hoc tempore istud ambiunt. Male cessit tamen isti misero P. Osborno, qui per recantationem, prædicationem contra catholicos et communicationem cum hæreticis multum scandali dedit, quod primum fecisse dicitur Dominica in Albis. Gilbertus Gyffordius nondum comparet: sed, de quo magis doleo, nec ipse Gulielmus[1] quem reliquerunt infirmum in via. Quod iste cum bona gratia et spe meliori a vobis discesserit lætor plurimum: multum enim refert ut illum non perdamus, atque cognatum ejus salvum esse non sibi solum sed aliis quoque expedit. Tam multæ sane et tam magnæ difficultates in istorum et similium recta tractatione ac dispositione existunt ut et tui me misereat et me ipse sæpe miserum judicem et ex hoc facile conjiciam quanta sit cura animarum in istis magnis prælatis, et quam recte ille dixit, "ars artium cura animarum," cum nos in pauculis juvenibus pene imberbibus tantopere laborare cogamur. Sed magna erit merces tua, Alfonse pater et collega, nonnulla etiam pro peccatis meis (quæ magna sunt) satisfactio quod ista feramus et faciamus libenter. Et ego pro certo et comperto habeo quod possemus facilius in Anglia animas mille dirigere ad salutem quam centum in exilio isto, quod per se generat murmurationes, querelas, contradictiones et (ut hic in Gallia appellamus) discontentationes. Dum traducit Moyses populum per desertum, gravia perpetitur. Etiam tum quando Deus pluit manna et cothurnices et aquam de rupibus, non sunt contenti, sed animus in patinis Ægyptiis, et Chore conspirat, insurgit Dathan, vexat Abyron, socios asciscunt multos. Istud est proprium exulum; sed non debemus deficere. Dico hoc non solum propter quasdam quas patimini difficultates illic, sed propter eas quas nos quoque sustinemus. Et fortasse audietis mirabilem de quodam[2] qui hic quadriennium delituit inter nos exploratore historiam intra paucos dies: ejus enim, volente et providente Deo, traditio ac tractatio cum consiliariis Reginæ jam mihi quadantenus innotescit; cum ipse interim quotidie missam faciat nec adhuc se intelligit suspectum esse a nobis aut in scelere deprehensum. Et hoc est miserabile quod nullum hic habeamus modum puniendi ipsum vel pro hæresi vel pro ista proditione. Sed de hac re alias plura; nomen enim et omnia indicabo in proximis literis, si res bene succedat.

[1] William Gifford. [2] Richard Baynes.

Quod ad collectam attinet, quid præstiterit vestra admirabilis in Urbe diligentia videmus, et sane existimo per totum reliquum orbem Christianum tantum subsidii non proventurum. Nam cogitate vos nullum nos habuisse Romæ solicitatorem (ubi tamen causa nostra est magis cognita quam in reliquis locis, et ubi ipsa suæ Sanctitatis authoritas ac commendatio plus valet quam uspiam alibi) quam minima fuisset collectio, obsecro, præ ista summa quæ vestro et multorum studio ac zelo crevit in summam admodum copiosam. Sed adhuc centum coronatos, id est scuta, non accepimus Parisiis, quod sciam; et credo quod in proficiscendo illuc et sollicitando expensa fuit 40 scuta. Si aliquid postea eveniat Deus scit. Nec ab ullo loco aut prælato eorum quibus illustrissimus dominus Cardinalis S. Sixti benignissime jam diu scripsit quidquam audimus. Quid fiat imposterum nescio. Et in Hispania parum possunt D. Ducissa, quæ nunquam domo procedit, et D. Englefildus, qui nec ipse [ob] cæcitatem[1] et catarrum jam diu unquam prodiit; nec magnæ authoritatis sunt. Et nisi in majorem quam hactenus videre aut sperare queam excrescat summam, vix ad extraordinarias unius anni expensas erit satis; cum nos speraremus ex hac eleemosyna, quæ sola nobis reliqua videbatur via ad nostrum in multos annos levamen, in futurum tempus prospectum fore. Quæ omnia commemoro, quia sua Sanctitas, ut video multorum istinc vestris literis et sermonibus, atque etiam ex illustrissimi ad me Commensis admonitione nuper facta, cupit postulantium votis et proficiscentium viaticis atque aliis nostratium necessitatibus satisfieri; quod si fieret, plus incommodi nobis quam adjumenti ex hac collectione eveniret, et nos, quibus hoc modo in aliquot annos prospectum iri speravimus, erimus magis miseri quam antea, neque valde imposterum pudebit quidquam a Sanctissimo Domino nostro petere quem video nostrorum miseriis ita esse gravatum.

Ista particula literarum vestrarum ultimarum die 17 Aprilis datarum, ubi sic scribitis: "Hic in Urbe collegimus huc usque 1760 scuta; de cætero pauca speramus, cum jam præterierunt dies pœnitentiæ. Misimus ad vos pro ista causa 1600 scuta superioribus tabellariis, reliqua quæ hic habemus vel aliunde recipiemus servabuntur quousque significetis nobis mentem vestram secundum ea quæ proximis literis scripsit ad vos D. Georgius." Ita ex prædictis vestris literis. Quam clausulam quoad summam quam dicitis ad nos esse missam non intelligimus; quia nos tantum accepimus 300 et 800 duabus vicibus, quæ faciunt solum 1100 scuta; in quibus etiam aliqua Petro Kircso[2] et domino Dacrio assignatis. In iisdem literis paulo inferius scribitis: "Per hunc tabellarium mitto etiam Parisios scuta 300[3] auri in auro quæ ponetis inter rationes

[1] "Being nowe more then [in MS. *the*] 24 yeares synce myselfe could write or reade, and having in that tyme treated with so many greate personages of matters important by the eies and pennes of such servantes as I trusted, you will hold me excused though I cannot but feale a little this dyffidence of my servantes and distrust of my choise by him or youe." Sir Francis Englefield to Mr Roger Baynes. Madrid, 10 May, 1596. Archives of the see of Westminster, V., 172. [2] Peter Kirk, an English exile, was formerly the Earl of Northumberland's bailiff. First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 298. [3] The number was first written 40. Dr Allen then drew a line through the 4, and wrote 30 immediately over the 40, leaving the 0 of 40 unerased.

provisionis vestræ, etc." Nec nos quidquam de tali summa accepimus vel Parisiis hactenus audimus. Et ista mature repeto ne in tantis utriusque nostrum occupationibus aliquis obrepat progressu temporis error. Et illæ literæ D. Georgii quarum mentionem feci non sunt traditæ. Neque possum hoc tempore ipsi aut RR. PP. Gulielmo ac Fabricio rescribere, ita sum variis negotiis distractus. Tantum paucula verba debeo commodare quibusdam juvenibus qui consilium nostrum expectant. Ego doleo Ingramum Thwingum tam incommodo venisse tempore; cui præ multis aliis, tam merito suo quam peculiari quodam meo in ipsum affectu, satisfactum esse desidero; proinde quantum licet et ubi ulla dabitur opportunitas curate, quæso, ne vacuus revertatur. Interim illi, quæso, solvite scuta 28 auri in auro quæ hic D. Bayleus ab eo recepit. Ejusdem summæ prius, ut opinor, mentionem feci in ultimis literis nostris ad D. Gilbertum. Tantum nolite bis solvere quia bis mentionem feci, licet fortassis aliqua sit in numero variatio. Midelmorus dedit mihi suam schedulam de debito 150 scutorum vestro collegio solvendorum. Eam apud me teneo daboque operam quantum possum ut tandem solvatur. Sed extrema in Anglia et patiuntur et timent. Powellorum pater et patronus est condemnatus in 1000 scutis vel circiter pro anno elapso, quod nolebat ad ecclesias hæreticorum venire, et debet singulis annis tantundem Reginæ solvere, sicut singuli recusantes. Favete, obsecro, illis duobus suis juvenibus, pro quibus significavi jam pridem me accepisse aliquam pecuniam.

Valde impertinentia et sæpe noxia hinc inde a nostris et vestris adolescentibus scribuntur ad se mutuo; quod his diebus sum expertus, putoque satius esse ut non omnino dent literas nisi ubi occasio et materia est cognita. Gulielmus Hartus, quem multum diligo ut scitis, scribit ad me se cupere et se posse admitti in Societatem, si mihi videatur expedire et si judicem parentes non ægre laturos. Atque quod ad parentes attinet puto ipsos gavisuros; in hujusmodi autem deliberationibus nollem nostros ullo modo ad me remitti. Sequantur eum spiritum quem reverendissimus P. Generalis et cæteri quorum interest a Deo esse putant. Debet tamen, ut scitis, in illis tam moderandis quam deligendis aut admittendis summa cautela adhiberi; quia ab iis ipsis qui huc jam venerunt video et intelligo multos apud vos propter hoc solum ægro esse animo quod videant aliquos continuo ordinem vestrum ambire, eosque qui eo propendunt esse multo gratiores patribus et præfectis, reliquosque minoris passim æstimari ac nonnunquam e rosarii sodalitio ejici, alias alia quasi infamia notari. Quia hæc et hujusmodi ad me deferuntur, licet mihi incredibiliter displiceant, tamen volui significare, ut in his rebus cum magna moderatione procedatis. Ista mihi non dixerunt scholares seu patres ipsi, sed quidam qui ab ipsorum ore acceperunt. De Harto autem, pergat in nomine Domini, cum licentia Papæ et Protectoris, et quantu[m] potest fieri sine sodalium suorum infirmorum minima offensione.

Joannes Hartus adhuc vivit, sicut et cæteri confessores, excepto patre Payno, de cujus martyrio in aliis meis literis scripsi. Quod aliquas necessarias eleemosynas datis nostratibus de collecta id gratum est, sitque semper ad vestrum arbitrium. Et si

aliqua justa vel copiosa præter eam quam jam pridem misistis summa istic vel aliunde confletur, cupio quam primum in aliquo censu collocari; quo etiam citius eo melius. Si bene vendantur Testamenta nostra recens edita, non erit opus ulteriori pecunia adhuc. Domino Georgio, quæso, solvite ita pecuniam suam ut pistoletum pro pistoleto hic accepto recipiat. Quod in ipsius cedit commodum non potest nec debet nobis pro damno haberi: ita omnia illi debemus. Est unus qui hic habet mille aureos quos cupit illic etiam vel ex collecta vel provisione nostra solvi. Sed si reponatis reliquam pecuniam nostram in aliquo monte tum non video quomodo queat fieri. Respondete, quæso, nobis super hoc puncto. De ægritudine Sherlei doleo sane. Consolare ipsum, obsecro, meo nomine; ac Gulielmum Haukesworthum ama et hortare atque erige quantum prudentia et pietate potes; Powellosque complectere, quia eorum pater est magnus amicus noster et collegii fautor. De musicis laboro multum ut habeatis. Jesus te nobis, frater, servet. Remis, 28 Maii, 1582.

Totus vester,

Addressed. G. ALANUS.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazario, [collegii] Anglorum Roma[ni] rectori optimo. Romam.

LXV.

Summary of the confession of Richard Baynes, priest, made in prison to Dr William Allen, Mr Thomas Bayly, and Dr Laurence Webb. [Reims, 1582.]

From a contemporary document in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 103.

Summa confessionum et responsionum Rychardi Baynes, presbyteri Angli, ad articulos sibi impositos factarum primum ore coram nobis Gulielmo Alano, Thoma Bayleo et Laurentio Webbo in carcere, quas postea nobis scripto tradidit sua manu subsignato.[1]

Quoad illa puncta de quibus circa doctrinam et fidem incusor, confiteor me superbe examinasse sacrificii tremendi mysticas cæremonias, et demum apud me statuisse indifferentes tantum ac liberas esse ac posse vel retineri vel omitti, clandestinisque etiam colloquiis dixisse eas esse solummodo statas ad decorem gesticulationes, quibus vel Turca utens videretur esse sanctus, atque illis sublatis reliquam missam nihil esse aliud quam baleductum; quod verbum est anglico-latinum significans blasphemo scommate sacrosanctum sacrificium esse rem vilissimam.

Quoad venerabilem Eucharistiam, licet variis contra eam usus sum argumentis, tamen apertis verbis non memini me aliquid contra ejus veritatem protulisse: nihilominus quia juratus testis contra me deposuit, non ausim plane negare me aliquid dixisse. Etenim disputabam idem argumentum valere contra Sacramentum quo usus est propheta contra idola; nimirum, quod ab hominibus vel aliunde læsa se juvare aut

[1] See the "Palinodia Richardi Bainæi." Concertatio, fol. 238.

vindicare non possent, ita neque Sacramentum. Illud, "nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis," disserui ex Augustino significare tantum credere, etc.; porro illud in argumentum adferens non esse ibi Corpus Christi post consecrationem, quia tunc absurdum esset a sacerdote benedici, cum debeat minor a majore benedici.

Quoad purgatorium, dixi ibi nullum esse ignem quo animæ torrentur, sed esse vermem conscientiæ. Sed testis deponit eum hoc de inferno dixisse.

Q[uoad][1] [sacer]dotum in sacris ordinibus constitutorum, contra diss[erui] [omn]ino, oportet episcopum esse unius uxoris virum, etc.

Quoad [R]omani claves, dixi mihi illam loquendi formulam non placere, quod judicarem præter clavem David, quæ propria est Christi, nullas esse relictas Papæ præter claves abyssi. Atque Papæ excommunicationem similem esse dixi morionis pugioni, quod continuo levissimis de causis eam contra homines ferat.

De Ecclesia non tuli æquo animo quod quidam eam vocaverint ecclesiam matrem nostram, quod illa formula loquendi sit putida; et papistarum ecclesiam dixi præ annositate mucore et pedore esse obsitam. Dixi itidem Antichristum regnaturum in domo Dei, nec alium nisi Papam.

De officio vero divino dixi me libenter legere si quid esset Scripturarum, sed quoad cætera me posse compendiosiorem docere orandi viam, nempe si recitarentur tantum viginti quatuor literæ alphabeti. Confiteor etiam me certis diebus reliqua præter Scripturas reliquisse, atque aliquando etiam reliquisse breviarium in cubiculo sodalis mei, ductus hac ratione quod parum congrue quædam in breviario recitentur, ut cum illud 'ad cujus tumulum frequenter membra languentium quolibet morbo, etc.' dicatur de multis sanctis qui fortassis nunquam fecerunt miracula.

Contra jejunium ecclesiasticum et dies observatos fateor me potius inani quadam jactatione et petulantia quam ex animi sententia dixisse aliquando in diebus veneris —Euge, socie, quid comedemus hac nocte? Numquid habebimus artocream? Corporis enim exercitatio ad modicum utilis, etc.

De cæremoniis et ritibus quibusdam quibus nonnulli utuntur dum in absolutione excommunicati jam defuncti sepulchrum flagellant risi, porro addens, hanc stultitiam instar illius dementiæ Ajacis esse qui omnia occurrentia verberabat, animo fingens quodlibet fuisse personam Ulyssis hostis sui. Simile etiam dixit de aspergendis sepulchris aqua benedicta.

Inter istos et similes de religione sermones cœpit hic manendi tædium et summum lautioris fortunæ desiderium, de qua videbar certus si vellem proficisci in Angliam, præsertim cum multa me scire dixerim secreta consilia Alani præsidentis nostri et consiliariorum suorum totiusque seminarii contra Reginam et senatum suum, quæ aperire nollem donec venirem Londinum. Tunc dixi sodali quem valde cupiebam

[1] The MS. is worn away at this point. The letters between square brackets have been conjecturally supplied. Perhaps the word *calibatum* may have occupied the first, and *Pontificis* the third blank space.

habere itineris comitem—Secretarius Reginæ daret nobis 3000 coronatorum ea conditione ut aperiremus illa quæ hic geri scimus. Intelligebam autem de nova et magis rigorosa excommunicatione procurata contra Reginam. Quæ omnia protuli potius ut allicerem socium meum ad consentiendum mihi quam quod vera esse judicarem. Dixi quoque me facile esse assequuturum ut crucem Paulinam, i.e., nobilissimum regni suggestum conscenderem, ubi omnia quæcunque meminisse potueram essem contra catholicos cum cæteros tum maxime contra duo seminaria ad eorum dedecus proclamaturus, futurumque esse sic ut de me tota nobilitas et civitas adeoque universum regnum loqueretur. Animus deinde erat ambire aliquod munus in palatio et familia alicujus principis viri qui me ad dignitates eveheret.

Et ut socium meum urgerem acrius ad istam profectionem, admonui ne hic persisteret neve confideret in hoc seminario, quod multis modis dissolvi vel etiam destrui posset. Et certo[1] destrui aliqua ratione, vel fore ut ab eo hic status regni id autem fieri posse vel excitatione Gallorum, v[el] exterorum e sedibus suis, vel interfectione Alani quæ poter[it] [ur]be Parisiensi vel alibi sclopeti unius ictu quod pulvere albo glandem ejiceret sine strepitu, quo mortuo fore verisimile ut dissolvatur seminarium. Tum addidi me manum depositurum quod non erit vivus integrum biennium.

Persuadere etiam volebam amico eidem, ut mecum discederet, quod facile tota domus injecto vel in communem puteum vel in jusculum veneno infici possit, et ita omnes interire, ac proinde periculosum esse hic manere.

Dixi quoque futurum esse ut Reginæ Scotiæ amputaretur caput, si illa propalaverim semel quæ essem dicturus contra illam. Et cum quæ essent illa quæ posset dicere sciscitaremur, nihil aliud esse respondit quam quod scribat literas ad oratorem suum, imo et ad filium suum, et quod Jesuitas in Scotiam ire curaverat.

Postremo confiteor me dixisse me vitam depositurum quod intra duodecim annos non esset ulla futura missa in urbe Remensi.

LXVI.

Dr William Allen to George Grymeston. Reims, 31 May, 1582.

From an ancient transcript in the Public Record Office, London. Dom. Eliz. Vol. 153, *n.* 70.

Dr W. Allen to George Grymeston, his godson.[2]

Good godson; I was from home when your letters arrived here, els I had answered your desyre long since; and I have consydered well of your bestowings. But all

[1] The MS. is worn away here.

[2] Mr. Grimston, who had arrived from England August 4, 1582, was confirmed by the Bishop of St. Asaph in St. Stephen's church at Reims on the 7th of the same month. Probably Dr Allen was his godfather on the occasion. First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 169.

things well wayed, me think if you fall to divinitye, as your good mother requyreth and your humeur most inclined therunto, ther is noe place more fit for your nature, likenes and profeting then this our howse. For I am fully persuaded that Rome and you for manye causes will not agree; not[1] that you can bare the disciplines and ordars of that colledg soe well as of this, wher both my selfe and all others shalbe most redye to doe for you; and nowe we have partlye allredye and more shall have shortlye to read here exactlye the course both of logick, philosophie and divinitie of the Roman fashon. We have some of the principals we could picke of our colledge ther. Therfore you must eyther resolve to tarye at Paris and that in the colledg, or els to come hether to me, and soe constantlye to folloe your studye eyther in the one or in the other; wherunto you shall have any furtherance of me possiblie. Fare ye hartelye well with my blessing. At Reimes, in hast, this 31 of Maye, 1582.

Your owne ever as you knowe,

W. ALLEIN.

My cosyn Coniars spoke to me to help with some litle exhibition ther a yong man that you (I trowe) wrat for; which I cannot doe. But yf he come hether, wher nowe he maye verye sufficientlye learne eyther art or divinitie, I will doe for him according to his deservinge. Georg, you did God good service in the discovering and apprehension of Gore;[2] and all honest men will esteme you better whilst you live.

Addressed.

To Mr George Grymeston at Paris

Endorsed.

31 Maye, 1582. From D. Allen at Rheims to George Grimston at Paris.

LXVII.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 3 June, 1582.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano. Inghilterra. Vol. I., pag. 231).

Ill^me^ domine; Literas tuæ Amplitudinis 14 Aprilis scriptas recepi et legi lubentissime, etenim et suæ Sanctitatis de nostratium in Scotiam missione voluntatem significarunt, et tam uberem futurum istius ecclesiasticæ collectæ proventum sperare jusserunt ut ipse ex ea vitæ ac itineris expensas omnes omnium facile ferre videri queam. Mittam igitur; sed, ne quid peccemus aut erremus pro ratione temporum, cum

[1] *nor?*

[2] "1582, ult° Maii, . . . Hoc ipso die Lutetiæ Parrisiorum incarceratus fuit D. Gowre presbyter." First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 187. "1582, Aug. 1° die, Parrisiis ad nos rediit D. Georgius Grimston nobilis, sacræ theologiæ diligentem operam navaturus." Ib. p. 189.

judicio et non sine mandato serenissimæ Reginæ ac oratoris sui voluntate, qui et ipsi de collegii hujus professoribus unum a me his diebus peculiariter petierunt. Cæterum quod ad sumptus attinet dicam tuæ humanitati confidenter, vereor ne eleemosynæ illæ eo non excrescant ut ad ista onera sint futura satis, et haud scio an reliquæ catholicæ nationes omnes sint tantum allaturæ quantum sola Roma. Hæ sane provinciæ pene nihil hactenus tribuerunt, licet et hortatione et exemplo R^mus^ D. Nuntius apud Parisienses prælatos institerit summopere. Quidquid sit, hoc tantum profiteor coram Deo et Christo ejus me nunquam pecuniarum quidquam a S^mo^ Domino nostro petiturum nisi summa collegii aut reipublicæ nostræ necessitas requirat, nec quicquam eorum quæ divina largitate tribuuntur nobis vane aut frivole impensurum. Ita sis nobis in hac re semper apud Beatissimum Patrem nostrum propitius, Cardinalis optime, ut te semper colui et te nunquam fallam.

Patrem Gulielmum Crittonum Scotum jampridem appulisse non dubito: ejus negotia frustra vestræ sapientiæ commendavero. Id tantum supplex exposco, si res procedat ut speramus, ut R. D. archidiaconus Audoenus inprimis adhibeatur actioni, ipsique nos adjungamur. Cæteros nostri ordinis homines paratos hic extempore habebimus.

Tempestive tamen per vestram Amplitudinem quantum licet præmoneri cupio propter cæteros qui aliunde advocandi sunt, et ut libellos quosdam ad hanc rem necessarios mature expediam.

Si quid sit periculi aut impedimenti in isto negotio, erit ex aliqua inter nationes (ut fit) antiqua simultate partiumque studio; quod tamen authoritate, sapientia et æquabilitate S^mi^ D^ni^ nostri, et studio ac opera ecclesiasticorum, qui solum propter Deum et salutem utriusque populi hanc rem suscipimus, facile per Dei gratiam extinguetur. Christus Jesus sanctissima vestra consilia secundet, tuamque Dignitatem diutissime nobis et Sanctæ Sedi Apostolicæ servet incolumem. Remis, 3 Junii, 1582.

Celsitudinis tuæ alumnus et servus,

G. Alanus.

Addressed.

Ill^mo^ ac R^mo^ domino Cardinali Comensi, Mæcenati suo optimo. Romam.

LXVIII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 11 June, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 109.

Pax Christi.

Reverende pater, dilectissime collega; De vestro ad suos reditu multum aveo audire. Quod hinc vel ex Anglia scribam boni aut etiam novi nihil est præter ea

quæ de Goro et Bayno nostro fusius ad D. Gilbertum his diebus scripsi. Noster manet, et si id efficere possumus, manebit etiam in carcere. De altero quid fiet adhuc nescio. Sceleratissimi propositi pœnitentiam uterque simulat, sed neutri confidimus; et fallax est cor hominis, maxime quod hæresi est infectum. Post presbyteri Alfeldi quæstionem seu torturam habitam primo Maii nihil novi accidit. Is egit constantissime, fidem catholicam gloriose professus, nec quidquam cæterorum quæ interrogabant confessus. Aliquousque resarcivit scandalum et damnum quod ex lapsu Osborni paulo ante accidit, qui fuit primus omnium presbyterorum ac solus qui adversariis etiam in religione cessit, adeo ut nunc contra fidem concionetur homo impius et ineptus. D. Barns nobilis quidam, qui Romam venit cum D. Georgio Gilberto et ex Urbe hoc vere discessit, captus fuit cum quodam bono sacerdote,[1] alumno hujus collegii, et sunt ambo in Turri, ubi jam diu fuerunt quoque Pitz et Haddocus. Pater Gulielmi Haukesworthi et sororius meus[2] manent adhuc in eodem carcere, nec præterea eis quicquam est dictum. Illa mulcta pecuniaria menstrua 60 aureorum, irrogata iis qui nolunt ad hæreticorum ecclesias venire, exigitur a multis, sed multi non sunt solvendo. Portus post ultimum edictum diligentissime observantur ne studiosi aut alii sine licentia exeant; tamen veniunt indies, sed tamen non semper tales quales nos optamus et quales vos cupitis; atque majori etiam difficultate et periculo cum suo tum parentum trajiciunt nobiles quam cæteri, quos tamen utrinque maxime desideramus. Sed istius pestilentis edicti diu non durabit virtus sed (ut fit) flaccescet paulatim tractu temporis. Nos certe omnibus viribus contendimus ut optimæ indolis quosque nansiscamur. Sed tempora, ut scitis, sunt iniquissima, et nisi haberemus propugnatorem Deum, non possemus stare in conspectu hostium potentissimorum, callidissimorum, truculentissimorum, qui suos domi ne ad nos veniant legibus, mulctis, tormentis, proscriptionibus terrent; principes et status externos continuis literis et minis contra nos excitant; ut non debeatis mirari si excellentiores quique ad nos non semper veniant. Ego vero cum aliis multis difficultatibus pene obruor undique, tamen nusquam adeo laboro vel potius conficior atque in designatione eorum qui ad illud collegium vestrum mittendi sunt. Iste presbyter Baynes quem habemus in carcere confessus est mihi primam causam suæ erga nos et seminarium hoc malevolentiæ quod noluerimus ipsum Romam mittere. Unde judicare poteritis quam impotenter hoc petant et ambiant. Sed Deus judicavit pro me quod non erat dignus vobis.[3] Tot meorum hic memorialibus, libellis supplicibus,

[1] Stephen Rousham. See Rishton's Diary in the Tower, 19 May, 1582. [2] Probably Thomas Hesket, the husband of Elizabeth Allen, Dr Allen's sister, at that time prisoner in the Fleet, of whom George Haydock, martyr, speaks in his examination: "Quid egissem cum D. Toronlæo [Townlæo?] in Porta [Gatehouse] et cum consanguineo meo D. Hescheto in Fleta? Respondi me eos accessisse ut viderem quomodo se haberent." Concertatio, fol. 135. [3] The sentence *Iste presbyter . . . . vobis* is in the margin of the letter; but with an asterisk to show that it should be inserted as above.

prensationibus, intercessionibus, tot ex Anglia literis, tot ex Urbe interpellationibus, pro cujusque filio, amico, socio compellor, ut istis vix dimissis versus vos incipiant in proximam vicem petere pene omnes importunissime. Et quis me liberabit de morte hac? Sed parcat mihi Deus; non recuso laborem, si nostro populo sum necessarius, et possumus omnia ferre in eo qui nos confortat. Sed de istis rebus fusius ad D. Georgium scripsi literarum suarum ultimarum occasione. Est hic quidam vir, cognatus P. Engeami, musicæ peritus utcunque pro more gentis nostræ. Hunc unis aut alteris [literis][1] desideratis ad vos mitti. Ego illum ab initio eo nomine quo erat mihi commendatus non agnovi, quia gerit hic ementitam appellationem propter fundos quosdam quos habuit in Anglia, quos perderet si hostes scirent ipsum ad nos concessisse. Est plane vir utcunque grandævus, bonus et valde (ut mihi videtur) honestus, sed doctrina mediocri vel infra fortassis mediocritatem. Sed si vultis eum, significate nobis; et tempore proximæ missionis mittam cum cæteris. Vobis equidem plus cupio satisfactum quam mihi. Scio enim quanti nostra intersit ut illud collegium in conspectu summorum patronorum et in oculis orbis omnibus ornamentis floreat.

Nos hic in isto collegio, propter ill^mi domini Protectoris aliorumque excellentium prælatorum, patronorum ac dominorum gratiam ac studium singulare in hac collecta promovenda, instituimus quotidianam missam pro benefactoribus, ad quod deputabuntur per vices semper certi ex alumnis qui comprecabuntur et certis diebus omnes: nam pro Pontifice, fundatore nostro sanctissimo, peculiares ante preces et sacra habuimus. In his officiis debet Alfonsus pater habere suum locum, erga quem certe nullo officio humano nobis unquam digne satisfaciemus; sed reliqua compensabit Christus. Vereor ne reverendissimus P. Generalis magnum desiderium sui istic reliquerit. Solo certe vel collegii nostri nomine ipsum abfuturum tam diu doleo. Cura quæso, mi pater, ut literæ recte et cito mittantur Mediolanum, Boloniam, etc., vel curet D. Georgius, et ea tradatur quam scripsi ad illustrissimum Comensem. Giffordii non comparent adhuc. Fosterus multum amatur ab omnibus. Deus vos omnes conservet memoris[2] meæ paupertatis in orationibus et sacrificiis vestris sanctis; vestri non obliviscar unquam. Remis, 11 Junii, 1582.

V. R. P. in Christo famulus,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, collegii Anglorum rectori vigilantissimo. Romæ.

[1] Word supplied. [2] *memores?*

LXIX.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 23 June, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster.[1] III., 113.

Jesus.

Ex postremis literis, quæ mihi fuerunt eo nomine longe gratissimæ, intellexi V. R. ad charissimos suos filios rediisse. Ego profecto in discessu et toto tempore absentiæ subverebar ne superiorum dispositione aut aliquo infesto nobis casu ab illo nostro collegio divelleremini. Sed sit nomen Domini benedictum, trepidavimus ubi non erat necesse. Sed me sæpe anxium reddidit. Ecce hoc mane tantum, quod est profestum S. Joannis Baptistæ, appulerunt Giffordii. Præter complexum mutuum et salutem hactenus nihil commercii. Quo animo sit Gilbertus mox expiscabor. Cupimus utrique bene consultum esse. Lutetia cum iis rediit ad nos denuo Nicolaus Smitheus, utrique nostrum merito dilectus. Is periculum fecerat jam pridem se iterum accommodandi vestræ Societati, sed valetudo mox fracta fecit ut superiorum voluntate ad nos reverteretur. Vestra sancta munuscula ipsi in magna pixide, quam ad nos attulit P. Gulielmus Giffordius, assignata dabo, ac cætera cæteris. De meis quam possum largissimas gratias toto pectore vestræ paternitati refero. Sigillum simul cum cæteris quoque accepi. Etsi de martyrio fratrum nostrorum et a me et ab aliis jam pridem audivistis, tamen mitto libellum anglicanum[2] Reginæ mandato editum, quem facile curabitis in italicam verti linguam, ut totus mundus intelligat veras causas persecutionis nostræ, et ut sciant quantum quoad causam religionis ab adversariis simus lucrati, qui plane profiteantur se non propter religionem sed propter bullam Pii V. et aliorum scripta nostros morti tradere. Ego transtuli articulos[3] super quibus examinabantur, et ad vos mitto, ut (si videbitur) vel ostendatis illustrissimo D. Protectori vel doctis etiam quibusdam theologis, ut ab eis instruamur quousque in hujusmodi capitalibus articulis condescendere possint catholici in Anglia. Duo postremi evaserunt mortem, quia (ut videtis) parum aut nihil tribuere sunt visi bullæ, etc. Alter est Bosgravius e Societate, alter Henricus Ortonus quem novistis. Tamen (quod mirabimini) unus elegans juvenis[4] hac etiam aurora ad nos venit cum literis Joannis nostri Harti; qui juvenis fuit custos peculiaris quorundam cubiculorum in Turri Londinensi ac sacerdotum nostrorum in eisdem [inclusorum *erased*] incarceratorum, quem, domino suo arcis præfecto inscio, fecerunt catholicum et ecclesiæ sanctæ reconciliarunt, et

[1] Part of this letter is printed in Tierney's Dodd, Vol. III., Append., p. xvi. [2] Printed in Tierney, *ib.* p. v. [3] A Latin version of the six questions proposed to the priests in prison, with a summary of their answers, followed by the solutions of F. Maldonatus, S.J., and F. Emmanuel [Sa] S.J., is in the archives of the see of Westminster, III., 91. See Tierney, *ib.* p. xvii. [4] Samuel Kennet.

tandem huc miserunt. Is narrat duos illos postremos non ita male respondisse sicut hostes tradunt et in hoc libro publicarunt, affirmatque ipsum Bosgravium et Ortonum plane negare hoc fuisse ipsorum responsum. Ita nulla est fides danda hæreticis.

D. Georgius meus et vester me valde his diebus literis suis commovit, quod declaret adolescentes proxime missos non placuisse Protectori: tamen testis est mihi Christus[1] quod possum et quod expedire judico in conscientia. Sed dabo operam quantum possum ut omnibus satisfiat. Ita Deus me amet et ita vos vestrumque collegium diligo, ut undecunque exquiro ut probabilissimos mittam. Et si putetis nos hic habere meliores quos nolumus mittere, aut esse hic aliquos ex meliori indole qui non cupiant venire, sicut amicus noster D. Georgius in postremis literis visus est insinuare, toto erratis cœlo. Nam profecto tota domus vellet ad vos commigrare; imo omnes potius in hac re ita se affligunt ut pene præ desiderio insaniant. Sed hæc sint satis; nisi illud fuerit addendum, nostros homines et domi in Anglia et hic sæpe a bono opere[2] quod non possint tuta conscientia legere libros prohibitos, quibus necessario tamen respondendum est. Si sua Sanctitas dignaretur mihi tribuere facultatem ut cæteris quoque communicem quibus illud videbitur utile et necessarium, de multis scrupulis essemus expediti. Dum hæc scribo venit ad me quædam historia ab hæreticis scripta de morte septem prædictorum martyrum sacerdotum, ex qua ipsa licet hæretica facile cerni potest quanta fuerit omnium constantia et quantopere hostes nitebantur vel unum in sententiam suam pertrahere. Nunc damus prælo hic veram rei gestæ narrationem, quam intra unum mensem per Dei gratiam habebitis.

Non scribo hoc tempore ad R. P. Gulielmum neque ad charissimum mihi D. Georgium. Powellorum unus non ita pridem scripsit ad D. Morganum Parisios pro pecuniis a patre missis; sed ego ante 2 menses aut eo plus scripsi ad p. vestram, ut 100 scuta acciperetis de nostra pro illius pecuniæ satisfactione; nam dominus Morganus mox mihi tradidit. Cupio illis juvenibus bene esse et suo nomine et quia multum debemus amicis ipsorum. Vellem quoque Joanni Pricio optime consultum esse, et de ipsius pecunia prius audivistis. Charissimus P. Barrettus satisfecit mihi in coronis et cæteris per P. Gulielmum Giffordium et alios allatis. Si potestis illo carere, cupio ipsum dimitti hoc autumno. Sed jubeo te, mi pater suavissime in Domino, bene valere. Remis, 23 Junii, 1582.

V. R. P. conservus in Domino,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

LXX.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 17 July, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 117.

Mi reverende in Christo pater; Versor in continuis negotiis et ærumnis, nec uspiam

[1] *facio* left out?

[2] A word omitted—perhaps *impediri*.

solidiora capio solatia quam ex literis vestris tam plenis semper amoris, pietatis, solicitudinis. Et unde mihi materia doloris inde etiam laboris. De trucidatis etenim fratribus nostris ac vestris jam ante scripseram et contristatus eram vehementer, et nunc historiam mortis eorum ac etiam cæterorum scribere cogor, anglice primum quia nostri valde desiderant et instructiones miserunt, postea etiam fortassis latine. Antiquorum martyrum constantiam plane videbitis. Ea res mirifice movit et mutavit animos hominum, bonorum vel mediocrium in pœnitentiam, impiorum ac hostium in admirationem. Vere erat validus clamor istius tam copiosi sanguinis sacri. Concionum myriades non ita fidem ac religionem apostolicam illustrassent sicut istarum sacrarum hostiarum odor apud Deum et homines suavissimus. Reliqui confessores fiunt animosiores, nostri alacriores, messis copiosior. Deo duce, labore et constantia vincemus; atque hostes eo magis sunt furiosi quia desperant plane. Continuo mittunt jam ad me novam scribendi materiam; cujusmodi operis[1] pene conficior, cum vix collegii curam ac nostratium cæterorum negotia sustinere valeam, et ad hujusmodi scriptiones morte et ægritudine Bristoi atque Martini factus sum imbecillior, cum pene nulli sint qui in hoc genere juvare possint. Sed pergo ut possum. P. Robertus[2] eo nunc loco est ut his rebus operam dare non queat. Omnia speramus et sustinemus lubentissime. Atque in his versor suavius quod antiqua rei familiaris et pecuniariæ sollicitudo ex illa collecta sancta vestra facta est levior. Quantum in illa re laboraverit V. P. quantumque cæteri per Italiam sanctissimi viri misericordiæ nixi sint intelligimus. Dominus Jesus det ut protinus copiosa largitione metant in benedictionibus. In Francia hactenus in hac re profecimus minus; nec sane miramur, quia populus continuis bellis et oneribus est affectus: sed de his sæpe antea.

Mundinus et sodalis ejus Simsonius appulerunt heri, æstu et pulvere bene fessi, sed incolumes. Cogimur compati necessitatibus istius quantum licet et possumus vel propter literas reverendi ac magnifici domini ac amici nostri, domini Hurtadi, qui cum affectu visus est mihi eum commendare; quod R.P. Gulielmus confessarius et dominus etiam Georgius Gilbertus fecerunt. Erat aliquis metus de ipso propter illum nebulonem ministrum, Romani itineris comitem, qui nunc dicitur in Angliam profectus et meas prodidisse literas. Gilbertus Giffordius dicebat se esse ab illa obligatione sacerdotii et vestra voluntate et Papæ dimissione ac licentia de eundo in patriam liberum jam; ac proinde affirmabat sibi non esse faciendum ut ingrediendo in nostrum contubernium videretur se ullo modo iterum obligare eodem vel simili vinculo, ac idcirco domum plane cogitare. Non potuimus avertere; discessit; in Angliam profectus est. Gulielmus[3] quantum potuit et per nos et per seipsum restitit; sed evasit, nobis et cognato suo non male, sibi (uti vereor) pessime. Gulielmus optime se gerit et diligenter studet et docet, atque de eo magnam concipimus spem; anteriora obliviscimur; ad sequentia manus ex-

[1] Supply *mole?* [2] F. Robert Persons was then in Spain or Portugal. [3] William Gifford.

tendimus. Vestram charitatem et patientiam in se magni facit. Nos ita (ut spero) eum tractabimus ut et sibi et nobis et olim etiam reipublicæ utilis esse possit.

Nunc incipio esse valde sollicitus ut tales nanciscar juvenes quales velletis in hanc missionem. Sed de numero nihil discernitis. Quia priores non ita Cardinali visi sunt idonei, multum sum anxius. Se ex capella Reginæ proripuerunt duo magni (ut apud nos æstimantur) musici, sed viri uxorati, qui dicuntur profecturi Romam ut exerceant suam artem et vivant ex ea; et ex hoc Regina incredibiliter dicitur offensa. Sunt adhuc Rothomagi, sed cogitant huc venire. De Radulpho Sherleo doleo sane: oramus pro eo. Quod Broukesbeus[1] meus et Throgmortonus se bene gesserint in Sanctissimæ Trinitatis festo lætor multum. Gulielmum Haukesworthum semper charitati vestræ commendo, reliquosque omnes mihi charissimos. Vale in Domino Jesu, amantissime vir, pater colende. Remis, 17 Julii, 1582.

V. R. P. filius et frater,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, collegii Anglicani in [Urbe] rectori dignissimo. Romæ.

LXXI.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 18 July, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 121.

Jesus.

Reverende et dilectissime mihi in Christo pater; Conclusis prioribus literis in fasciculum, vestræ paternitatis epistola 25 Junii scripta mihi redditur, quæ facit ut subito ista exaranda censeam. De dictatis Michaelis Baii, quæ putatis Parkinsonum habere, nihil antea scripsi quia in prioribus p. vestræ literis, saltem quas receperim, nulla ejus rei facta erat mentio. Nunc igitur pro certo habeat vestra reverentia illum esse alienissimum ab illius doctoris dogmatibus scandalosis et offensivis, nec apud se habere illa scripta ejus authoris quæ illis erroribus sunt sparsa, et propterea

[1] "..Gulielmo Bruchesbeio, mandato fuor d'Inghilterra l'anno 1580, e fu notabile sua vocatione, perche essendo primogenito d'un gentilhuomo principale e havendo preso la possessione di suo stato, essendo di vinti uno anno d'età e di bellissime parti e come un angelo per bellezza, lasciò ogni cosa et insieme la sposa con la quale haveva da maritarsi, persuadendo a lei che conservasse la sua verginità come egli haveva in animo di fare, e così andò a Roma e visse nel colegio come convittore un anno e più con grandissimo essempio di virtù et entrando poi nella Compagnia morse sanctissimamente questo medesimo anno 1582. [*In margin.* Morì 7 Agosto, 1585, entrato nella Comp. 10 Ottob. 1583]." Punti della Missione d'Inghilterra by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 38.

specialiter jam pridem authoritate Apostolica damnata vel prohibita. Habet quidem, sicut mihi hodie interroganti respondet, ipsius quasdam in Novum Testamentum annotationes ascriptas margini et spatiis interlinearibus, in quibus non puto esse aliquid offensionis, præsertim cum illæ sint excerptæ postquam retractaverat errores suos et prohibitus fuerat ne imposterum quidquam veterum suorum errorum immisceret lectionibus suis. Fuit iste Parkinsonus Lovanii educatus, et idcirco illius lectionibus necessario debebat interesse. Alioquin est vir summe humilis, et mihi mox comportabit omnes illas annotatiunculas ut vel servem vel igni tradam. Atque de hac re hactenus. Literas illustrissimi domini Protectoris nostri, quibus ex voluntate suæ Sanctitatis concedit nobis distributionem collectæ pecuniæ omnis, recepi, et de illa ordinatione lætor; nam compescet temerarios petitores. Ego jam ante multos dies scripsi ad vos, ut dignaremini mittere formulam procurationis authenticæ pro modo illius curiæ, ut scilicet possem vobis et successoribus vestris, collegii illius rectoribus, pro me et meis successoribus meis[1] omnem colligendi et constituendi in banco vel auferendi, etc. Hic enim neminem invenio qui possit id præstare commode, legaliter et secure. Proinde obsecro curet nobis exemplar procurationis hujusmodi, juxta quod ego immediate mittam scriptum authenticum manu ac sigillo nostri collegii munitum. Nulla in literis vestris, quæ quidem ad manum venerunt meam, facta est mentio reverendissimi domini Odiscalci. Tantum dominus Georgius semel id dixerat; acciditque infauste ut illas literas[2] non nisi [post][3] multos menses acciperem per negligentiam cujusdam nuntii. Sed vel hac vice vel ad summum proxima scribam.

De Goro ego plane judico nullam esse causam cur ullam de ipso suspicionem haberemus quod fiete versaretur in collegio vestro; sed Deum ex superbia ipsius permisisse potius ut vel nunc primum hoc anno laberetur, vel potius quod finxerit se propter spem honoris et commoditatis hæreticum factum esse, cum non sit revera. De nostro apostata,[4] quem habemus (ut scitis) in carcere, dubitavimus magis, et tamen nihil prorsus reperimus, licet exacte et a nobis et a magistratu ecclesiastico examinatus sit. Profitetur se[1] valde pridem diabolum misisse in cor suum hanc malam mentem, et ex multis conjecturis hoc verum esse putamus. Magna sunt illis objecta honorum, divitiarum, uxorum oblectamenta. Hinc mirum non est, instigante diabolo, cadere aliquos et etiam prodere cum Juda, qui minore pretio vendidit Dominum suum quam isti conservos suos et fratres. Et ego in tanta mundi malitia tam paucos esse miror qui labuntur.

De irregularitate ex hæresi propria vel paterna quæ scribitis neque ego habeo facultatem dispensandi, sed neque necesse est; neque enim scio in omnibus vestris aut nostris aliquem qui hoc vinculo sit constrictus. Nemo enim fit propter hæresim irregularis nisi qui fuerit hæreticus declaratus, denuntiatus aut jure condemnatus, qualis nostratium juvenum nullus est, neque qui patrem habuerit talem quisquam est.

[1] Word redundant. [2] In MS. *illæ literæ*. [3] Word supplied. [4] Richard Baynes.

Si erramus, et nos castigandi sumus : ita nos hic accipimus. Pro Radulpho Sherleo, ut requiritis, lubenter oramus omnes. Valeat tua paternitas in Christo Jesu, qui te coronet in misericordia et miserationibus. Remis, 18 Julii, 1582.

V. R. P. filius in Domino,
GULIELMUS ALANUS.

De reliquiis Edmundi Campiani martyris vix plura accipietis. De Hybernico archiepiscopo[1] nihil audio; et ille male audit. Si veniret huc, multi compellerent illum de pecuniis, non minus quam nos; sed frustra omnes, uti existimo.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo P. Alfonso, rectori Anglicani [collegii]. Romæ.

LXXII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 19 July, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 125.

Salutem in Christo Jesu, colendissime et charissime mihi pater. A proximis literis ultima scriptis septimana novi pene nihil quod scribam accidit, præsertim in rebus nostris aut ex Anglia. Unde ad nos indies commigrant studiosi, tamen non tam omnibus numeris perfecti indole, conditione, scientia quam vestri collegii maxime causa cupiam; quia video etiam vos in ista re delicatiores, et propterea nec hactenus de mittendis constitui quidquam, licet importunissime supra 20 adolescentes et viri ambiant. Tandem circa finem Augusti, ne in Italiam vel ad Urbem nimis cito veniant, optimos judicio nostro et præceptorum deligemus. Saltem abundabitis hac vice (ut existimo) musicis, etiam Romanis auribus non injucundis. Mentionem me fecisse puto unius in alteris literis qui reliquerat Reginæ sacellum. Illi nomen est Moricius, notus Engeamo, et simul cum ipso (ut dicit) educatus. Ille hic facile hujus ecclesiæ et loci omnes musicos (cum tamen hic habeamus Italos non infimi in ea facultate nominis et alios) longe superat, et tamen dicit alium esse Rothomagi in via ad nos, collegam in Reginæ sacello suum, qui ipso sit multo superior. Possent hic a Principibus retineri, sed ego consulo, ut, cum deseruerint Reginæ aulam, non serviant ulli nisi Sanctitati suæ vel collegio suo. Non sunt ulla doctrina alia, ac ne lingua quidem latina instructi, et propterea non possunt

[1] Dermod O'Hurley, preconised Archbishop of Cashel, 11 September, 1581, martyr. He had previously resided fifteen years in the University of Louvain and four years, as professor of Laws, in that of Reims. He was apprehended soon after his arrival in Ireland, and after enduring the most barbarous tortures by order of Sir Francis Walsingham was privately executed, 19 June, 1584. Maziere Brady's Episcopal Succession. Vol. II., p. 10.

recipi in collegium ut studiosi, sed possunt pro musicis tantum apud vos esse. Et si Papa per illustrissimi Protectoris nostri intercessionem respectu honestæ conditionis quam habebant in aula Reginæ, quam solum deserebant propter conscientiam, cum tamen essent a pueris ibi educati, et illa ægerrime ferat quod propter ullam [rem][1] in mundo velint illam deserere, præsertim ut Romam ad hostes (ut interpretatur) eant; hoc inquam respectu si sua Sanctitas daret singulis 5 vel 6 aureos menstruos, possint egregie servire vobis sine sumptu. Dico vobis de isto Moricio quod est humillimus vir et vere catholicus et zelosus. Ejus socium non adhuc vidi. Atque venient fortasse isti paulo citius quam scholares, quia numerus ad profectionem non debet esse nimius. Dicit alios præcipuos Reginæ musicos cogitare etiam discessum; quod ego pro magno omine cupio.

Damus prælo anglice martyria et res gestas pro ecclesia hujus anni præterlapsi, ubi breviter vitam et mortem Campiani ac cæterorum damus. Postea latine edi per Dei gratiam curabimus. Multa in hoc genere et ad religionem [promovendam][1] scribo hoc tempore, ut non possim reliqua in vos ac amicos officia tam facile prosequi. Ego sic tractavi Gilbertum[2] ut fratrem aut animam meam non potueram amantius. Tamen nolebat manere propter causas quas in postremis literis insinuavi. Gulielmum Giffordum fecimus contentissimum et in vos optime (ut profitetur) affectum atque collegio huic utilissimum. Obsecro, mi pater, nihil Powellis desit ad valetudinem aut rusticationem, si fortassis cupiant, aut vero si prudentia vestra judicet expedire ut propter calores aut aliam causam Tybur aut alio proficiscendum illis sit. Cupio etiam dari, sicut vobis videbitur, ad provocationem industriæ suæ Gulielmo Haukeswortho, cognato meo, 6 scuta, ut expendat secundum dispositionem vestram. Item Radulpho Shirleo (quem Deus benedicat et consoletur) scuta 50, quinquaginta dico; quæ Morgannus Parisiis mihi solvit. Item si non jam pridem significavi ante (me tamen fecisse existimo) solvat quoque reverentia vestra Throgmortono quadraginta scuta, omnia auri in auro.

Habebitis hoc anno præter scholares aliquot etiam qui devotionis tantum causa sunt[3] venturi. Præter alios senes qui huc transierunt jam, sunt duo etiam sacerdotes qui nescio quo voto aut proposito se devinxerunt, ut plane nolint in Angliam proficisci nisi ante salutatis Apostolorum liminibus. Restiti hucusque quantum potui, ne vos aut Pontificem continuo gravent petitionibus. Statui tandem ea conditione annuere, modo finita visitatione septem ecclesiarum et expletis diebus in hospitali ordinariis[4] sine ulla petitione facta Pontifici discedant Roma ac redeant ante brumam. Proinde si tales sacerdotes veniant nihil fere illis fieri cupio, nisi inciderint in aliquem morbum aut extraordinariam necessitatem. Schedula ista continet postulatum cujusdam doctoris optimi nostratis qui diu vixit Romæ, nunc vivit partim in aula Principis

[1] Word supplied. [2] Gilbert Gifford. [3] In MS. *sint*. [4] English pilgrims had a right to be maintained in the English college, which was the representative of the ancient hospital, during eight days if they were poor, or three days if they were well off.

Parmensis partim in castris illius ut tractet casus conscientiæ Anglorum qui militant pro Rege et religione catholica, eorumque confessiones audit et sermonibus instruit, cum aliam linguam non intelligant nisi suam. Proinde si pro occasione hoc ejus postulatum vel per vos vel per illustrissimum Protectorem nostrum proponatis pergratum erit. Si haberetis unum hominem qui illa solum tractaret nomine nationis quique rem semel propositam persequeretur in curia, multum levaret vos his oneribus continuis. Possit[1] illi aliquid de nostro annue dari: vereor etenim ne opprimamini miseretque me vestri. Si non scripsero hac vice ad D. Gilbertum, imputet id negotiis nostris. Valeatis omnes in Christo Jesu. Remis, 19 Julii, 1582.

V. R. P. deditissimus amicus et frater,
G. ALANUS.

Dentur quæso duo coronati seu scuta Joanni Lowo pro quodam expedito ibi negotio cujusdam amici nostri nomine.

Addressed.

[Reverendo] in Christo patri, P. [Alfonso] Agazario, collegii [Anglicani] rectori dignissimo. Romæ.

LXXIII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 5 August, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 129.

Pax Christi.

Reverende admodum pater, collega charissime; Literas vestras 7 Julii scriptas nudius tertius recepi lubentissime. In quibus tamen id permolestum erat quod viderim vos animo nimium affligi ex quorundam stulto ac seditioso sermone de juvenum nostrorum in Societatem pellexione[2]; quod ego vobis nunquam indicassem, si judicassem tam ægre latum iri a prudentia vestra, cujus animum jam pridem ad ista induruisse oportuit: et certe levicula erant et a nobis contempta ac refutata mox apud ipsos qui mihi ista retulerunt. Nolui tamen omittere, ut hujusmodi scholarium populares voces ignoraretis, cum ille sit illius collegialis morbi locus affectus. Sed quare apud me, mi pater, tam anxie de hac re loqueris? Quare adfers testes confessarium, Gilbertum, Barrettum sinceritatis tuæ? Quasi mortalium ullus luculentius possit in hoc genere de actionibus tuis quam ego testimonium ferre, aut qui melius possit aut lubentius velit candorem ac innocentiam vestram tueri quam Alanus vester. R pater confessarius scribit ad me se posse facile ubi tempus erit omnibus istorum objectionibus satisfacere; sed non est opus ut apud me faciat, qui non minus acriter

[1] *Posset?* [2] See p. 138.

hujusmodi me oppono calumniis quam si essem sicut animo ita ordinis et vitæ instituto vester. Conquiescat animus tuus in Alano, qui Alfonsum suum vivus vivum calumniis opprimi pro viribus non patietur unquam. Scio opera in nos tua et laborem et patientiam quæ tibi apud Deum et homines gratiam parient ac gloriam immortalem. Noli ergo te et me quoque ipsum affligere; sed confortare in Domino, qui non solum reddet tibi pro benefactis sed pro his quæ indigne pateris magnum mercedis pondus. Sed ad alia.

Morganus ille presbyter, quem putabas Lutetiæ subsistere, jam pridem suscepta a nobis facultate reconciliandi, etc., profectus est in Angliam nec diu apud avunculum mansit. Abiit etiam Coolinus,[1] qui est homo naturæ biliosæ, Bellus, Elisyus[2] quoque, id est, omnes presbyteri ejus missionis: quæ non soleo semper literis commemorare, quia sunt res minutæ. Biscopus est in carcere, sed satis liber pro illa conditione et hoc tempore. Persecutio defervet aliquantulum nunc. Moriendo pene superavimus ipsam mortem et hæresin. De Gilberto supra scripsi in alia epistola prolixe. Gulielmus Giffordius se gerit optime hactenus.

Quod ad errorem rationum attinet, video ex vestris et prioribus etiam D. Gilberti literis fuisse in scriptione tantum. De literis procuratoriis ad vestram paternitatem mittendis super collocanda collecta pecunia in aliquo banco respondi jam pridem hic literas hujusmodi parum juridice et authentice fieri, et proinde rogavi vos ut formulam curetis nobis mittendam secundum quam ego possim hic legitimum procuratorium formare. Quantum pecuniarum sit collocandum profecto nescio. Nam si non succedat nobis in Hispania melius quam in Gallia et cæteris extra Italiam provinciis, vix erit quod nobis supersit. Nam onera nostra sunt ingentia, et ab omnibus locis seu episcopis ad quos illustrissimus dominus Protector literas scripsit non recepimus unum obolum; licet reverendissimus Nuntius Apostolicus apud plurimos institerit. Quid imposterum fiet nescimus. Mille scuta istius boni viri, qui illic totidem soluta cupiebat, non recepimus tamen. De subsidio quod datis Coverto gratias ago maximas. Est valde bonus vir, et in negotiis nostris admodum sedulus. Quod pro tribus istis nostris facultatem legendi hæreticorum libros procurastis gratum quoque est, et illi gaudent plurimum et eorum opera erit nobis utilior. Sed de facultate reverendi domini Gulielmi Lucani, doctoris Sorbonici et ecclesiastis Bellovacensis, de qua scripsi ad illustrissimum D. Cardinalem Vicarium, cupio maxime scire; quia multum inprimis debemus illi doctissimo viro, et certe est summus hæreticorum malleus, ut meritissime illi tribui queat legendi ipsorum libros potestas. Insta, obsecro, si jam pridem non sit concessa.

De Barretto gaudeo multum quod sit per Dei gratiam venturus in autumno, non propter eam causam quam V. R. allegat (licet certe ejus in genere testimonium est sine exceptione recipiendum) ut persuadeat ac testificetur scholaribus de vestra innocentia circa inductionem scholarium in ordinem vestrum. Crede mihi, pater mi, mi charissime Alfonse pater, studiosi hic sunt tam alieni ab hujusmodi conceptibus ut ne tunc quidem

[1] Cowlings or Collings. [2] Ellis.

quando dicitur ab aliquo malevolo aut insipiente[1] vix videantur de ea re cogitare; quinimo totum collegium, si esset possibile et si liceret, vellet ad vos commigrare. Scripsit mihi pro solicitudine sua dominus Georgius Gilbertus cavendum ne hæc contagio irreperet in nostram domum; sed certum est non posse, cum non sint capaces quamdiu hic existunt illius morbi. Se dedit ante duos menses quidam doctissimus presbyter[2] in ordinem vestrum, cum esset ita necessarius collegio huic ut ipso pro demortuo Bristoo uti cogitaram. Nemo tamen ex toto collegio, licet omnes viderent nos homine summopere necessario destitui, dicebat[3] cur ita facit, nec conquestus est quidquam de illius ingressu.

Noster apostata,[4] filius perditionis, vere fuit revelatus summa Dei in nos benignitate. Sed et hinc magis adhuc apparet Dei misericordia, quod cum unum tantum accusatorem et testem malitiæ atque blasphemorum verborum et intentionum suarum haberemus, unde secundum legum hic quoad hæreses indulgentiam vel cessationem non potuerit in ipsum accusatio institui apud magistratum, nec teneri in carcere, tamen Dei bonitate et artificio ac diligentia quibus usi sumus erga ipsum, factum sit ut ipse omnia confiteretur de quibus erat accusatus; unde nunc habemus spem fore ut saltem in carcere diu teneatur ut nocere si velit non possit, pœnitere si velit possit. Et nisi quædam verba admiscuisset de me interficiendo, etc., propter solam hæresim hic puniri non posset. Benedicite Deum nobiscum qui fecit nobis mirabilia. Quid ad me scripserit Gorus his diebus videte; mitto enim ejus epistolam anglice scriptam et quandam obscuram ipsius recantationem vel apologiam potius et excusationem in peccatis. Christus Jesus vos vestrosque illic omnes conservet, pater vere mihi in Domino dilecte. Remis, 5 Augusti, 1582.

Vester conservus,
G. ALANUS.

Jam tandem venit reverendissimus Casselensis, Hybernus, qui promittit nobis illas pecunias a vobis acceptas.

LXXIV.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 16 August, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 133.

Jesus.

Literas charitatis tuæ 23 Julii datas mihi vehementer gratas cum prolixa D. Georgii epistola, quæ et ipsa mihi perjucunda fuit, recepi in profesto Assumptionis Beatissimæ Virginis, quibus quod respondeam fere nihil est quod in superioribus non

[1] In MS. *incipiente.* [2] Dr Thomas Stapleton? [3] In MS. *dicebant.* [4] Richard Baynes.

ita pridem datis literis non attigerim. Sed quod gratias referam de continuis amoris in nos tui incrementis, quæ et omnium imprimisque domini Georgii nostri continua prædicatione et incredibili in nostris rebus sedulitate atque in nationem pietate tua apparent, sunt multæ justissimæ causæ. Sed supersedeo, quia hujusmodi officia in amicitia tam sancte constituta sunt nimis vulgaria. Amemus nos mutuo in Domino semper, consolemurque nos invicem, collaboremusque quasi triturantes aut arantes boves conjugati in isto duorum collegiorum quasi uno fundo, ut et aream mundam et frumentum quam possumus purgatissimum in sementem Anglicanam demus. Nunc designo mittendos. Habebo quantam possum semper rationem eorum quæ seorsim in schedula annotastis. Expedit enim sane Sathanæ artes non ignoramus:[1] sed et artificiose in his rebus versandum est nobis. De Gulielmo Giffordio, ut ante scripsi, habeo bonam spem: de cognato[2] despero. Ille cantor ab Enghamio commendatus non potest adhuc adduci ut de sacris ordinibus vel in futurum cogitet; sed tantisper vivit hic de suo donec aliud statuat, vel illud propositum sequatur; et propterea non sum ausus multum urgere ipsum, præsertim cum optimum musicum jamdudum ad vos profectum esse sciam, et fortassis habebimus alios ejus rei non imperitos. De pecunia mutuo data illi Duacensi Lentalerio nec de ipso debitore quidquam audivi. Reverendissimus Casselensis, Hybernus, est hic valde ægrotus. Solutionem promittit.

Mitto vobis, id est, reverendo patri confessario et domino Georgio Gilberto, ut interpretentur vobis ac aliis, martyrologium quod nos adornavimus in nostra lingua his diebus quam potuimus per occupationes diligentissime. Inde vestrum quod intenditis martyrologium plenius erit. Epistolam præmisi apologeticam[3] pro innocentia nostrorum martyrum; gratum (ut spero) nostris hominibus opusculum. Adhuc est sub prælo: nunc mitto aliquot folia, per proximum nuntium mittam reliqua. Per scholasticos mittemus plura exemplaria et integra. Si tota historia verteretur in latinam ac italicam linguam multum nos juvaret ac omnes (uti spero) ædificaret. Nos scripsimus anglice ad usum imprimis nostrorum, quia[4] hoc multum a me requirebant nostri, et quia nostrates multum juvat et animat ad pugnam hanc plane admirabilem. Credo non fuisse clarius martyrum certamen in antiquissima ecclesia.

De collecta Hispanica et reliquis expectabimus voluntatem et gratiam Dei. Nunc accingimus nos ad alia scribenda; et omnia ista fiunt magnis sumptibus, et tales libri propter pericula vendi aut emi non possunt in Anglia, sed præter expensas vecturæ per tot terras et maria debent spargi in vicos civitatum per totam Angliam. De Barretti adventu lætabor multum, eritque mihi etiam in hujusmodi rebus valde utilis, sed ad regimen et exemplum longe utilissimus. De licentia D. Gulielmi Lucani super legendis libris insto semper. Excusate me, quæso, apud D. Georgium meum et p. confessarium quod ipsis non scribo hoc tempore. Hoc unum dicat, quæso, a me cum humillimo manuum sacrarum osculo illustrissimo D. Cardinali Sabello, mihi ex Anglia signi-

[1] *Ignoremus?* [2] Gilbert Gifford. [3] In MS. *apolcgeticam.* [4] The MS. has *qui.*

ficatum esse de duobus qui vel jam sunt in itinere vel ad id destinati sunt ut veniant in Italiam et, si fieri possit, ad Urbem etiam explorandi gratia. Alter est Italus, qui se appellat Jacomoro, qui incedit ut nobilis et aulicus, homo venalis, Londini aliquandiu et in aula Reginæ versatus. De illo habent spem magnam quod tam facile propter linguam et nationem discerni non possit. Alter est Anglus, Oxonii educatus, qui vocatur Audleyus Danettus, homo ingeniosus et pestilens. De isto me præcipue admonuerunt, quia videbatur ad me venturus sub prætextu studiorum, ut ita possit a me habere ad vos testimonium. Hæc puto significanda, sed valde secreto. Christus Jesus P. V. diu servet nobis incolumem. Remis, 16 Augusti, [1582].[1]

Vestræ paternitatis in Domino filius et frater amantissimus,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazario, collegii Anglorum in [Urbe] rectori optimo. Romæ.

LXXV.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 28 August, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 137.

Jesus.

Reverende pater in Christo, charissime collega; Qui dabit vobis ista est nepos[2] ex fratre illustrissimo Cardinali Polo, sanctissimæ apud nos memoriæ viro; qui non solum communem fugiens contra catholicos persecutionem, sed nominis ac sanguinis sui regii capitales hostes pertimescens, cogitur solum patrium vertere, possessionesque conjugem ac liberos relinquere, maximum solum natu septem annorum puellum filium secum in exilium ducens. Ut Romam proficisceretur non consului quidem, sed tamen ire volentem et meas literas desiderantem nec impedire potui nec de ejus excellentibus virtutibus testificari non debui. Pro ejus facultatibus non erat quisquam in tota Anglia in catholicos afflictos et præsertim in sacerdotes liberalior. Ad ejus domum tanquam ad tutissimum portum presbyteri semper diverterunt. Quatuor aut quinque, sæpe etiam plures, alebat. Cujus rei hic pater Hidus, vester olim alumnus, oculatus testis et exemplum esse potest, qui quanta fecerit quantaque pertulerit pro fide coram declarare potest; et alii ex Anglia ad me scribunt sacerdotes. Obsecro igitur pro tali et tanto viro facite quantum licet et potestis apud illustrissimum et benignissimum Protectorem ac patronum nostrum, atque etiam ubi erit tempus apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum. Summam ponit spem in isto bono presbytero[3] comite suo, quem omnino voluit secum ad Urbem referre: alioquin ipsi dixi non futurum gratum quod, sacerdos cum sit, deseruerit opus Dominicum.

[1] From an old endorsement. [2] Geoffrey Pole. [3] Leonard Hide.

Sed pollicetur se rediturum, si jubeatis. Ista commendo pietati et charitati vestræ, ac meipsum precibus ac sacrificiis vestris ac vestrorum alumnorum, fratrum mihi in Christo charissimorum. Dominus Jesus tuam R. P. custodiat semper. Rhemis, 28 Augusti,[1] 1582.

V. R. P. frater et filius,
G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazario, collegii Anglicani in Urbe [rectori] dignissimo. Romæ.

LXXVI.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 2 September, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 141.

Pax Christi.

Reverende admodum pater; Scripsimus ad illustrissimum D. Protectorem nostrum pro admissione octo studiosorum. Ut id facilius benigniusque faciat, tuam etiam pro illis sedulam solitamque intercessionem quantum possum postulo. Quam sint in omnibus vestro aut meo desiderio consentanei illaque Urbe aut schola digni non dicam, neque enim facile judicare possum. Hoc solum affirmo, selectiores esse ex omnibus quos his temporibus habere potuimus. Richardus Lighus est nobilis, insignis ingenii et jam ingressus cursum theologiæ. Robertus Sarus est etiam pro theologia, latine et græce peritus, honestissimis moribus præditus. Andreas Wagus, logicus, græcæque ac hebraicæ linguæ non ignarus. Edmundus Calverleus est nobilis, latinis ac græcis literis bene instructus.

Richardus Edwardi
Mathæus Kellisonus
Robertus Johns
} in classe logicorum primi, et judicio præceptorum ingenii capacissimi.

Laurentius Owenus fuit his educatus annis in collegio Societatis Andomaropolensi[2]; ætate paulo minor quam par erit; supervenit postquam cæteri erant designati. In fratris demortui apud vos locum mittimus. Est elegantissima indole puer. Commendo istos omnes vestræ primum paternitati, deinde RR.PP. confessario et præfecto studiorum cæterisque omnibus. Ita disposui in proximam vicem ut videar habiturus adhuc elegantiores adolescentes. Conabor sane ut optimis abundetis. Non habui nec habere hoc tempore potui chirothecas elegantes quas mitterem. Unum tamen par qualecunque dabunt. Mitto 3 Officia D. Virginis parva. Unum vobis, id est, ad dispositionem vestram; alterum cognato meo Gulielmo Haukeswootho; tertium

[1] In MS. *Augustini.* [2] St. Omer.

Christophoro Suthwerdo, ut eos ad pietatem provocem. Vobis tamen liberum relinquo dare vel non. Cætera juvenibus relinquo. Si jubeatis ipsorum minimum vel cæterorum quenquam habere verba ad illustrissimum Protectorem dum ad ejus conspectum admittentur, instruite de modo, et facient. Dominus Jesus vos mihi meisque diutissime custodiat, laboresque vestros relevet spiritu consolationis suæ. Rhemis, 2 Septemb., 1582.

V. R. P. filius et frater,
G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Reverendo admodum in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazario, [collegii] Anglorum rectori [optimo]. Romam.

LXXVII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 3 September, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 145.

Mi pater multum in Christo dilecte; Hac ipsa die iter capiunt versus Urbem scholares nostri, numero 8, id est, plures quam ipse cogitaram ab initio, veritus ne vos nimis gravarem, et Cardinalem quem cupio nobis esse placatissimum offenderem. Tamen adventantium indies turba ita nos hic premit ut nos aliquantulum exonerare hoc modo cogamur. De 7 statueramus ab initio; sed subito e collegio Audomaropolensi missus, frater Audoeni[1] vestri istic demortui superveniens ante triduum, putavimus illum cæteris adjiciendum. Scripsi per illos ad illustrissimum D. Protectorem et ad vestram reverentiam de illis fusius. Expecto indies a vobis formulam procuratoriarum literarum de dispositione pecuniarum quas cupimus in censum istic dari. Valde enim vellem 2000 scuta illic constitui, quia nos debemus a biennio tantum uni et 400 scuta alteri et ducenta tertio amico. Ad quæ solvenda cupio, si Deus daret, semper ibi habere pecuniam in promptu, ut si quid mihi humanitus accidat conscientia esset libera, dum collegium haberet unde contracta debita solvat. Tamen istas ultimas summas non teneor solvere nisi restituta fide in Anglia. Ita vobis explico totum statum rerum nostrarum. Urget me adhuc idem ille bonus vir [qui prius][2] qui antea habuit 1000 aureos, nunc habet reliquos tantum 666, quos desiderat collocari etiam in aliquo simili aut eodem censu. Si ex menstrua nostra provisione, elapsa vel futura, possetis tantundem nostro nomine ipsius procuratori D. doctori Harto, Anglo, solvere, et eidem consilium ac adjumentum vestrum in pecunia prædicta 666 scutorum auri in auro recte collocanda præstare, gratum esset nobis, et præterea etiam utile, quia hic habet in collegio nostro illam summam, quæ nobis erit ad manum sine periculo

[1] Owen. [2] These two words are superfluous.

gestationis; et cogemur etiam ea interim uti, quia jam pridem nihil accepimus, et collecta in his partibus nequidquam profuit nobis. De Hispania sperabimus. Ille Lentallerius Duacensis, cui mutuo dedistis aliquot scuta, nihil solvit, et nescio an de nobis cogitet aut ubi sit. Reverendissimus Casselensis solvit. Quando Deus dabit vobis majorem a laboribus vacationem, poteritis mittere rationes hujus anni quoad provisionem menstruam, et mittam generalem quittantiam sub sigillo collegii.

Scribo hoc tempore ad reverendissimum Patrem Generalem. Tradite suæ reverentiæ literas nostras, quæso. Est quidam Adamus, frater illius Isaci Hyggeni, sed melioris et constantioris ingenii, qui vehementer desiderat cooptari in Societatem. Venit, ut puto, una cum nostris scholaribus. Pro eo scripsi ad P. Generalem; sed præmisi literas propter alia quæ maturius scribenda erant suæ paternitati. D. Frisonius, canonicus Remensis, vere vos colit et amat in Domino. Cupit ut mandetis alicui pro ipso comportare 4 agnos Dei in cristallo ita consitos et ornatos ut in omnes impendantur 4 vel circiter scuta. Mittantur per proximos. Mitto nunc integrum libellum de martyribus nostris.[1] Prius per partes transmisi ex prælo. Cupimus per aliquem vel de collegio vel de Societate latine donari, quia hic non habemus tam disertos, et sumus pleni hujusmodi occupationum. Nunc enim aggredior statim alia: ita homines nostri sunt hujusmodi rebus sustentandi ut non sinant me requiescere. P. Rob.,[2] qui solus potest in hujusmodi rebus commode adjuvare nos, aliter nunc melius occupatur. Pater Gasperus[3] bene valet et proficit. P. Gulielmus Holtus bene etiam se habet et est vir insignis. Ab utroque, sicut et a P. Roberto,[2] literas accepi et accipio sæpe. Tantum orate pro ipsis et pro nobis, ut facitis et vicissim facietis; beneque erit tandem omnibus vel in hoc sæculo nimis nobis laborioso, vel saltem in futuro, ubi unum porro erit necessarium. Dominus te tuosque omnes custodiat et consoletur, mi compar in Christo charissime. Vale. Rhemis, 3 Septembris, 1582.

Vestræ R. P. studiosissimus,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazerio, collegii Anglorum in Urbe [rectori] [vig]ilantissimo. Romæ.

[1] Dr Allen's book was entitled: A briefe Historie of the Martyrdom of 12 reverend priests, &c. Printed An. 1582. The same appeared in Latin under the title of Brevis narratio felicis agonis, etc. Pragæ, 1583. (See Lowndes, s. v. Martyrs.) "This English book is that out of which was translated into Italian, Historia di 16 Martiri stampata a Macerata, 1583; the 4 last martirs being added by the translator." Note by F. Christopher Grene, S. J., Stonyhurst MSS. P. 159. [2] F. Robert Persons. [3] F. Gaspar Heywood.

LXXVIII.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 12 September, 1582.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 372.

Ill^mo^ ac Rev^mo^ in Christo patri ac domino, D. Cardinali Comensi, patrono suo optimo.

Ill^me^ ac Rev^me^ patrone.

Etsi timide et illibenter Sanctitatem suam vel tuam Amplitudinem de his rebus, quæ et magis sunt vobis notæ et non minus cordi quam nobis ipsis, interpellare soleo; tamen bonorum studio et flagitatione cogor ista vel importune vel non necessario sapientiæ vestræ suggerere. Jam pridem variis ex Scotiæ literis intelligo eum esse illic rerum statum ut et spei ac desiderii dilatione vehementer angantur, et ex hac etiam qualicunque mora non parum periclitentur. Nam ita vel subodorati sunt aliquid hostes, vel ipsa Principis ætas et inclinatio in Reginam matrem adversarios reddit suspiciosos, ut videantur mox aliquid contra pueri personam et regni administratores tentaturi, nisi celerrime prospiceretur. Cujus mali metus fecit ut Principis ac Lenoxii nomine ac mandato præterito Augusto publicatum sit edictum, quo protestantur se permansuros in illa jam recepta religione, nec cogitare de mutatione. Cui tamen promisso ita non fidunt, cum sciant Ducem esse animo catholicum, et Principem ipsum male in hæreticos affectum atque (ut existimant) ad simulationem doctum, ut, si rumoribus qui recentissime per totam sunt sparsi Angliam quique jam in Galliis quoque percrebuerunt credamus, jamdudum nescio quo stratagemate ac arte hostes abripuerint ipsum Principem e manibus ac tutela Ducis ac suorum.[1] Quod si verum sit, magni existunt utrinque motus, præsertim cum et Dux ipse liber sit et munitissima regni loca ac castra occupet populusque sit indignissime Regis illiberalem oppressionem et captivitatem accepturus, et sine dubio si ullas haberet suppetias opportunas promptissime vindicaturus. Est enim plebs universa et antiquissima nobilitas in istum Principem summopere affecta, timebuntque non leviter ne in Anglorum potestatem veniat. Istæ sunt ergo hoc tempore Scoticarum rerum illiusque adolescentis, in cujus salute et conservatione tanta rerum momenta in futurum tempus sita sunt, angustiæ. Nam vel est in manibus hostium, unde eripi quamprimum debet, et certe omnium judicio facillime potest; vel periculum est ne primo quoque tempore incidat: cui malo in neutram partem seu succurri seu occurri potest, nisi ipsorum et nostris prioribus postulatis citissime et benignissime a Sanctissimo Domino nostro annuatur. Nihil dico amplius quia scio ejus erga nos, afflictos filios suos, sancta desideria et consilia etiam vota in hoc genere nostra superare. Tua quoque mihi, benignissime domine, tam est explorata voluntas et propensio ut frustra plura addiderim, cum ista defungendi erga meos officii potius causa quam ulla necessitate exaraverim. Tempus faciendi, optime

[1] The raid of Ruthven, 23 August, 1582.

Cardinalis, tempus faciendi a Domino. Quod reliquum est, solum tuam Benignitatem oro ut dignetur servitutis nostræ istud obsequium Beatissimo Domino ac Patri nostro suggerere, et idem apud Sanctitatem suam quantum potes et soles promovere. Deus Optimus Maximus tuam ill^mam Dominationem diu incolumem nobis conservet. Remis, 12 Sept., 1582.

Celsitudinis tuæ alumnus et servus,

G. ALANUS.

LXXIX.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 13 September, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 149.

Jesus.

Noli obsecro, mi pater charissime, me vel negligentiæ vel oblivionis tui insimulare, quod omnes scribendi vices aut nuntiorum curricula hac æstate non servaverim. Ac nec ægre aut aliorsum feras quam facio, si tumultuaria nonnunquam scriptione non omnia literarum vestrarum, ac adeo meorum propriorum negotiorum (quid enim scribis vel tractas quod nostra non interest?) capita attingam. Nam extraordinariæ mihi multæ his mensibus vel susceptæ vel impositæ sunt occupationes, quibus sæpe extra mearum rerum sensum rapior. Tamen ita non puto me tam diu apud vestram siluisse paternitatem ut bis (sicut conqueritur in suis ultimis literis 20 Augusti datis) sine nostris Parisiensis nuntius accesserit; ut credam potius aliquando meas intercidisse, præsertim cum probe sim memor me variis respondisse capitibus, ac ad aliquos etiam scripsisse prælatos et patronos nostros de quibus reposcitis; ut de pecuniis quas recte et gratiose exolvit reverendissimus D. Casselensis; de 50 scutis pro piæ memoriæ juvene Sherlæo et 40 pro Edoardo Throgmortono a Morgano receptis. De Powellis polliceor me semper curaturum solutionem: est enim certa licet tarda; et ut ne ipsis quidquam desit vel meo nomine cura, obsecro. De literis etiam procuratoriis aliquoties petii ut authentica formula illinc mittatur. Sin autem per proximum nuntium non detis, nos hinc tale quale curabimus mitti. Valde cupimus aliquam bonam summam ibi in censum aliquem tradi, ut sit in promptu ubi debita collegii hujus repetentur a creditoribus: quæ autem illa sint et quam magna superioribus scripsi literis. Scripsimus etiam ad RR. DD. Datarium et Odiscalcum. Si non recepistis miror sane. Ante duos menses me fecisse recordor; sed imposterum notabo exactius talium rerum tempora, quantum per distractiones et negotia licet, literæ enim meæ sunt multum interceptionibus obnoxiæ. Scripsi ad Papam ex alia occasione per viam reverendissimi Nuntii Parisiensis, præsertim de illis articulis sanguinariis Anglicanis quos solent proponere presbyteris; quibus etiam dignata est sua Sanctitas responsum nobis reddere, quod non est adhuc propter justas causas multis commune faciendum. Scripsi ad reverendissimum P. Generalem per tabellarium proximum.

Rumor est illum patrem Lasium,[1] venerabilem senem Romæ ante biennium presbyterum ordinatum, qui habuerat ante in matrimonio Cresvelli vestri ac nostri matrem, martyrio Eboraci vitam feliciter finiisse cum quodam Kirkmanno, nostri collegii alumno, consorte ejus meriti et coronæ. Sed nec modus nec res ipsa ita mihi constat ut certo affirmare ausim. Captum fuisse in ipso pene limine castri Eboracensis, dum peracto in carcere sacro cum aliquot sociis sacerdotibus qui et ipsi eo ad confessores quotidie convenerant egrederetur, certum est. Quo tempore magna Dei providentia evasit P. Gulielmus Hartus vester, qui fructuosissime circa illa loca prœliatur prœlia Domini. P. Harrisonus etiam incidit in manus hostium. Dicite multam salutem reverendo mihi patri confessario et charissimo domino Georgio Gilberto, quibus annuntio aliquid in hoc genere tristius ne nimium nostrorum martyriis exultemus, aut saltem ne aliter propter istas gratias quam in Domino. Istud est quod significatum cupio illis; P. Aulfildum,[2] qui est illi malecontento famulo[3] domini Gilberti frater, lapsum esse aliquousque formidine pœnæ, et propter aditam semel aut iterum hæreticorum ecclesiam carcere solutum esse. De Morgano aliquoties rescripsi P. V. illum jam diu in Wallia sua esse, nec Lutetiæ multum moratum esse. De Gilberto Giffordio prorsus nihil audio, ne[c] quidquam expecto boni. Gulielmus[4] sane bene se gerit hactenus, et satis sibi ac nobis utiliter studet ac docet. De illa facultate legendi libros prohibitos pro magno collegii nostri amico et patrono, D. Gulielmo Lucano, doctore Sorbonico et ecclesiaste Bellovacensi, vehementer vellem habere; et semel ad me scripsistis concessam esse. Ab optimo P. Holto frequentes accipio literas ex Insula. Valet etiam P. Gasperus Heywoddus. Meus etiam Joannes Hartus est plenus spiritus fortitudinis. Expectabo nunc avide P. Barrettum cum sodalibus suis. Nostri ante decem dies versus vos discesserunt. Sæpe admonui me nihil nec accepisse nec audivisse ab illo Duacensi Lentalerio cui dedistis mutuo pecunias. Significavit mihi P. V., sicut reverendissimus etiam Assaph., datam esse facultatem nobis vertendi horas Beatæ Virginis et anglice edendi ac imprimendi.[5] Si aliquid tale est concessum, cura obsecro expediatur ac mittatur Breve super ea re. Si mora est in D. Datario, et si putetis meas ad ipsum literas posse rem promovere, significate, et continuo scribam, et per eam occasionem tangam illud punctum quod desiderastis fusius. Undique accidunt nobis novæ miseriæ et novæ expensarum occasiones. Ecce enim, vobis dum ista scribo, nuntium tristem accipimus de 4 studiosis juvenibus qui, dum versus hoc collegium veniunt Duaco, spoliati sunt et captivi tenentur a milite domini fratris[6] suæ Majestatis; et pro ipsorum redemptione petunt a nobis magnam summam pecuniæ; interim trahentes miseros secum per oppida et loca versus castra in Belgica. Quanto redimemus Deus s[c]it; nam literis civitatis Remensis pro illis deprecatoriis non cedunt quidquam. Sed hæc sunt tristia. Juvate nos orationibus vestris. Nomina eorum sunt

[1] William Lacy, martyr, 22 August, 1582. [2] Thomas Alfield, martyr, 6 July, 1585.
[3] Robert Alfield. [4] William Gifford. [5] See First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 365.
[6] The Duke of Anjou.

Hayward, Ingeram, Heth et alter Hayward. Salutate omnes in osculo sancto. Vale, mi reverende pater, toto corde dilecte. Remis, 13 Sept., 1582.

V. R. P. filius et frater,

G. ALANUS.

Quod scribitis patres Parisienses cupere liberari ab onere pensionis nostræ recipiendæ[1]; nollem equidem propter causas quas ad illos scribam: curabimus tamen ut quam minimo sit oneri.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, collegii Anglicani in Urbe rectori. Romæ.

LXXX.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 27 September, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 153.

Ex literis P.V. 3° Septembris datis video Barrettum et cæteros in procinctu esse; quodque hominem, utrique nostrum tantopere dilectum, tanto auctum honore ac cum tam ampla amoris vestri testificatione dimiseritis per mihi gratum et jucundum fuit, habeoque gratias sane maximas. Ille gradus scholasticus[2] in his locis summum illi authoritatem conciliabit; quod erit alumnis inprimis collegii hujus necessarium. Nulla enim re magis continentur nostri in officio quam variorum statuum discriminatione et subalternatione. In summa erit baculum infirmitatis meæ, cæteris columna. Gulielmus Giffordius professus est mihi heri se illi homini post Deum referre quod jugum non ejecerit, id est, quod non perierit. Ostendi illi eam etiam partem literarum vestrarum ubi tam amanter illum salutatis et laudatis, qua multum recreabatur. Fosterus optime valet et procedit in omnibus. Ego Gulielmum plene exercitiis onero; ita tamen ut propter adjunctum qualemcunque docendi cæteros honorem lubenter quidlibet suscipiat et faciat. Hoc est illi utilissimum. Discessus Gilberti[3] nobis vel propter ipsum fuit commodissimus, licet sibi (uti vereor) periculosus vel etiam perniciosus sit futurus. De quo tamen nihil audio.

Mi pater reverende, de modo collocandi pecunias nostras de collecta acceptas et accipiendas totum vestræ prudentiæ committo; hoc solum ut fiat utiliter et sine peccato. Nam rationes ac differentias illorum cambiorum et censuum omnino non scio. Solum formulam procuratorii (ut promittitis) mittite, et ego probabo ac ratum habebo quidquid nostro et collegii nomine facietis et fecistis. De postulato Bruksbeii, licet ipsi optime velim, nec ipsi præsertim vobis quoque desiderantibus aut inter-

[1] In MS. *recipiendi.* [2] The degree of D.D. conferred on Barret. [3] Gilbert Gifford.

cedentibus quicquam negari vellem, tamen quia est valde extraordinarium et multum etiam quod postulat, nescio certe quid respondeam. Sed expectabitis resolutionem nostram per proximum tabellarium. Vix enim a receptis literis ipsius et vestris ante discessum nuntii licuit cogitare de re. Tantum volui ista pauca exarare ut intelligatis me vestras accepisse epistolas. Dacreo, Nortono et Coffino de pecuniis missis satisfaciemus, modo semel Parisiis intellexerimus receptas esse.

Auditione accepimus P. Laceum affectum fuisse extremo supplicio cum alio; sed res non est adhuc confirmata. Persecutio nunc maxime consistit in spoliatione bonorum, in qua hostes immitissime se gerunt. Et sunt in Catholicis plurimi qui mallent semel extingui quam illis rebus omnibus spoliari quæ sunt ad suam et conjugum ac liberorum vitam necessariæ. Sed et hanc rapinam bonorum multi cum gaudio patiuntur. Atque catholici incarcerati formaverunt libellum supplicem ad Reginæ consiliarios, ut saltem vellent permittere ut vinculis liberati ad tempus accepta cautione de redeundo ad diem præstitutum eant ad fundos suos, ut ex cultura, quæ jam pridem magna ex parte vacavit, colligerent quantum esset satis ad tributum vel pœnam illam pecuniariam solvendum quod exigitur ab ipsis. Sed nolebant vel admittere libellum, nedum semel dignati sunt legere, sed graviora sicut Ægyptii Israelitis comminati abire vel tacere jubent. Deus exaudiat gemitus compeditorum et liberet populum suum in manu potenti; interim det ipsis ac nobis patientiam et gratiam fortitudinis. Res Scotiæ dicuntur esse multum perturbatæ, sed nec de eis habemus certam cognitionem. D. Thomas Throckmortonus, frater vestri Edwardi, apud me aliquoties agit de fratris sui remissione in Franciam propter adversam valetudinem. Conqueritur illum non posse ibi diu vivere. Instanter admodum et obnixe egit his diebus mecum, sicut et ante, ut contenderem apud V. R. de illo dimittendo. Ego de ejus statu nihil scio; sed velim ut fratri satisfaciat literis de valetudine ac voluntate sua. Nescio an aliquid suspicetur et vereatur etiam ne cogitet religionem ingredi. Promisi me scripturum. Reddite responsum, si placet et ubi otium erit; nam [non][1] conquiescet. Dominus Jesus V. R. P. vestros pro nobis labores semper fecundet. Rhemis, 27 Sept., 1582.

R. P. V. filius,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo [pa]tri, P. Alfonso Agazario, [collegii] Anglorum de [Urbe] rectori sibi observantissimo. Romæ.

[1] *non* supplied to complete the sense.

LXXXI.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 20 October, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 159.

Mi pater colende in Christo; His diebus a vestra reverentia nihil literarum accepi; et cum jam pridem proximis illis 3 Septembris datis responderim, nec quicquam esset vel novi vel læti quod vos scire magnopere referret planeque essem occupatus, a scribendo supersedebam. Hoc nobis postea quoad rem domesticam jucundum auditu accepimus a quodam amico Parisiensi, quod in comitiis imperialibus Augustæ[1] collecta sint 438 scuta; quod divinæ Providentiæ inprimis, deinde et vestræ sollicitudini referimus. Ex Ulisbona amici dant aliquam spem. E Madritio nihil audimus plane. De Parisiensi contributione valde erravit P. Crittonius, sicut et nos prolixa spe sumus frustrati, nescio enim an 200 illa urbs ac tota Gallia hactenus dederit. Numero iterum gravissime premimur, adeo sane ut jam novum exædificemus refectorium: ita persecutionis hujus hiemalis gravis motus extrudit ex Insula multos. Deus quoque noster dilatat viscera in nos suorum. Illustrissimus enim dominus Guisianus Dux jubet initia novi seminarii nostratium et Scotorum in Societatis collegio suo nuper Augii[2] instituto constitui; decem enim sunt ad festum Omnium Sanctorum admittendi secundum judicium nostrum et P. Roberti. Erunt ex pueris, qui trajicient facile ad eum locum ex Anglia; est enim littori adjunctus. Isti duo hæretici, Banus et Gourus, quos habemus hic et Parisiis in vinculis, sunt nobis magno et oneri et sumptui. Nisi ipsorum omnes sumptus faciamus, dimittent eos; et custodes mire nos pro victu, cubiculis et cæteris exactionibus, præsertim ille Parisiensis, nos[3] emungunt. Heri ex Anglia a P. Georgio Hallo, id est, Birketto vestro literas accepi. Prænuntiat futuram magnam contra catholicos hac bruma tempestatem. Sæviunt enim in hieme magis. P. Joannes Hartus quotidie coronam expectat, et se obnixe commendat utriusque collegii ac patrum etiam [precibus],[4] quorum Societati in carcere ex voto se sociavit. P. Arthurus[5] etiam et torturam et mortem quoque expectat; sed non est ille hactenus condemnatus sicut alter. P. Georgius prædictus paucos ante dies quam literas ad me suas scripsit inciderat subito in illum perditum proditorem Mundeum, sed Deus excæcavit illum ut [non][4] agnosceret P. Georgium. Trahebat ad carcerem 3 presbyteros ac tres nobiles catholicos ipsorum hospites quos ruri comprehendi jam tum curaverat. Sed quī illī essent, P. Georgius hactenus non intellexit. Lætatur in Domino se periculum evasisse.

Quod ad Broukesbeum nostrum attinet, etsi de ejus voluntate et fide quoad solutionem plane sim certus, tamen de facultate reddendi sum valde dubius. Quicquid enim in Anglia habet vel imposterum habebit vereor ne nihil omnino sint reddituri

[1] Diet at Augsburg. [2] See p. 129, note. [3] *nos* redundant. [4] Word supplied. [5] Arthur Pitts.

amici ejus; ita sunt homines istic nunc vel timide vel mali, ut lubenter prætexant legum prohibitionem et Principis edicta, quibus sub pœna capitis prohibetur ne quidquam conferant aut mittant suis in seminariis. Tamen quia video vos velle et juvenem valde cupiam animo erigere, potestis secreto illi concedere quæ petit; sed mallem sit contentus 50 scutis potius; nam et ipse potest imposterum egere, et aliis quoque identidem fortassis nonnunquam sucurrendum est. Committo vobis [rem][1] totam. Fortassis ad ipsum scribam: si tamen otium non erit, potestis illi ista significare ex literis nostris. Licet ipsis videatur collecta magna, tamen non vident incredibiles esse expensas nostras in sustentatione 130 hominum (tot enim certe sumus hoc tempore) miræque in missionibus largitiones, et propter hanc collectam undique ad nos concurrunt nostrates. Cum conaretur hic leguleius quidam facere nobis procuratorium vobis mittendum, displicuit plane formula. Proinde expectabimus vestram formulam. Interim quidvis feceritis erit mihi ratum et gratum. De Gulielmo Haukeswortho quid dicam aut quid faciam nescio. Reverendissimo P. Generali non ita pridem scripsi. Cupio scire an receperitis. Dignetur R. V. suam paternitatem a me humillime salutare.[2] Vestros spero prope adventare. Saluta omnes vestros ac nostros, senes cum junioribus, patres cum filiis, qui sunt omnes mihi meis oculis chariores. Deus te, charissime pater Alfonse, custodiat. Remis, 20 Octobris, 1582.

V. R. P. servus et filius,

G. Alanus.

Gilbertus Giffordius ex Anglia rediit. Quomodo fuerit a patre exceptus, quomodo se ibi gesserit, quomodove discesserit nescio; non enim invisit nos, sed ex Lutetia, qua recta et mox contendit in Italiam, scripsit tantum breve epistolium italice cognato suo, tantum innuens se reverti in Italiam nec habere unde debita persolvat. Quid igitur meditetur nescio. Deus scit et vos [eum][1] Romam venerit videbitis. Iterum valete.

Addressed.

Reverendo patri Alfonso, collegii Anglorum rectori vigilantissimo. Romæ.

LXXXII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 5 November, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 163.

Jesus.

Nunc, Deo gratias, feliciter appulerunt doctor Barrettus cum sodalibus suis, alumnis vestris sex, 3 scilicet Novembris. Pricius etenim, relicto Wigso, ut debuit, se

[1] Word supplied. [2] In MS. *salutari.*

suis adjunxit. Alter solus Venetias profectus adhuc non comparet. Wodroffus tota via lenta[1] febri et tusse laboravit atque videtur non diu victurus. Reliqui bene se habent de itinere et honestissime se gesserunt. De Barretto multum lætamur, laboresque ac curas nostras, quibus indies me magis et animo et corpore gravari ac confici video (uti spero) alleviabit. Adventantium undique numero mire premimur. Intra dies quatuordecim præter istos vestros, minimum, venerunt viginti studiosi. Ita ista persecutio catholicos fugat ex academiis Anglicis. Sed et collegia ista Romanum et Remense facta sunt ex adversariorum concionibus et edictis adeo celebria, nedum et libris editis, ut multi ex Oxonio præsertim dicantur fugam ad nos meditari. Si collecta Hispanica non procedat melius quam Gallica, iterum hoc anno sequenti ad summas veniemus angustias: sed spero in Deo, magnamque habeo in vestra charitate fiduciam. De aliquot scutis ex collecta matri Storei dandis, quod cupitis, faciam lubenter: sed, dicam V. P., est femina lingua virulentissima, et huic loco ubi collegium consistit incommodissima; et nos conabimur illam transferre (si possumus) paulo longius a seminario. Cupio pro Powellis accipiatis 100 scuta de nostra pecunia pro hujus anni pensione patria. Nos tantundem capiemus a patre et amico ipsorum. Cupio ut ad me aliquando scribant de rebus suis, ut de ipsorum studiis, voluntate ac valetudine amici per me reddi possint certiores. Si putetis magis expedire ut revocem Gulielmum Haukesworthum hoc vere, faciam, et mittam alterum fratrem, adolescentem ingenio admirabili, si cætera (uti spero) sint consentanea. Multum proficiet apud vos; jam enim græce et latine probe callet. Sed Deus me punit in consanguineis; vel ipsorum potius parentes castigat, qui sunt sanctissimi confessores. Non vacat hoc tempore plura scribere. Isti notarii sunt hic tam vecordes et rudes ut nesciam an hoc tempore sim missurus procuratorium cujus formulam misistis. Reliqua cognoscenda scripsi domino Georgio Gilberto. Salutate quæso optimum p. confessarium et p. ministrum, p. Frabrinum[2] et cæteros meosque omnes, et de muneribus sacris ac cæteris rebus receptis per istos nostros gratias habeo maximas. Jesus vos custodiat. Remis, 5 Novembris, 1582.

V. R. P. filius et amicus,

G. ALANUS.

Reverendissimus D. Odiscalcus scripsit ad me omni humanitate et gratia plenissimas literas, quibus me servum suum plane beavit; etenim pro benedictione habui. Osculare ejus sacras meo nomine manus, quæso. Deus nobis tales patronos et protectores exilii nostri conservet.

G. ALANUS.

P. Bicklei munusculum sacrum fuit mihi gratissimum. Salvere ipsum jubeo. Libellus quoque vester de eleemosyna fuit gratissimus.

Addressed.

Reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, collegii Anglorum [rectori] optimo. Romæ.

[1] In MS. *lenti.* [2] F. Fabrizio.

LXXXIII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. [Reims] 13 November 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 167.

Jesus.

Pax Christi. Literas V. P. die 25 datas recepi, cum paulo antea ad vos alias ipse dedissem; quod officiorum mutuum commercium est eritque semper (ut spero) utrique jucundum mihique inprimis necessarium. Illam novam 10 dierum intercalationem vereor ut reverendissimus D. Datarius condonabit seu vobis seu nobis. De utiliori collocandi pecunias nostras ratione vestro simpliciter judicio committo, nihil enim conferre possum consilii. Misi in proximis literis procuratorium: secundum illud facite quod expedire judicabitis. Exolutum esse domino Georgio Gilberto lætor; ejus enim pecunias jam pridem expendimus, bonamque etiam partem illius summæ quæ domino doctori Harto istic per vos assignanda erit. In ea re id male accidit solum quod in ista nummorum permutatione detrimentum sustineat dominus Gilbertus: quod si vestra æquitate possit aliquo modo resarciri ex nostris rationibus, quidvis potius ferrem quam ut tantus collegii amicus et benefactor aliquid incommodi a nobis capiat. Sed in neutram partem res potest esse magni momenti. Saltem illi nostram voluntatem significate. Reliqua minuta quæ certis personis nostro vel Bailei mandato solvistis in rationes ducemus. Ultimis literis dedi facultatem accipiendi etiam pro Powellis 100 scuta; sed nunc non displicet quod porro 50 supra centum accepistis; et parentes admonebo, quibus vestrum de utroque adolescente judicium adscribam, admoneboque ut cogitent de Carolo disponere post completum cursum, et an velint nomen verum thesibus adscribi. Cum ipsum valde diligam, tamen nunquam ad me scribit. Georgius[1] aliquoties literas dat, de quibus ago gratias, licet character sit valde rudis et pene illegibilis; alioquin ad patrem misissem. De Martini[2] obitu felici scripsi antea: cupio illum nostrorum precibus commendari. Eo magis erit nobis Barrettus necessarius. Est quidam Hibernus, Leonardus Fitzimonus,[3] presbyter et meus olim Duaci contubernalis, vir plane

[1] George Powell. [2] Rev. Gregory Martin died at the college in Reims, 28 October, 1582. [3] William Nugent, S.J., and Barnabas Georhagan, S.J., in a joint letter to the Cardinal of Como, dated Paris, 4 June, 1584, thus express themselves: "Dell' arcivescovato Dublinense si sente qui qualche bisbiglio che sia per quel frate Bazzono: ma vostra Signoria illustrissima sia servita di non lasciar quella, la quale è la prima dignità di nostro regno, cascar in mano di forestieri quando non mancano de' nostri persone che ne sono degne, si come particolarmente ci è Leonardo Fizzymon, il quale oltre alla dottrina et virtù sua è figliuolo del primo cavaglier di quella città." Theiner, Ann. Eccles., III., 819. Doubtless "quel frate Bazzono" is the "Friar Batson, a father of St. Francis order, half Flemish by his mother," who is mentioned by F. Persons in his Autobiographical Notes

bonus, doctus et gravis, qui vel in via est vel jam appulit apud vos. Si ipsum vel meâ causa tractetis humanius, pergratum erit. D. Polum incolumem venisse ad Urbem lætor. Humanissimas accepi literas a reverendissimo Patre Generali. Eas recte mihi datas, si placet, suæ paternitati significate; nam ubi non datur justa causa rescriptionis, hominem sanctissime occupatum non interpellandum censui. Sed a me osculare manus quæso. Perbeati eritis tali præposito, ac nos etiam tali patre, in cujus filiis esse cupio. Harto meo benedicat Christus Jesus, et oret pro me. Jam diu ab amplissimo et optimo amico, reverendo domino Hurtado, nihil audivi. Si valet bene est, Deusque ipsum incolumem nobis servet. Ex Anglia nihil prorsus novi, nisi quod novos scholares indies accipiamus. Pestis quæ Londini grassatur reddit hostes paulo mitiores vel saltem ad tempus quietiores. Hactenus in Galliis antiquum calendarium secuti sumus: nunc novam rationem inchoabimus. Deus det ut semel supra istos orbes et planetas, qui nobis istas temporum vicissitudines et errores generant, perveniamus, ut æternitate simul fruamur, suavissime collega, Alfonse pater. Vale. 13 Novembris, 1582.

Vester totus,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazario, [collegii] Anglicani rectori [m]ihi colendissimo. Romæ.

LXXXIV.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 23 November, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 173.

Reverende pater; Quia nihil scribendum occurrit de rebus Britannicis, quæ eo sunt nunc pacatiores quod pestis fecerit Londini justitiam et principes quosque urbe expulerit, istas tantum lineas ad intercessionem cujusdam alumni collegii hujus exaravimus; nimirum Milonis Gerardi,[1] qui diu hic studiis sacris operam dedit et desideravit ad sacros ordines promoveri; quod et nunc multum expetit, et est sane moribus et scientia valde idoneus; sed propter unum oculum in pueritia quasi exesum et effossum, ex quo est cæcus, non potuit hactenus ordinari sine dispensatione. Summopere cupio ut pro illo ista gratia petatur et obtineatur prima occasione. Ille est dicecesis Cestrensis. Alium habemus alumnum qui propter pium studium in parentes quos perire

as having been employed by Dr Owen Lewis at Rome in connection with the party of Paget and Morgan. "This man," F. Persons adds, "had a brother in the Society, but afterwards dismissed." Stonyhurst MSS. P. 232. Leonard Fitzsimon was admitted to the college at Douay, 16 October, 1576, and ordained priest, 23 February, 1578. First and Second Douay Diaries, pp. 112, 135.

[1] Miles Gerard, martyr, 30 April, 1590.

nollet propter contemptum legum ecclesiasticarum, aut potius propter non observatos in matrimonio canones ecclesiasticos, cum contraxerint in quarto gradu consanguinitatis, humiliter petit a vestra reverentia ut per aliquem procuratorem aut actorem causarum vestrarum in curia obtinere [possit][1] Breve Apostolicum super legitimatione matrimonii et prolium susceptarum in eodem. Nomina conjugum sunt Ovenus Lloydus et Laurea Lloyda. Sunt enim ejusdem gentilis nominis ambo, et sunt Cestrensis diœcesis: et nostri sacerdotes habent facultatem dispensandi in foro conscientiæ cum contractis in 3 et 4; sed quia vir est hæreticus, nec vult venire ad confessionem, non possunt exercere in illos hoc suum indultum. Cum hujusmodi nollem vobis esse molestus, nisi valde urgerer ab istis juvenibus. Lomaxium, quia per doctorem Barrettum vos id velle video, retineo ad tempus. Dicite, quæso, meo et vestro Gulielmo Harto me lubentissime illius nomine persoluturum illa duo scuta quæ debebat cuidam sodali suo. Tantum sit memor mei; atque solvat, quæso, vestra paternitas et ducat in rationes nostras. Arthuri Creswelli literas perferendas etiam patri Holto curabo. Illum salvere jubeo cum omnibus collegis suis. Omnes bene valemus præter P. Wodroffum, qui vult discedere, licet ægrotet, propter consortium duorum presbyterorum sibi charorum quos nunc mittimus. R. P. Gulielmum Crightonium ac dominum Georgium salutate a nobis. Valete in Christo Jesu et nos ut soletis amate et juvate in Domino. Petrus Kirkus[2] scribit ad vos et R. P. confessarium super pensione sua, et volebat nos scribere ad M. Cameræ vel Thesaurarium. Sed non videbatur mihi faciendum; licet optimo plane et dignissimo (ut ego existimo) homini valde cupiam illam gratiam fieri, et potestis, quantum lubet et prudentiæ vestræ convenire judicabitur, uti mea commendatione. Sed in hujusmodi rebus repulsam pati nollem, mallemque potius non petere nisi ubi bona spes existat. Vos judicate. Iterum valete. Remis, 23 Novembris, 1582.

V. R. P. filius,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazerio, collegii Anglorum rectori vigilantissimo. Romæ.

LXXXV.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 6 December, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 193.

Jesus.

R^de^ pater, salus in Domino. Literas reverentiæ vestræ 8 Novembris scriptas recepi, una cum rationibus in quibus hactenus non potuimus videre aliquem errorem.

[1] Word supplied. [2] Peter Kirk, some time bailiff of the Earl of Northumberland, an exile. First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 298.

Et tamen in tam multis, variis atque minutis summis atque extraordinariis multorum postulationibus quibus nunc 2, nunc 3 scuta postulant difficile omnia libello inscribuntur. Sed modicum pro nihilo utrinque habebimus, erimusque quam possumus diligentes etiam hic, ne quidquam damni vobis contingat, ne præter summos pro nobis labores et molestias vestras quidquam præterea detrimenti accedat. Quittantiam istius anni quam possum citissime mittam. Nos jam incipimus indigere pecuniis et etiam mutuo accipere, quia ex numero studiosorum expensæ nostræ fiunt supra modum exorbitantes. Collecta Gallicana, ut sæpe admonui, vix satisfacit nostri Coverti laboribus in cursitando; nam et propter eas molestias extraordinarias coacti sumus de eadem collecta ipsi satisfacere. Rothomagi aliquid tentatur, sed quid fiet nescio, et si aliquid ibi accidat, sanctimoniales nostrates[1] quæ ibi sunt debent necessario habere bonam partem, quia indigent et dignæ sane sunt. Postquam de provisione menstrua vobis ac aliis quæ debemus soluta erunt, dignetur R. V. aliquid Parisios etiam pro nobis mittere secundum antiquum cambium. Video ex binis illis literis ex Hispania ad illustrissimum D. Protectorem bonam esse spem divinæ erga nos Providentiæ in hunc annum venturum. E comitiis Augustanis fere 400 aureos sumus accepturi. Imposterum ut facilius inveniri et expediri queant illæ summæ quas a vobis solvi istic cupimus, scribam semper in charta seorsim a literis, ut illis schedulis solis servatis rationes imposterum sint minus laboriosæ et magis securæ. Ex Anglia literas recepimus a P. Birketto: sed nihil novi scribit nisi de P. Harti mirabili afflictione propter constantiam in confessione fidei, et quod duo hujus collegii alumni ac sacerdotes sint nuper capti cum tota domestica ecclesia cujusdam nobilis et bonæ feminæ. Nihil præterea novi est. Habent Londini in uno carcere quem Mariscalli sedem[2] appellant 18 sacerdotes.

Saluta R. P. confessarium cujus literas accepi et dominum Gilbertum, ad quos non vacat nunc scribere. Literæ vestræ ad P. Fosterum erant bonæ et valde illi utiles. Spero ipsum et Gulielmum[3] consilia vestra ac monita semper secuturos. Jesus te mihi, pater mi, servet. Remis, 6 Decembris, 1582.

Vestræ reverendæ paternitatis in Christo dilectissimus frater et servus,

G. Alanus.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, collegii Anglorum de Urbe rectori [opti]mo, mihi plurimum [dilecto]. Romæ.

[1] The Bridgettine nuns of Sion migrated from the Low Countries to Rouen in 1580, and left it for Lisbon in 1594. See First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 360. [2] Marshalsea prison.
[3] William Gifford.

LXXXVI.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. [Reims] 30 December, 1582.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 197.

Pax Christi.

Admodum reverende et longe charissime confrater in Domino; Ex literis 21 Novembris multum sane indoluimus de transitu optimi Edoardi,[1] licet ipsi fuerit felicissimus. Oret pro nobis sanctissima anima ipsius, sicut vicissim pro ipsa sacrificiorum hic et orationum officia rependemus; quod vel eo nomine magis facere debemus quod etiam memor fuerit nostri, id est, collegii hujus; quanquam dubitem partem hæreditatis suæ transiturum potius ad alios fratres quam ad sororem religiosam, si quæ futura sit. Agam et egi quam possum diligentissime pro recuperandis debitis iis quæ ipse, Sherleus et cæteri quos nominatis incurrerunt. De Gulielmo Brucksbeo quod fecistis approbo, sed sit secretissimum. De bono patre[2] nostro, de quo quæritis, profecto vereor ne sit defunctus in via; nam his duobus mensibus expectavimus ipsum, et jam pridem etiam cum lachrimis, et adhuc non comparet. Quod non vocent aut petant plures patres[3] in messem partim fit quod aliquot sint etiam in Anglia recepti ex doctissimis optimisque presbyteris in ordinem eum; partim quia expectant meliores occasiones et persecutionis aliquam remissionem, quæ adhuc gravior est, licet aliquantulum hac hieme propter pestem Londinensem deferbuerit nonnihil. Et nunc etiam multi ex omnibus ordinibus consulendum sibi potius putant ex fuga quam ut domi vincula aut deprædationem patiantur. Expectamus ingentem studiosorum turbam hoc vere. Multi enim se parant, ut audimus, et oneramur multis pueris ex expectatione seminarii Augiensis[4] quod futurum putabatur, sed adhuc nihil fit per illustrissimum Ducem,[5] nec quando sit futurum scimus. Spes nunc est magna ex Hispania. Video optimum patrem nostrum Oliverium plurimum satagisse pro nobis, sicut et illustrissimum Gonzagam, ad quos per proximum tabellarium scribemus. Subito enim receptis V. R. literis ista exaravimus. De illo juvene qui pecunia caret Bononiæ scripsi in alteris literis me valde cupere illi satisfactum esse; nam revera habet 66 scuta in manibus Balei nostri. Factum est negligentia quod prius non sit significatum. Cum monoculo[6] nostro gaudeo esse dispensatum. Ingentes habeo Deo gratias ac vestræ etiam pietati pro D. Poli[7] promotione filiique sui tam honorifica educatione. Uret illud hæreticos nostros multum; sed mallem illos alio ardere igne. Bayleus et multi

[1] Edward Throgmorton. [2] F. Robert Persons. [3] *i. e.*, patres Societatis Jesu. [4] Eu in Normandy. [5] Duke of Guise. [6] Miles Gerard. [7] "Sua Beatitudo dominum hunc [Geoffrey Pole] perhumaniter accepit, eumque patria, bonis et uxore orbatum amplis Romæ sumptibus sustentat, et illius filiolum cum filio Principis Parmensis in ill^mi Card. Farnesii ædibus educandum curavit." Literæ Annuæ Collegii Anglicani de Urbe, Anni 1582.

gaudent de illis pecuniis a reverendissimo domino Assaphensi missis. Deus illum bonum senem nobis conservet, cui a me humillimas quæso salutes; scribere enim ad reverendissimam Dominationem suam non vacat nec licet nunc. Itidem salutate reliquos omnes, imprimis D. Gilbertum et p. confessarium dominumque Polum. Dignetur R. V. mittere istas literas Neapolim. Christus Jesus dulcissimam mihi animam vestram conservet. Postridie S. Tho. martyris, 1582.

Filius vester,
G. ALANUS.

In margin, but erased.

I pray tell Thomas Wentforth I have his letters, and so I have thother for Mr . . .

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, collegii Anglorum [vigilantiss]imo rectori. Romam.

LXXXVII.

Instructions regarding the way in which the collection ordered by Pope Gregory XIII. for the English College at Reims was to be made at Rome. Lent, 1582.

From a contemporary document in the archives of Stonyhurst College. MSS. P. 499.

Ricordi per li reverendi padri predicatori intorno alla colletta per gl' Inglesi.

Che dichiarino al popolo venerdi mattina et anco domenica l'importanza grande di questo negotio, esplicando la inaudita crudeltà et persecutione che patiscono i cattolici in Inghilterra et come molti son sforzati à partirsi per non perder' la fede, molti altri sopportano quivi tormenti grandissimi fino alla morte. Quei che son fuora del regno, per li quali propriamente è fatta questa colletta, si ritrovano per la maggior parte nel collegio di Remis in Francia, dove concorrono[2] ogni giorno tutti quelli che possono scappare dalle fiere mani de gli heretici, et quivi son tutti con gran carità abbracciati et instrutti nelle lettere et nella pietà, et fatti che son poi sacerdoti et bene armati di spirito et di dottrina ritornano in Inghilterra per aiutare occultamente le anime anco col proprio sangue.

Per aiuto di questa gente sua Santità non solo concede giornalmente buone elemosine, ma vedendo il bisogno tanto grande et tanto universale hà concesso questo Breve [3] essortando tutti fideli Christiani à porgere qualche aiuto.

Si desidera che venerdi il popolo sia caldamente essortato à fare una larga elimosina et quella mattina et anco la domenica seguente nel tempo della predica, et faccino limosina piu che l'ordinario, essendo bisogno estraordinario: et in oltre alcuni reverendissimi prelati et signori vedendo l'importanza di questo negotio han preso

[1] Name undecipherable. [2] In MS. *concorreno.* [3] Printed in Dodd. II., 247. See also various letters on this subject in the First and Second Douay Diaries, pp. 340-345.

l'assonto di andar' cercando et domandando alle case de' signori et gentilhuomini di Roma et cosi essortar' tutti à far' la elimosina et in chiesa et in casa sendo ciò per la salute d' infinite anime.

Per aiuto et conversione del medesimo regno Nostro Signore hà concesso anco sussidio spirituale, et è che nella chiesa de gli Inglesi si faccia l'oratione delle quarante hore con indulgenza plenaria a tutti quelli che confessi et communicati visiteranno la detta chiesa et faran oratione per la conversione d'Inghilterra. Quest' oratione comincierà domenica al tempo della messa cantata et durerà fin al martedi mattina, onde si desidera che anco nella predica della domenica si essorti il popolo caldamente ad andare quivi a fare orationi per questo bisogno.

LXXXVIII.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Paris, 16 February, 1583.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Anglica Nunziatura, Vol. I., fol. 243).

Ill^me^ Domine.

Jam diu nihil tuæ Celsitudini scripsi; quod literarum argumentum vel novum vel dignum non occurreret. In Anglia nulla rerum mutatio: hinc gravis persecutio, illinc constantissima professio. Scotiæ Princeps, ut prius, est in potestate hostium. Lenoxius cogitur in Galliam migrare. Collegium nostrum constat jam centum quinquaginta studiosis. Numerum etenim propter collectam ecclesiasticam a S^mo^ D. N^tro^ ad nostrum subsidium indictam continuo augemus lubenter, et certe propter ingentem multitudinem persecutionem fugientem augere cogimur. Unus tamen sacerdos tantum his postremis mensibus ultimo supplicio est affectus. Ista minutiora nolui tacere, licet alia sit nunc data occasio vel potius imposita scribendi provincia: nempe ut literas serenissimæ Scotorum Reginæ ad S^tem^ suam propria manu scriptas transmitterem. Quod officium suæ Majestatis nomine libens facio. Supplex oro tuam Amplitudinem ut digneris eas S^mo^ D. N^ro^ tradere. Agit tantum, sicut ex literarum exemplari mihi communicatarum percepi, causam Ducissæ de Feria, feminæ Anglæ, illustrissimi ante aliquot annos defuncti Ducis viduæ. Istam dominam propter varia gratissima et utilissima in se obsequia Regina plurimum amat, cupitque illam ex caloribus Hispaniæ, quibus singulis annis extreme periclitatur, abduci in Belgium vel alias Catholici Regis ditiones vitæ et saluti suæ magis consentaneas; ubi etiam gratia, opibus et authoritate sua popularibus suis possit et solatio et subsidio esse, sicut certe semper fuit. Est enim femina sancta, fidei ac Sedis Apostolicæ observantissima et in afflictos gentis suæ homines benignissima atque liberalissima. An ipsa migrare cupiat aut etiam velit

nihil sane scio, sed contribules in Anglia sui vehementer id desiderant. Difficultas est in eo quod in Hispania principum viduæ solemni ritu perpetuo quasi lugeant defunctum virum, nec ultra nisi jussi (*sic*) se loco moveant aut in publicum procedant. Regina ita accipit quod facile jussu Regis ab illa ceremonia exolveretur, præsertim si sua Sanctitas dignaretur uno verbulo idem per literas et Nuntium suum in aula Hispanica agere. Quod negotium si sapientiæ tuæ iniquum aut importunum non videatur, quæso te, Cardinalis optime, ut authoritate tua (vel ut Reginæ serenissimæ satisfiat) promoveas. Hoc vehementer a tua bonitate postulo. De rebus publicis non est quod hoc loquar tempore. Quantum tamen debeamus S^mo^ D. N^ro^ quantumque a Deo per ipsum sperem scimus et gaudemus in Domino, identidemque tuæ Amplitudini pro admirabili in nos nostramque rempublicam propensione gratias habebimus æternas. Jesus Christus te servet nobis incolumem, Mecænas unice. Lutetiæ, 16 Febr., 1583.

Tuæ Celsitudinis orator et servus in Domino,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Ill^mo^ ac R^mo^ domino Cardinali Comensi, domino suo benignissimo. Romam.

LXXXIX.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 2 March, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 213.

Pax Christi.

Pater reverende; Domum redii ad meos in principio quadragesimæ. Omnia recte offendi; laus Christo. Post ea quæ scripsi Lutetia discedens peculiare nihil est. Scholares nostri hinc discesserunt heri, feria nimirum tertia primæ hebdomadæ. Ante paucos dies accepi multas ex carceribus Anglicanis confessorum literas, quæ tamen non possunt semper tuto publicari, ne gravius affligantur hi quos in vinculis habent, et ne exquirant hostes per quos et qua via inveniant scribendi et mittendi literas commoditatem. Inter cætera habeo Joannis Harti (qui Societatem vestram ingredi desiderat)[1] constantissimi confessoris ad patrem Gasperum Hayvodum[2] literas, ac ejusdem patris ad eum responsum et alia plurima ejus generis. Mitto tantum vobis nunc ejusdem Harti ad me (quia Latine scribuntur) literarum exemplar, unde ipsorum statum facile cognoscere poteritis. Cupio etiam eas reverendissimo Patri Generali communicari, quia se dicavit vestræ Societati. P. Birketti quoque literas anglicas mitto reverendo patri confessario, ut vobis eas interpretetur et legat. Recentiores tamen in occultis characteribus ab eodem Georgio Birketto accepi hoc mense Februarii proximo datas, ubi narrat P. Tiderium et quendam alium sacerdotem nostrum jam

[1] The sentence *qui Societatem vestram ingredi desiderat* is interlined in a different hand. [2] *Hayvodum* is interlined in a different hand.

pridem ut audistis antea captos, ductos ad consiliarios Reginæ et ab iisdem mira vel suavitate vel supra solitum arte tractatos leniter et in carcerem non ita gravem conjectos, reddita sibi sua grana benedicta et agnus Dei atque alia similia, quæ ibi per se solent haberi capitalia, porro etiam lenissimis sermonibus demulsos. Ita enim dicebant:—Nos nihil debemus in vos gravius statuere, sed sua Majestas accepit causam vestram in manus clementiæ suæ. Ita sane scribit ad me ille bonus pater: sed nil magis ipsis fidimus, cum eodem tempore durissime illos confessores qui in turri Londinensi sunt tractaverint, ut alios pœnis et terroribus, alios verborum lenociniis a fide et sancto proposito avertant. De Joanne Nicolao, quem (ut scripsi) curavimus Rothomagi in carcerem conjici, quid fiet nescio; ita hic leges contra hæreses silent. Homo impius fassus est se omnia illa accusationum capita quæ vel in concione vel in libro contra nuper martyrium passos [protulit][1] confinxisse, jubentibus et ni faceret eculeum minitantibus quibusdam Reginæ ministris et consiliaribus. De religione tamen dicit se multa ex animi sententia dixisse contra catholicos, licet in aliquibus articulis non credat protestantibus; sed nunc se cupere cum catholicis conferre. Ejus ad me scriptam epistolam,[2] cum ex itinere Turcico quod cogitabat reverteretur, misi etiam Lutetia, ubi Caddeum reliqui ejus socium, hominem parum etiam constantem et quasi delirantem. Ita Deus istos traditores et miseros punit. Cupio scire quid collegio debeat Throgmortonus vester nuper defunctus, ut ipse possim a fratre repetere, sicut jam pridem dedi potestatem vobis illic de nostra pecunia recipiendi. Varias recentium martyrum reliquias per scholares misi. Solum de Cervino,[3] ut desideratis, nihil poss[um][4] nancisci, licet multum laboraverim. Quidam amicus noster nobilis credit se e periculo mari[s fuisse] liberatum cum omnibus comitibus ex injecta parti[cula] reliquiarum P. Campiani. Ejus rei ad me [literas] suas mitto D. Georgio Gilberto, qui potest eas vo[bis] legere et interpretari; sunt enim nostro conscriptæ [sermone]. Videte et judicate; et valete in Domino, cui [te], mi colende pater, cum tuis omnibus, id est, meis qu[am] diligentissime semper commendo. Idem pro misero peccatore et amico vestro mutuo, quæso, facite. Remis, 2 Martii, 1583.

V. R. P. servus in Christo,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, [P.] Alphonso Agazario, collegii Anglorum in Urbe rectori [vigilanti]ssimo. Romæ.

[1] Word supplied. [2] See Concertatio, p. 231. [3] Ralph Sherwin, martyr, 1 December, 1581.
[4] The MS. is worn away here: the words between brackets have been conjecturally supplied.

XC.

The Earl of Westmorland and Lord Dacre to Dr William Allen. Tournay, 5 March, 1583.

From the original in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 217.
Printed also in Dodd. Vol. II., *p.* 223.

Jesus ✠ Maria.

Deare beloved Father; Sithe lately it hathe pleased God to rystore to more perfecte healthe the Earle of Westmerlande; whoe as he fyndethe hym selfe nowe more able of bodye, so lyckwyse is he in mynde the more desyrouse and wyllynge to perfome a moste dewtyfull offyce in the servyse of hys devyne Majestie and hys deare contrey; havynge also wytheall the rude writter herof a promysed and a vowed assyster and furtherer of hym in this same holye purpose and attempte to the uttermoste of hys forse and power. Soe grette then ys the assured hope and confidence bothe we have in your moste fervente and well-approved zeale to advaunce and preserve the moste pretyouse quarell in the wordle, the honor and glorye of God's chyrche; a thinge in our poore contrey soe necessarye to be promoted, as the wante therof hazardethe yea many thowsande of sowles of eternall damnation. And albeit many of your habite and coate hathe latelye executed theyr prestely function wurthelye to the happy recoverye of a grette number of the same, yet those fewe of us of the laytie now leafte alyve maye therat beare a holye envye, which eyther throughe the slowe or colde dyspotetion [disposition] of the moste myghtye princes we have dealte wythall, or rather throughe the lett of our grevouse synnes, colde never yet obteyne the spetyall grace to be imployed in this blessed cause. Well perhappes the lycke apte opertunitie afore hathe not beenn offered, as presently there ys by the late resorte into those partes of that noble and fathefull subjecte, the Ducke of Lenox. Wherfor sythe that nexte unto God of all our natyon we doe repose a moste spetyall tryste and affyance in youe, unto whose vertuouse dyrectyon we have not alone promysed by woords, but also herby have wholye resygned and commetted ourselves to be ordered by, tacke therfor herbye this commyssyon and authoritie upon you as well to promyse of our behaulfe as well to the seyde Ducke, the L. embassydore of Scot., the L. of Rosse, eyther to one, all or eny of them, whatsoever ayde, countenaunce or assystance our personnes, frynds or wellwyllers may be eny way herunto, as also howe, wher and when to your wysdome and theyr appontment the same shall seame metteste and moste avaylable; perswadyng alweys that youe wyll tacke that fatherly care that our overture and redynesse herin be noe waye prejudiciall to the contynewance of our honors and the good openion of hys Holynesse and Catholycke Majestie, which hytherto hathe noryshed us; whom we do beleave sholde receave not only moste sperytuall joye and comforth, but also in tyme gretteste gayne and wordlye commoditie herby. Wherfor yf this our intente and meanynge

by your dyscrett solystation may fynde the happy and fortunate howre to be herkened unto, we muste further requyre you soe effectually to deale eyther with the spetyall personnes before named or els wythe som other of more authoritie youe thyncke beste for the procurynge of favourable letters that our intertaynmente be better answered and payed, that we maye somewhat better be provyded and furnyshed whersoever youe and they shall dyspose of us. Which yf you shall deame for the more spedye executynge of eny thynge above seyde our presence requesytte, we shall not fayle eyther the one or bothe furthewith upon your advertysemente and passeporte procured, yf you soe thyncke good, repayre to soche place as you shall dyrecte and appoynte us. Thus bouldly cravynge your moste delygent laboure and travayle in the premysses and your resolution with the sureste and spedyeste opertunytie that comodyouslye youe can there fynde, that therafter we maye be the more redye to accomplyshe the same accordyngely, doe surceasse from gyvynge youe eny longer trouble at this tyme, commendynge us moste effectuallye to your selfe. Herwythe shall youe receave a letter to the Ducke of Lenoxe with the copy therof, that after you have well perused youe maye eyther delyver or cause to be delyvered, yf you dysserne it expedyent and necessarye; otherwyse youe maye at your pleasure deteyne and kepe the same styll in your custodye. Fare well, our moste deare frynde. At Turnaye, this 5 of Marche, 1583.

Your moste assured,
CHARLE DE WESTMERLAND.
EDWARD DACRE.[1]

Addressed.

To our very lovynge and assured frynde Mr docteur Alleynn. At Remes.

Endorsed.

The Earl of Westmerland and my Lord Dacres letter.

XCI.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 9 March, 1583.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., p. 477.

Ill^mo^ ac rev^mo^ in Christo patri et domino, domino Cardinali Comensi, suo singulari patrono.

Illustrissime et optime patrone.

Miserator et misericors Dominus, qui escam dat timentibus se, sicut continuo multiplicat gentem, ita certe hoc tempore magnificavit lætitiam. Cum enim collegium istud

[1] The two signatures appear to be autographs.

ita magnitudine et numero suo indies magis magisque laboraret, ut nec menstrua suæ Sanctitatis munificentia nec ullis undecunque collectis eleemosynis tantæ multitudinis infinitis necessitatibus me succurrere posse putarem, planeque in futurum tempus essem intime supraque solitum sollicitus, Deus excitavit cor suæ Majestatis Catholicæ, sine omni de ea re cogitatione aut expectatione nostra, ut Christi indignis militibus duplicaret annonam, juberetque mihi quotannis solvi ad collegii nostri amplificationem duo millia ducatorum hispanicorum.[1] Quod licet mihi secreto exsolvi mandaverit, noluerit que id vel nostros vel Gallos vel alios quosvis propter certas causas scire, tamen nullo modo potui nec debui istud a Deo nobis profectum bonum apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum tacere; et ut tua Amplitudo humillimi servi sui nomine hoc suæ Sanctitati significet supplex postulo, ut filiorum suorum obedientissimorum bono pater pientissimus lætetur, sicut non dubito benignitatem tuam nostris incrementis non mediocriter affici. Utrum autem id porro petendum esset ut sua Sanctitas dignaretur aliquo verbulo significare Majestati Catholicæ hoc ipsius in collegium suum beneficium sibi gratum esse nescio, quia ut occultum sit velle videtur. Et id totum vestro sapientissimo judicio et in nos amori relinquo. Quædam per reverendissimum dominum Nuntium postulata ad spiritualem patriæ nostræ profectum pertinentia hoc tempore, uti existimo, Sanctissimo Domino nostro proponentur; quæ ut promoveas vehementer te precor, benignissime Cardinalis. Diu nobis et toti ecclesiæ feliciter vivat sanctissimus Papa noster Gregorius, et tu quoque Beatissimi Patris sanctissimo ministerio multos in Christo annos vivas et valeas, Mecænas optime. Rhemis, 9 Martii, 1583.

Illustrissimæ Dominationis tuæ orator et servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

XCII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. [Reims] 14 March, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 225.

Admodum reverende in Christo pater; Literæ vestræ pridie Cal. Feb. scriptæ venerunt ad nos paulo quam solent et vellem tardius. Pergratæ erant tamen quod de nostrorum istic omnium valetudine, de collegii optato progressu, de Dei erga nos ex Polonia usque Providentia nuntiarint. Deus quidem hic nobis indies et multiplicat gentem atque sane multis modis etiam magnificat lætitiam.

[1] "Personio vedendo la buona dispositione del Rè [di Spagna] à aiutar li cattolici di tutti due regni l'informò delli bisogni del seminario Inglese di Rhemis in Francia e del frutto che faceva in Inghilterra, e che se bene Papa Gregorio li dava ogni anno due millia scudi di limosina tuttavia che questo non bastava per la moltitudine de scolari che venivano d'Inghilterra abbandonando l'heresia. Con che mosso il buon Rè assegnò anche subito due millia scuti per sua parte in aiuto di quel seminario." Punti della Missione d'Inghilterra per l'anno 1582, by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS., P. 35.

In Anglia (Christo gratias) licet paulo minus solito hostes sæviant, mirifice proficimus. Gulielmus Hartus vester de cujus comprehensione aliis scripsi literis se strenuum athletam præbet in carcere Eboracensi. Vita, disputatione, constantia adversarios obstupefacit: reliquos æquiores vel confirmat vel convertit. Putatur futurus ejus urbis quartus martyr. Tamen non est adhuc morti addictus. Illa civitas antea erat in fidem catholicam propensa semper, sed trium priorum testium recenti sanguine est multum confirmata. Germanus frater meus[1] quem novit V. R[a] nudius tertius ex Anglia ad nos venit, magnis ereptus periculis. Dum ipsum catholicorum in Insula hinc angustias, latebras, spoliationes, illinc consolationes, evasiones, devotiones narrantem audio, varie equidem afficior; sed major est in Domino lætitia quia in his omnibus superant confessores Christi, quam in sæculo tristitia quod tam gravia patiantur. Id erat plane jucundum quod affirmat, se hoc toto triennio quod a me abfuit nulla die caruisse audiendi sacri commoditate, atque sæpe in sororis[2] ædibus[3] tria vel quatuor uno die fieri, imo quotannis in aniversario defuncti mariti officio duodecim missas celebrari. Immittuntur tamen sæpe in hujusmodi ædes de fide catholica magis suspectas exploratores, qui tamen magis veniunt ut calices deripiant quam ut personas comprehendant; quos homines nummis fere placant. Illud totum territorium ubi nati sumus est catholicum, licet vulgus promiscuum metu iniquissimarum legum ecclesias hæreticorum aliquando ingrediatur. Imo passim per totam Angliam dicit nos occupare corda pene omnium, Reginam tamen habere exteriores actus plurium. In quo non parum videmur profecisse, cum animos videamus recta sententia imbutos, licet metus, qui non est diuturnus custos magistri, oris confessionem impediat; licet indies confitentium etiam publice fidem augeatur numerus. Frater Londini integrum mensem, dum transfretandi commoditatem expectat, coactus est subsistere. Interea visitavit carceres et confessores pene omnes præter eos qui in Turri sunt, ad quos non est ausus accedere. In uno, Castro Martio,[4] ut appellatur, sunt præter cæteros catholicos presbyteri viginti quatuor, qui ibi simul dulcissime vivunt in Domino. Et tum illic tum in cæteris carceribus illius urbis multa fiunt quotidie sacra, custodibus, vel pecunia corruptis vel religioni faventibus, annuentibus seu saltem conniventibus. Passimque externi ad eos vel colloquii vel confessionis vel communionis causa admittuntur. Quodque magis est, presbyteri sinuntur quotidie e carceribus exire ad varia urbis loca, ut necessitatibus catholicorum spiritualibus inserviant, modo ad noctem revertantur in custodiam. Unde incredibiliter multorum promovetur illic salus, non minus sane quam si sacerdotes essent liberi. Ita undique Deus benedicit suorum conatus, ipsaque experientia reprimit ista humana judicia multorum vel clamitantium vel susurrantium oportere nos nostros in commodiora tempora servare, persecu-

[1] Gabriel Allen, who accompanied Dr Allen on his third visit to Rome in 1579–80. [2] Elizabeth, widow of George Allen, Dr Allen's eldest brother. [3] Rossall in Lancashire. [4] Marshalsea.

tionibus cedere, ab opere cessare. Quibus consultoribus si uteremur, infinitæ quotidie perirent animæ quæ nunc Dei beneficio servantur, omnisque patriæ futuræ salutis ac conversionis spes periret; neque enim expectanda sunt meliora [tempora *erased*] sed facienda meliora, et a Deo Optimo Maximo studio, labore ac sanguine præsertim sacerdotum sunt redimenda feliciora tempora.

Dum frater divertit in itinere ad insigniores quosque in regno catholicos, multos vidit ac allocutus est presbyteros collegii utriusque alumnos. In ipsa etiam urbe Londinensi vidit multos præter eos quos custodiæ mancipatos diximus; P. nempe Gasperum[1] de Societate vestra, hominem plane prudentem et operarium insignem qui hoc anno cepit magnos pisces. Vidit quoque P. Georgium[2] aliosque complures, multaque mihi de omnibus lætissima narrat. Illudque imprimis est jucundissimum quod narrat in tam numerosa alumnorum et sacerdotum utriusque collegii turba paucissimi, id est, tres aut quatuor tantum a fide vel metu vel commoditatum spe defecerint; qui tamen et ipsi fuerunt potius dimissi et tanquam spurii abjecti a consortio cæterorum quam missi ad opus Domini. Et de pœnitentia etiam unius aut alterius ex pessimis spero me propediem[3] vobis læta nuntiaturum, nempe de Laurentio Caddeo[4] et de[5] ipso Joanne[5] Nicolao. Sed de talibus rebus plura alias; festinat enim nuntius. P. Gulielmus etiam Holtus, Societatis[5] vestræ,[5] optime valet. Accepi ab eo literas Edinburgo in[5] Scotia[5] scriptas in principio Januarii. Est vir illi loco aptissimus insignisque operarius. Hoc significate quæso reverendissimo patri meo, Patri Generali et optimo patri Crittonio. Quædam sunt in his literis quæ nollem omnibus promiscue catholicis ac alumnis legi, ne tandem veniant ad aures nostrorum in Anglia hæreticorum, et ita impediantur ac puniantur sacerdotes, ac catholici in carceribus magis exactiusque observentur, sed certis personis ac patronis præcipuis. Si antea intellexissem vos cupere aliquot adultiores qui cito promoveri poterunt ad sacros ordines, hujusmodi facile misissem non inidoneos. Sed discesserunt nostri. Proxima vice curabo desiderium compleri vestrum. De illo juvene quem putatis dimittendum, Novello nempe, dicam quid sentiam in proximis literis. Nunc, mi pater vere dilecte vereque in Christo observande, vale cum tuis, id est, meis quoque omnibus. Non vacabat certe relegere quæ scripsi; proinde parcas festinationi et erroribus. Jesus Christus vos omnes ut pupillam oculi conservet. 14 Martii, 1583.

Vester,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, patri Alfonso Agazerio, [colleg]ii Anglorum rectori [vigilantissimo]. Romæ.

[1] Gaspar Heywood. [2] George Birket. [3] In MS. *prodiem.* [4] Altered with blacker ink from Caddy. [5] Inserted in another hand and with different ink.

XCIII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. [Reims] 16 March, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 241.

Pax Christi.

Mi pater reverende; Ante biduum prolixas scripsi literas, sed istæ fortassis una vobis tradentur. His adjunctas literas scribo ad illustrissimum Protectorem, in quibus de collegii hujus statu et rerum etiam Anglicarum progressu nonnulla significo hujusmodi qualia ad Cardinalem Sabellum scribenda judicastis. Occulte enim vel potius satis aperte insinuo me cupere ut Sanctissimo Domino nostro eadem legat, quod facturum potius Protectorem speravi quam alterum, quia ad officium aliquo modo pertinet. Et id ut potius faciat adjunxi quoddam postulatum, quod necessario ad suam Sanctitatem referri debet. Illud hujusmodi est, ut vivæ vocis oraculo concedatur mihi potestas permittendi eis quorum opera hic in collegio ad hæreticorum libros refutandos utar ut legant hæreticorum libros dum sunt in opere, neque ut nominentur certæ personæ, quia non semper iisdem utor sed sæpe aliis atque aliis prout offert occasio aut requiret necessitas. Rogo P. V. ut super hoc articulo interpellet Protectorem nostro nomine. Mitto quoque literarum ad eum autographum exemplar, ut reliqua quæ in eis contineantur videatis. Præter ea quæ in postremis literis commemoravi, frater meus Gabriel narrat quendam Hibernum, ante aliquot menses Romæ creatum episcopum, nomine doctorem Strongum[1] (proprium enim nomen non teneo) nuper venisse in Angliam ut illac in patriam suam transeat, et ita a catholicis Londini et omnibus locis exceptum (licet occulte) tam honorifice et jucunde ut plurimi ad parvulorum suorum confirmationem, cujus sacramenti major semper extitit apud nos cultus quam in ulla orbis provincia, plurimi ad ejus accipiendam benedictionem, multi etiam ad videndum, quia jam diu non viderant catholice ac canonice ordinatum episcopum, qualem ipsum esse intellexerant, accesserint. In quamcunque domum intravit omnes flectebant genua usque ad terram cum insigni lætitia et devotione. Prædictus frater meus vidit eum multos confirmantem sacro chrismate.

Magnæ sunt apud consiliarios Reginæ de Oxoniensi universitate querelæ, quod multi passim collegia sua relinquant et ad nos advolare putentur; quod ipsos incredibiliter angit. In Testamenta non ita pridem hic versa et edita nunc intollerabili furore sæviunt, conjiciuntque eos apud quos reperiunt, non solum catholicos sed hæreticos seu saltem schismaticos, in carceres; quos tamen libros ab initio tolerabant. Illo opere propter annotationes adjunctas et libellum[2] quendam una a Martino piæ

[1] Probably Dr Thomas Strong, who was preconized bishop of Ossory, 28 March, 1582, and shortly afterwards consecrated in Rome. Maziere Brady's Episcopal Succession, I., 364. [2] "Discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the heretikes of our daies, etc.," by Gregory Martin. Rhemes, 1582.

memoriæ editum, qui continebat hæreticarum versionum sordissimas ipsisque adversariis pudendas corruptelas, multum promovimus causam catholicam; sit benedictus Deus. Multi hoc vere adornant fugam ex illis academiis ad nos, sicut ex reliquis gymnasiis Anglicanis; quos omnes eo lubentius confidentiusque recipiemus, quod hoc anno Dei extraordinariam Providentiam multis modis sensimus multamque liberalitatem ex Hispania speremus; de qua re, si ita contingat uti speramus, alias latius. Huc appulit hoc mense quidam sacerdos catholice factus ante tempora hujus schismatis, qui abierat multis annis post concupiscentias suas uxoremque duxerat, seu verius pellicem intromiserat, qui nunc hic pœnitentiam agit. Sub idem tempus venit et minister Calvinicæ sectæ. Uterque beneficiis satis amplis renunciavit. Paulo etiam antea accessit nobilis juvenis, Cantabrigiæ institutus, cum adhuc esset vere hæreticus, professus se nobis non credere, sed amicorum suasu venisse tamen ut vitam et doctrinam nostram nosceret. Vidit et gavisus est, planeque a Deo factum est. Nam vivit nunc catholicissime, admiratus suam priorem cæcitatem et infelicitatem, estque verus Israelita, qui suo tempore cupit ad vos venire et majora videre. Sed habet unde se sustentet, modo patrimonium secreto ad se posset transferre, quod nunc satagit.

Desiderat anima mea videre P. nostrum Personium, indiesque eum expecto. Laboravit diu periculoso morbo, sed jam plane dicitur convaluisse.[1] Puto illum juvenem Novellum,[2] de quo ad me scripsistis dudum, plane esse liberaliter dimittendum potius quam detinendum, idque citius quam tardius, ne corrumpant bonos mores colloquia prava. Quovismodo est tractandus potius quam ut integrum maneat annum. Lentallerius de quo quæritis nihil solvit. Summa pecuniarum quam Lutetiam ad p. rectorem vos misisse dicitis cætera quadrat. Solum illa centum scuta pro R. P. Gulielmo Crittonio non sunt per dominum oratorem Scotiæ,[3] ut scripsistis, nobis solvenda. Non enim admittit sua reverendissima Dominatio. De ea re cogitate et despicite matura. Mi pater in Christo amande, colende, vale et oremus pro invicem ut post istos labores salvemur et requiescamus in pace. Saluta omnes nostros in osculo sancto. Scribo pauca ad reverendissimum P. Generalem. Literas quæso tradas suæ paternitati. Vale in Christo Jesu. Raptim, 16 Martii, 1583.

V. P. devotissimus amicus et collega,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazario, collegii Anglorum de Urbe [rectori] optimo. Romæ.

[1] "Tornò Personio in Francia, ma cascando gravemente amalato nel porto di Bilbao in Biscaia corse grande pericolo della vita; ma rihavuto un poco andò al collegio della Compagnia nel' Università d' Oñate, dove restò sin' a primavera del anno seguente (1583)." Punti della Missione d' Inghilterra per l'anno 1582, by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 35. [2] *Novellum* interlined in a different hand and with blacker ink. [3] The archbishop of Glasgow.

XCIV.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 18 March, 1583.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano. Anglica Nunziatura, Vol. I., fol. 245).

Ill^me^ Domine.

Obnixe a R^mo^ Rossensi episcopo Scoto nuper rogatus ut ad tuam Amplitudinem super certo ipsius negotio vel potius querela scriberem, licet nec libens me hujusmodi rebus incertis immisceam, hominisque prælati fides meæ, id est, simplicis sacerdotis testificationi (ut debet) apud vos facile præponderet, tamen flagitanti non licuit mihi hoc officiolum denegare, præsertim ne ex aliqua inter nos nationesque nostras simultate (quam abominor inprimis) denegatum sibi studium existimaret.

Dubitat ergo se cum quibusdam aliis nescio cujus Angli nuper in Officio Sanctæ Inquisitionis falsa delatione honoris detrimentum apud vestram Celsitudinem, atque adeo ex ea re offensam suæ Sanctitatis incurrisse; unde etiam timet ne in quibusdam suis super suffraganatu Rothomagensi et aliis negotiis jam pridem factis postulatis minus benigne audiatur. Ego vero quales quamque æquæ sint ejus postulationes non scio; nedum intelligo quam accusationem homines suspectæ fidei et famæ adversus illum fecerint. Hoc solum profiteor apud tuam Amplitudinem, nec quidquam illis subornatis hominibus contra catholicos ne juratis quidem credendum esse, meque r^mum^ virum habere pro fideli in ecclesiam, patriam et Principem suum, in suosque ac in omnes orthodoxos (præsertim nostrates) pro fide exules benignum, liberalem atque hospitalem semper extitisse. Hæc video, et ista pro ipso lubenter ubivis profiteor atque testificor, maxime apud Ill^mam^ Paternitatem vestram cujus gratiam et favorem in his omnibus rebus summopere hoc tempore expetit. Concede mihi obsecro igitur, benignissime patrone, ut intelligat R^mus^ Episcopus et me officium abunde præstitisse et id aliquantulum apud vos valuisse. Dominus Jesus tuam Dignitatem diu nobis servet incolumem. Rhemis, 18 Martii, 83.

Vestræ Celsitudinis orator et servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

Addressed.

Ill^mo^ ac r^mo^ domino Card^li^ Comensi, patrono optimo. Romæ.

XCV.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 29 March, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 249.

Mi pater colendissime; Illud occultum vestrum desiderium, quod aperuistis proximis binis literis 14 et ultimo Februarii datis, est meo plane reciprocum; et de vestris ac

valetudine, licet ætate jam laboribusque animi et corporis multum his postremis diebus fractis, non ita diffiderem, nec est quidquam pene in his rebus mortalibus quod magis cuperem quam vobiscum et cum reverendissimo Patri Generali de collegii nationisque rationibus constituendis cæterisque rebus ad salutem Angliæ procurandam liberius ac coram conferendi. Sed dico vobis simpliciter, nec id hoc anno propter magnas causas a me tentari posse, nec imposterum (ut puto) unquam nisi Pontifice non modo annuente utcumque, sicut ultima vice, sed plane jubente: tantæ sunt suspiciones, æmulationes calumniæque hominum invidorum. Sed de ea re alias. Nollem Gilbertum Giffordium apud vos subsistere; ac nec hic quidem, maxime propter Gulielmum[1] cognatum ejus, qui est bonus gratusque nobis, sed valde labilis et infirmi animi. Mittemus fortasse eum Lutetiam ubi venerit. Deo gratias, qui propitiatur omnibus iniquitatibus nostris et sanat infirmitates nostras, datque cum tentatione proventum. Ecce post Nicolaum et Laurentium[2] Caddeum, quorum iste (ut spero) est plane pœnitens, ille confessus est quoque multas in sanctos Dei calumnias et falsa testimonia, venit nunc etiam tertius cum lachrymis ultro, offerens omnem satisfactionem pro commissa culpa et scandalo, Osbornus, adferens secum juvenem præclaræ indolis ex academia Cantabrigiensi, hæreticum adhuc, sed audire veritatem paratum.[3] Alfildus quoque, qui et ipse quoque ex metu tormentorum et mortis [lapsus est,][4] est in via ad nos: quorum confessiones et retractationes ita formantur præloque per Dei gratiam mandabuntur[5] ut ex ipsorum lapsu aliquid etiam spiritualis fructus catholicis et adversariis pudoris multum accessurum speramus.

Spero hunc annum nobis indulgentiæ et gratiæ futurum tempus. Appulerunt sex hac septimana ex Anglia: benedictus Deus. Ego si antea suspectatus fuissem (sicut paulo tardius ex literis vestris et domini Georgii intellexi) vos desiderasse magis hoc tempore seniores vel etiam sacerdotes, misissem equidem, et proxima vice mature dabo quos aptissimos esse judicavero. Ego semel aut iterum scripsi ad patrem Gasperum an cupiat judicetque hoc tempore aliquos e patribus Societatis mittendos ad se in Angliam, et malletne exteros vel nostrates, quamque multos ex utroque vel alterutro genere velit. Ego hac utor cautione et cautela ne errem, præsertim absente adhuc reverendo patre Roberto quicum facile super hac re transigerem. Sed amicus noster D. Georgius pro suo in me amore acriter objurgavit ac reprehendit meam cunctationem in hac re per proximum tabellarium. Tamen debemus operari in hoc negotio secundum circumstantias mature et prudenter. Prædictum charissimum mihi hominem, cæterosque patres, fratres ac filios a me salutate quæso. Dominus Georgius mihi significavit vos jam ecclesiam vestram Anglicorum martyrum sacris picturis[6] undique ornare. Ad

[1] William Gifford. [2] *Laurentium* interlined in darker ink. [3] John Roberts. First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 194. [4] Words supplied. [5] Printed in the Concertatio. [6] The pictures alluded to adorned the walls of the church of the English college at Rome until it was pulled down at the end of the last century. They were the work of Niccolò Circignani, called il Pomarancio, who painted the martyrdoms in S. Stefano Rotondo. Jo. Bap. Cavallerii engraved and

quod opus accipite quæsó in oblationem tenuem hujus collegii et Alani vestri scuta de collecta 30. Spero enim, et etiam per literas postremas p. vestræ video Deum cum ex Polonia tum ex Hispania atque Neapoli gratiam et benedictionem suam in nos indies multiplicare, sicut gentem etiam ac familiam auget. Quod 500 scuta miseritis hac vice Parisios bene factum est, nam mediocris pecunia nobis nunc non est satis. Speramus etiam aliunde aliquam bonam summam, de qua non possum nec debeo propter causas adhuc vobis scribere;[1] sed suo tempore significabo, si res ex votis et optatis succedat. Sed jam accidit negotium cur ad D. Georgium quoque scribendum sit: proinde, mi pater, vale in Christo millies. Quantum debeat ille felix puer Edwardus Throgmortonus collegio non significastis, et scire cupio. Dignissima est illius adolescentis historia, qua Gulielmus[2] etiam multum afficitur. Maximas de illa gratias ago. Iterum in Domino vale. Non mihi significastis pecuniam quam illi nobili juveni Bononiæ commoranti debuimus. Esse solutam valde vellem; nam et nunc pater novam provisionem pro illo nobis est missurus. Rhemis, 29 Martii, 1583.

Vestræ reverendæ paternitatis in Domino frater et filius,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazario, collegii Anglorum in [Urbe] rectori. Romæ.

XCVI.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 14 April, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 261.

Reverende pater, amicorum in Christo charissime; Literis r. vestræ 14 Martii scriptis non potui hac vice diligenter respondere, cum ante discessum nuntii per quem mittendæ sunt nostræ Lutetiam vix una hora huc appulerant. Legi tamen cum gaudio sicut omnia vestra, et scribemus literas quam primum ad illos insignes patronos duos præsules Hispanos, itemque ad Ducem excellentissimum Bavariæ, sicut consulitis. Si scivissem mentem vestram paulo prius, misissem fraterculum Gulielmi Hawkesworthi, sed nunc fiet vestra gratia et verbo fretus in proxima missione. Est 17 annorum, credo, vel circiter. Curabo quantum possum ut habeamus apochas domini

published them under the following title: Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Trophæa, sive sanctorum martyrum, qui pro Christo catholicæque fidei veritate asserenda antiquo recentiorique persecutionum tempore mortem in Anglia subierunt, passiones, Romæ in collegio Anglico per Nicolaum Circinianum depictæ, nuper autem per Jo. Bap. de Cavalleriis æneis typis repræsentatæ. Romæ 1584.

[1] See p. 179.

[2] William Gifford.

Dacrei et cæterorum. Nortonus valde senescit.[1] Nunc tædio, ut fit, alterius loci confectus venit ad nos. Quomodo jussu suæ Majestatis, intercessione Reginæ et oratoris nostri, sit liberatus Nicolaus audistis scio. De Goro etiam quid actum sit audistis per Covertum. Fieri non potest ut traducantur incarcerati nostri in ditiones Pontificias[2] aut extra regnum hoc. Rex nunquam permittet. Hoc ipso tempore coacti sumus deducere Baynsum nostrum ex publico carcere ubi hactenus continebatur, et includere illum in quodam cubiculo apud nos. Damus nunc prælo confessiones Caddei et Nicolai atque fortassis etiam Osburni. Eorum ruina fere non tantum scandali generavit quam istæ voluntariæ cæterorum et ipsius Nicolai non ita multum coactæ retractationes. Nam postquam erat iste liberatus perstitit in sententia. Et Gorum omnes existimant plurimum illa custodia et hac liberatione potius per catholicos quam per hæreticos in charitate, fide et humilitate profecisse. Quod mentionem feceritis r. patris Oliverii,[3] viri mihi multum colendi, aveo scire an sit reversus aut ubi degat. Accepi literas reverendissimi Patris Generalis, quibus non multum est quod jam respondeam. Venerunt Oxonio quatuor scholares hac septimana. Mittemus aliquos in messem his diebus. Multi enim incredibili studio hoc a me etiam cum lachrymis continuo petunt, quos alioquin propter temporum pericula moderatius mitterem. Sed fiat voluntas Dei. Vestros nunc indies expectabimus, et de Gilberto Giffordio disponemus ut possumus. Literas ad Ducem Bavariæ statuimus vobis mittere, illas [ad][4] episcopos Hispaniæ recta ad aulam Hispanicam dabimus, cæteraque curabimus ut possumus. Jesus vos omnes teque inprimis, pater mi, [custodiat.][4] Rhemis, 14 Aprilis, 83.

V. R. P. addictissimus frater et filius,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, collegii Anglorum de Urbe rectori optimo. Romam.

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[1] In a letter to Don John of Austria, governor of the Low Countries, 26 July, 1578, Pope Gregory XIII. writes as follows:—"Riccardus Nortonus, Anglus, vir olim domi suæ nobilis et potens, nunc autem nulla alia de causa nisi propter perpetuam in fide orthodoxa retinenda et tuenda constantiam summumque ejus in Eboracensi provincia restituendæ conatum, rerum omnium egentissimus, decrepita ætate, suis omnibus orbatus, una tantum filia, matrona, patris exilii miseriarumque omnium comite, post longam diversarum provinciarum peragrationem proficiscitur ad Nobilitatem tuam ut possit tua ope frui Catholici Regis Philippi benignitate in ea pecunia exigenda quam ei Rex in singulos menses persolvi imperavit. Rogamus igitur Nobilitatem tuam quantum possumus ut et hominem ipsum et causam quam commendatissimam habeas, efficiasque ut pensiones tum præteritæ tum quæ in posterum debebuntur sine mora persolvantur." Theiner, Ann. Eccles. II., 435. See also *ib.*, p. 337.

[2] In MS. *pontificeas.* [3] Oliverius Manareus? [4] Word supplied.

XCVII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 23 April, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 269.

Jesus.

Venerunt literæ vestræ reverentiæ 28 Martii scriptæ, quo tempore miror non pervenisse ad vos plures epistolas nostras[1] circa illos dies datas.[1] Scripseram enim paulo ante plures, nec ullam prætermitto occasionem. Sed impedimentum est inter hanc urbem et Lutetiam. Sed spero jam pridem multas appulisse. Certe de Novello et aliis rebus omnibus respondi quam primum potui. Illum cupio plane dimitti ad nos, quicquid cogitet aut etiam faciat mali; tales enim retineri non possunt sine multorum ruina et exemplo pessimo. De valetudinariis etiam cupio ut ad nos revertantur, sed paulo maturius cum tabescere incipiunt præsertim ex illa ptisi, nam postquam invaluerit morbus sero redeunt; sicut patet in Standishio qui nunc mortuus est, in Lomaxo qui semi tantum vivus est, et aliis ut Vodroffo atque similibus. Mox enim ingruente ægritudine debent [dimitti.][2] In qua re quidquid statueritis erimus contenti. Expecto Gulielmum[3] cognatum nostrum, quem tractabo ut potero ad ipsius, si Deus vult, salutem. Respondeo literis reverendi Patris Generalis quoad illum transfugam de quo scripsi aliquid ad R. P. Gulielmum Good. Oportet nos per multas tribulationes illud assequi quod cupimus. P. Robertus est adhuc in collegio Hispanico,[4] nec committet se itineri ante Junium ut opinor. Si certe sciatis vel speretis quod illi famuli[5] ipsius et D. Georgii Gilberti non sint capturi fugam, sed mansuri in Urbe, optarem ipsorum liberationem. Sed si est aliquod periculum quod Angliam cogitent, hoc certe sciatis, quod possunt non minus mali nunc illic facere quam si primo die fuissent reversi. Vos ergo videritis. Ego in neutram partem ausim consulere. De illis 666 scutis ad lucrum collocandis agam si potero antequam tradantur vel claudantur istæ cum possessore illius pecuniæ; sin minus, proxima vice curabimus ipsius mandatum vobis mitti. Si forte non scripsero nunc ad charissimum nostrum dominum Georgium, dignetur [V. R.][2] significare ipsi illustrissimum Cardinalem Comensem mihi rescripsisse de illo negotio quod ipsi commendaveram supra quam solet benignissime. Porro me accepisse his diebus literas Londino a fratre suo, D. Edm. Smitho, quibus significat fratrem quendam suum in via [esse][6] nos versus esse, sed adhuc non appulisse, atque cum venerit me omnia illius causa facturum. Ego de domino Bassetto vereor ne fiat indies imbecillior. Fortassis expedierit ipsum in Gallias remittere. Si sciret prorex Neapolitanus quam essemus suæ Catholicæ Majestati non ingrati, non illud objiceret nobis quod dicitis. Sed speramus meliora; saltem omnia debemus vestræ charitati, atque

[1] In MS. *epistolæ nostræ . . datæ.* [2] Word supplied. [3] William Hawkesworth.
[4] See p. 184, note 1. [5] Robert Alfield and Roger. [6] *esse* is redundant.

multa etiam domino Nicolao Fitzherberto. Retribuere dignetur Christus omnibus nobis bona facientibus vitam æternam. Misimus ad vos per proximum nuntium literas pro illis duobus episcopis Hispanis et pro Duce Bavariæ. De comprehensione optimi p. nostri Gulielmi Holti plura ad R. P. Generalem scripsimus, et alii forsan ad vos scripserunt. De vestro præfecto lætor incredibiliter. Audio illum esse insignem vobis coadjutorem. Salutate mihi quæso ipsum et omnes patres ac fratres vestros ac nostros in osculo sancto. Christus Dominus vestram R. P. incolumem nobis conservet. Remis, 23 Aprilis, 1583.

V. R. P. filius,
G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, collegii Anglorum rectori optimo. Romæ.

XCVIII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 6 May, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 279.

Reverende pater; Aliæ literæ nostræ, quæ hoc eodem tempore Romam fortassis venient, licet uno aut altero prius die eas Lutetiam miserim, non fecerunt mentionem Athertoni illius qui expectat a me literas quibus V. R. P. commendetur pro collegio. Ego jam ante triennium primum et nunc postea atque non ita pridem hac pertranseuntem quasi invitavi illum ad hoc genus vitæ, præbens illi spem et collegii istius nostri et vestri, si vellet relicta illa aberratione et animi corporisque inconstanti vagatione se in disciplinam collegialem dare et tandem conquiescere. Non potuit unquam adduci, licet variis et donis et pollicitationibus amicorumque quorundam sibi maxime hic familiar[i]um interventione allexerim. Jam pridem cum in urbe Rhemensi esset, vix septem dierum spatio potuit adduci ut ad me veniret. Cum in conspectum venit amicorum suasu, rogavi quid a me desideraret. Cum nihil responderet, addebam—Vis in hoc nostrum contubernium recipi et studere? Respondit aut nihil aut dubie. Aderat doctor Ely, testis totius colloquii et mei in ipsum animi et voluntatis. Jussi eundem D. Ely ut suaderet amico eidem suo, ne se perderet, ut tandem aliquando componat se ad studia utiliora, ne amittat occasionem tam præclaram meæ erga ipsum voluntatis, jubens confidere ut Romam postea etiam si bene se gerat mittatur. In summa feci omnia quæ potui et debui. Nolebat manere. Nollem tamen si vos ullam de ipso spem concipiatis, eum respui; licet de ejus tum inconstanti natura et ingenio subverear, et exemplo sit malo. Valde ipsum salvum esse cupio. Hoc solum de eo passim dicitur quod sit catholicus. Utimini omni prudentia in ipso probando antequam admittatur, et quidquid in ipsum aut pro ipso feceritis erit mihi gratum et

ratum, digneturque R. V.[1] me accepisse literas ipsius et condonare lubenter ad ipsius salutem omnes commissiones aut omissiones erga me suas. De Novello semel ante mensem scripsi. Sed sane si adhuc ibi sit, putarem eum secreto vel in carcerem vel in triremes adjudicandum. Propter tale genus perjurii, simulationis et scandali, et maxime propter periculum quod creabit sacerdotibus in Anglia sic plane nunc sentio, quicquid antea aliter scripsi. Totam tamen rem sapientiæ vestræ committo. Christus tuam R. P. cum suis omnibus a malo liberet et conservet in bono. Si in aliis literis meis minus pecuniarum quam necessitas vestra requirit ad complementum illius sacri operis vestri[2] designavi, addat quantum judicet æquum. Erit enim quantum conjicere possum præclarum ad posteritatem monumentum. Iterum vale, mi pater observande. Remis, 6 Maii, 1583.

V. R. P. addictissimus frater,
G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazario, collegii Anglorum vi[gilanti]ssimo rectori. Romæ.

P.S. *under the address.*

Remitto cum his literas Athertoni, ut videatis quid ad me scribat.

XCIX.

DR WILLIAM ALLEN TO F. ALPHONSUS AGAZZARI, S.J. Reims, 20 May, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 283.

Reverende pater in Christo; Ex iis quas scripsisti 25 Aprilis et ego in profesto Ascensionis recepi lætabar me intellexisse appulisse scholares nostros, variasque nostras[3] ad illustrissimum dominum Protectorem et vos, nec missos displicuisse. Vestros ibidem alumnos cæterosque qui circa id tempus iter cepisse video versus nos sospites expecto. De Gulielmo[4] meo disponam ut possum. Avunculus Caroli Somerseti multum ipsi succenset quod non potuerit morem gerere, scripsitque ad eum acerbissimas ac minaces etiam literas ni pareret in omnibus suis superioribus. Sed nunc eas non mittemus. Si ad nos veniat, de eo deliberabimus. Bonum Andream[5] non consuluisse sibi prius ex mutatione cœli doleo. Quid de Novello faciendum aut sperandum sit non video. Deus dabit aliquid consilii, si salvum velit. De optimo P. Gulielmo Holto capto et in vincula in Scotia conjecto antea scripsi, et nunc porro intelligo eum fuisse gravissime tortum equuleo; sed fidem, constantiam et taciturnita-

[1] *illi dicere* must be supplied for the sense. [2] See p. 186. [3] Supply *literas*.
[4] William Hawkesworth. [5] Andrew Wage died on the journey from Rome.

tem summe servasse. Deus illum consoletur. Quæ scripsimus ante de capto etiam doctore Alexandro Setonio non putatur esse verum. Accepi binas ex Anglia nuper literas;[1] a patre Gaspare unas, alteras a P. Georgio Birketto, quas e ciphris extractas feci in una scribi charta, quam ad R. P. Generalem [mitto][2] quia ad illum maxime perti[ne]bant quæ in primis scribebantur. R. V. potest ferre istas suas literas ad suam paternitatem et ea quæ ad vos pertinent ab eodem accipere. Laus Deo quod eam e Polonia pecuniam receperitis. Ille vere est misericors et miserator Dominus qui nostris succurrit ex tot locis necessitatibus. Illustrissimus Cardinalis a Guisia mire erga nos afficitur. Sua Celsitudo voluit agere quæstorem pro nobis apud eos qui erant in concilium hoc provinciale congregati, et collegit supra centum aureos. Nunc in dies vel horas potius expectamus P. Robertum. Quæ exhibuistis charitatis officia in illum sacerdotem nostrum et socium suum sunt mihi gratissima, et non male (uti spero) collocata. Per proximum nuntium mittemus confessiones Nicolai et aliorum lapsorum; sunt enim jamdudum sub prælo. Ego nescio quid fiet de istis Greeno et Marklando,[3] qui continuo queruntur de valetudine nec videntur esse in proposito constantes. Fuit hic mecum in prandio r. pater provincialis Franciæ, cui nihil de voluntate sua, cum tamen commode potuissent, dixerunt. Unus ex nostris egit cum illo et fortassis admittetur. Quoad cætera commendo vos Domino Jesu, qui vestros pro nobis susceptos et suscipiendos sanctissimos labores immortalitate recompenset. Rhemis, 20 Maii, 83.

V. R. P. filius et servus,

G. Alanus.

Tirellus noster est valde sollicitus de sua pensione menstrua, quia nihil hactenus audivit post discessum. Si quid audiatis, significate quæso. Nos interim curamus ne quid ei desit, quia scribit pro nobis. Vitam vel mortem Edwardi[4] optimi jam pridem accepimus cum annalibus. Similia redderemus, sed laboramus nimia copia rerum et paucitate eorum qui ejusmodi recte disponere queant. Cogor ipse in talibus laborare supra pene quam vires ferent. Ego Barrettum meum compello in hujusmodi. Sed et ipse humilior aut timidior quam ut ausit talia facere. Sed curabimus tamen. Reverendus pater provincialis Parisiensis cupit ibi solvi duo, si recte memini, millia scuta; pro quo spondet[5] se redditurum nobis singulis binis aut ternis mensibus pensionem pontificiam. Nescio an id fieri queat, quia vos sæpe variis solutionibus onero. Saltem simul solvi tantum pecuniarum non potest; sed si variis temporibus ac paulatim fieri queat, non debemus optimis patribus Parisiensibus qui tantopere nos adjuvant denegare. Sua paternitas vel scripsit, vel ad vos de ea re scribet particu-

[1] Printed in First and Second Douay Diaries, pp. 351, 352. [2] Word supplied. [3] See First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 321. [4] Edward Throgmorton. [5] In MS. *spondit*.

larius. Fecit enim ejus rei apud me mentionem dum hac transivit nudius tertius. Scribat R. V. ad me et ad illum quid commode fieri queat in hac re.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazerio, collegii [Ang]lorum de Urbe [rectori] vigilantissimo. Romam.

C.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 30 May, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 289.

Jesus.

Literas R. V. scriptas 7 Maii lubentissime, ut semper, accepi et legi. Atque ut in manus vestras illæ fœdæ literæ quas remisistis inciderent Deus, ut interpretor, voluit ad illius qui scripsit[1] castigationem. Licet enim ut scribitis prodendæ non sint scriptori, tamen possum eis uti ad multa bona. Quod ad hominem attinet ne dubitetis: scio quantum et quousque illi credendum fidendumque sit. Amo ad suam salutem et ad usum reipublicæ, atque ad eum finem quam possum dextre et artificiose tracto illum, idque possum commodius præstare quod his modis et aliis ejus naturales vitiositates mihi innotescant, quas apud ipsum per occasionem non taceo, et quas ipse videtur lubentius a me quam ab ullo alio audire, cum recte judicet me ipsum amare. Est difficillimum tollere ab eo illam antiquam quam habebat erga homines suæ factionis inclinationem extraordinariam. Sed conamur tamen. Quantum ego possum colligere, habet optimam de tua paternitate opinionem. De p. confessario et quibusdam aliis nescio an tam bene cogitet. Illud commercium literarum, quod inter eos frequens est, multum videtur auferre antiquam offensionem animorum, sed nonnihil potius refricare vulnus non satis adhuc sanatum; quia pungunt se mutuo quibusdam aculeis verborum et rerum acerbarum commemoratione. Sed de his satis.

Accidit ut, cum vestras receperim, adfuerit D. Baro Dacreus. Dixi v. reverentiam pro familiaritate sua et confidentia accepisse 10 scuta ipsius in illud opus novum.[2] Ratum habet; et cum dicerem suam nobilitatem non posse minus dare quam menstruam provisionem, lubenter annuit. Igitur accipite 20 scuta. Mitto ejus etiam apocham, sicut jam ante mensem misi D. Nortoni quittantiam, quam vos habere jam spero. Ego adhuc habeo vestram cyphram, et potestis ad libitum uti. Ego non utor propter laborem tantum, et quia ordinarie literæ meæ hinc inde tuto hactenus deferuntur. P. nostrum Robertum[3] hactenus in dies, nunc vero etiam in horas et momenta, expectamus. Nam accepi ab eo literas 7° hujus mensis Maii, cum plane convaluerat, et hic esse post paucissimos dies statuerat. Postea fortassis verba consolatoria vobis scribemus.

[1] William Gifford. [2] The pictures of martyrdoms for the Church of the English College at Rome. [3] F. Robert Persons.

Mitto hoc tempore libellum anglicum continentem varias diversorum hominum in hac persecutione lapsorum satisfactiones et pœnitentias. Date quæso reverendissimo Assaphensi unum exemplar, domino Gilberto alterum, r. patri Goodo, qui vobis omnium sensum et sententiam communicabit, tertium. Utinam essent alia lingua scripta. Videbitis, videbitis mirabilem confessionem nostri incarcerati sacerdotis.[1] Georgius Powellus valde cupit proficisci Neapolim recreationis causa hac æstate. Vellem id ipsi concedatur (nisi vestra prudentia contrarium judicaverit) ut animo sit erga vos et Societatem magis sincero, atque confirmetur in hac obedientia et affectu erga vos, quem sane præ se fert nunc post cognati sui Caroli[2] discessum singularem. Scripsit enim ad D. Elium[3] bonas literas et quod cognati sui actiones non probet ullo modo. Si iter judicetis necessarium, debetis illi viaticum necessarium dare, et ego curabo ut solvatur. Aliquod est illi indulgendum ut in officio teneatur. Nunc expectamus indies dominum Bassettum et reliquos tam presbyteros quam alios scholares et peregrinos. Adhuc enim eorum nullus[4] comparet, cum tamen sex sint septimanæ quod a vobis discesserint. Post ultimas literas ad vos et R. P. Generalem per proximum nuntium datas ex Anglia aut Scotia nihil est novi. Huc interim appulerunt decem studiosi ex Anglia in profesto Pentecostes. Non scribo hoc tempore domino Georgio nec patri confessario aut aliis, sed vos me excusate apud omnes, quos in Domino diligo. Commendo vos, vestramque Societatem, id est, vestros meosque omnes gratiæ Spiritus Sancti cujus nunc sacra festa colimus. Rhemis, 30 Maii, 1583.

V. R. P. filius et frater dilectissimus,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazerio, collegii Anglorum [de] Urbe, rectori [vigilanti]ssimo. Romæ.

CI.

The Nuncio in France (Castelli) to the Cardinal of Como. 30 May, 1583.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano. Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 17, pag. 165).

Cifra del Nunzio[5] di Francia di 30 di Maggio, 1583.

Il padre Roberto[6] è ritornato di Spagna et partì di Madrid l'ultimo d'Aprile passato, dove ha lassato il Re Cattolico dispostissimo a l'impresa d'Inghilterra et di Scotia, et S. M^tà è di questo parere che se gli debba attendere in ogni modo questo anno. È vero che mi ha detto che li ministri regii non mostrano sapere che fra N. S. et S. M^tà sia alcuna conventione di spendere in ciò alcuna somma certa di denari;

[1] Richard Baynes. [2] Charles Powell. [3] Dr Ely. [4] In MS. *nullum.*
[5] M^gr Giovanni Castelli, Bishop of Rimini. [6] F. Robert Persons.

anzi gli hanno detto che Mons^or^ Nuntio Segā già gli offerse 330^m^ scudi d'ordine di S. S^tà^, et V. S. Ill^ma^ ha scritto (et non dubito che non sia vero) che si è convenuto che S. S^tà^ concorra a la 4^a^ parte de la spesa. Come si sia presto, si porterà il stato di questo negotio in scritto, come si disegni di condurlo, con che gente et navi, et donde dovranno venire, et che denari vi bisogneranno, et si manderà a N. Signore et in Spagna, et poi. S. S^tà^ et il Re Cattolico faranno quella risolutione che Dio inspirerà loro. Piaccia a V. S. Ill^ma^ eshortar N. S^re^ a non perdere così bella occasione come è questa di ridurre in un punto due regni a la chiesa cattolica, [et di] liberar tanti poveri cattolici da la oppressione di quella Jesabelle. Quest' anno o si farà questa impresa, o non vi è più speranza per opra humana; ne N. S^re^ può spendere il patrimonio di S. Pietro più utile et più honoratamente che in la recuperatione di questi regni, per li quali i suoi antecessori hanno tanto affaticato per piantarvi la fede di Christo.

CII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 10 June, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 293.

Mi pater reverende, salve in Christo Jesu. Jam tandem appulerunt non solum sacerdotes quos misistis ad messem Dominicam, sed reliqui omnes præter duos Carolos,[1] qui Lutetiæ adhuc subsistunt, huc ut puto post paucos dies etiam venturos. De eorum statu, proposito, desiderio, quia hoc tantum die venerunt in ipsa S. Corporis Christi celebritate, non potui quidquam scire nisi quod omnes bene valeant. Solus Novellus cum Scoto illo appulit triduum antea. Ab illo, quid animi haberet, cur collegium vestrum reliquerit, an haberet literas R. V. testimoniales suæ vitæ et pietatis? Respondit se venire ut hic cursum studiorum compleret, nec dubitare V. P. literas in ejus commendationem jam pridem me recepisse, rogareque obnixe ut possit recipi in alumnum hujus collegii. Dixi me non debere nec posse eos recipere qui ab illo sint dimissi Romano collegio, nisi justa sit causa cur hic potius quam illic studere debeant; ipsum bona esse valetudine et cætera omnia quadrare, ac proinde me cupere veram causam sciré cur Roma discesserit. Respondit extitisse impedimentum quominus jusjurandum de sacris suscipiendis ordinibus servare queat. Cumque quid esset sciscitarer, dixit se debere aliquot annos servitii seu ministerii cuidam domino seu mercatori Londinensi, cui pro more nostræ patriæ fuit obligatus donec artificium aliquod didicerit. Dixi hoc vinculum non posse nec debere illum impedire, et posse alio modo solvi, præsertim cum hoc tempore non queat tali hero hæretico inservire sine salutis periculo. Petii tamen si vellet redire ad promissum servitium, et cur judicaret hoc esse impedimentum sufficiens cur in collegio vestro Romano esse non debeat et tamen putet se hic subsistere posse, cum idem sit utriusque collegii propositum, finis unus. Urgebam ut mihi veram causam discessus sui de Urbe sine simulatione ac

[1] Charles Basset and Charles Powell.

fictione diceret. Respondit se simpliciter fassurum mihi omnia, modo illi culpam condonarem ac imposterum propitius illi essem. Jussi ut diceret. Tum ille confessus est se animo a collegio discedendi finxisse contractum quendam conjugalem intervenisse inter ipsum et quandam mulierem ante multos annos. Adjuravi ut diceret mihi verum si aliquid tale esset. Sancte juravit, et cum multis lacrymis nihil tale esse, sed merum et impium fuisse figmentum. Tum rogavi cur tantopere desideraret abire e tam sancta et excellenti schola, et num animus esset adhuc fieri presbyter. Respondet se nunquam habuisse post ingressum collegii alium animum, et se nunc idem habere propositum, atque veram causam sui mali desiderii de relinquendo collegio fuisse suam propriam superbiam et inquietudinem animi natam ex illis dissensionibus, quod judicaret se non amari aut curari a patribus nec in gratia esse sicut alios; sed nunc ipsum illarum suspicionum, superbiæ et inobedientiæ valde pœnitere, et quidvis satisfactionis ad meum arbitrium facturum, modo vellem ipsius misereri et non prorsus a me repellere, adjiciens porro se facturum cuicunque mandarem generalem confessionem, cum eam in illa animi perturbatione Romæ jam diu rectam et sinceram non fuisse subdubitaret. Jussi ut intra biduum faceret et ad me rediret. Fecit atque rediit. Tum obnixe repetenti ut possit admitti in hoc collegium simpliciter negavi me posse aut velle eum qui tam graviter in collegium illud et vos peccaverat in nostrum contubernium recipere; sed me tamen habiturum aliquam sui rationem Lutetiæ, si illic vellet subsistere ac in collegio Societatis reliquum cursum diligenter persequi, et in omnibus obaudire R. P. Thomæ[1] nostrati ac se denique alium virum omni fraude, dolo simulationeque deposita præbere. Interrogavi deinde si illa conditio placeret, et si possit pro pœnitentia parvo, duriter ac parce vivere. Respondit se quidvis facturum aut passurum lubentissime, nec aliquid appeturum nisi pater Thomas suæ vitæ et emendationis testimonium continuum daret. Parisios ergo misi cum literis ad eundem patrem et Covertum nostrum, qui ipsi secunda quaque septimana dabit ipsi[2] unum coronatum. Si in proposito et studio persistat, augebo stipem vel revocabo huc secundum consilium vestrum. Jussi ut ad V. R. P. scriberet literas, et peccatum in vos humiliter agnosceret; quod fortassis facit his literis quas nunc mitto. Multum metuebam ne in Angliam iret et aliquid mali sibi et aliis faceret, et ne hoc accideret judicavi eum hoc modo tractandum. Sic enim debemus homines et tempora ista mala.

Ex Anglia veniunt quotidie multi. Conduximus alias hodie ædes nostris conjungendas, sed tertiæ et quartæ non sufficiunt. De P. Hido, Nicolsono et quibusdam aliis quomodo possumus disponere Deus scit. Osbernus etiam nulli loco est aptus, et si tales homines desereremus conjicerent se in summa pericula. G. Gif.[3] cognovit ex iis qui nuper appulerunt de literis suis interceptis et quomodo in manus vestras venerunt. Tractavi de ea re cum ipso prolixe. Pudet ipsum facti. Venerunt duo ex

[1] F. Thomas Darbyshire, S.J. [2] *ipsi* is redundant. [3] William Gifford.

Anglia qui attulerunt varias P. Gulielmi Harti martyris vestes, præsertim camisium et thoracem in quibus passus est. Attulerunt ad me quoque literas anglice scriptas paulo ante mortem. Perfunctus est omnibus pœnis constantissime et mente tranquillissima; de qua re alias. Tandem pater[1] tam diu desideratus venit in Galliam sospes, sed adhuc [non][2] vidi ipsum. Difficulter admittuntur in Italiam qui ab istis locis veniunt propter metum pestis. Incipio de mittendis esse sollicitus. Dominum Georgium Gilbertum, R. P. Crittonium, p. confessarium ac nostros vestrosque omnes ex animo saluto in Christo, cujus sanctæ protectioni te, mi pater, mortalium charissime, commendo. Vale. Remis, 10 Junii, 1583.

V. R. P. uti filius,

G. ALANUS.[3]

P. Simsonus valde mihi deprædicat vestram erga se caritatem; quod Nicolsonus etiam facit. Ideo utriusque nomine maximas ago gratias. Quid sentiam aut faciam de cognato meo Gulielmo[4] nescio; Deus scit. Omnia sunt mihi suspecta.

CIII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 26 June, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 297.

Jesus Christus, me, mi pater, sopitem Remos reddidit; Parisiis enim, quo profectus eram visum patrem Robertum,[5] ex æstu et itinere infirmus paulo antea eram. Sed præ magnitudine consolationis quam ex mutuo colloquio ceperamus reliqua contempsimus. Et de ejus rebus plura ab ipso audietis. Illic etiam occurrit nobis, vobis, domino Georgio mihique amantissimus Carolus Bassetus. Vidimus etiam semel Carolum alterum,[6] qui coram domino Morgano pollicitus est se meum in omnibus secuturum consilium; sed ibi manebit prætextu studii juris civilis. Ego patris sui consilium interim exquiram. Gulielmus Haukesworthus manet apud nos dubitabundus. Promittit se mihi in omnibus morem gesturum, sed ipsi non facile fido.

Et nunc aliud mihi accidit vel huic potius communitati perquam grave et molestum planeque triste, quod P. Barrettus metu partim cujusdam ægritudinis partim cupiditate martyrii vult omnino in Angliam proficisci[7] idque hoc tempore et sine omni mora. Unde plane reddimur desolati nec unde similem assequamur scimus. De vestro

[1] F. Robert Persons. [2] *non* supplied. [3] There is no address, as the writing fills the four pages of the letter. [4] William Hawkesworth. [5] "Subito che il Dr Alano intese ch'il P. Personio era arrivato in Parigi andò a trovarlo e stettero insieme alcuni giorni per communicar le cose ch'erano accadute nella sua assenza." Punti della Missione d'Inghilterra per l'anno 1583, by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 46. "After this .... I went to Rome and Mr Brinkly with me, whence returning againe in a few weeks ..." Autobiographical Notes by F. Persons. *Ib.* 230. [6] Charles Powell. [7] See First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 329.

et nostro P. Joanne Musseo [1] cogito, sed non placet multis; et quid statuam ignoro. Adjuvate me obsecro deque nobis cogitate serio. His postremis annis tam multos perdidimus ut iratum nobis Deum timeamus.

Mi pater reverende, excusate quæso nos apud patrem præfectum studiorum quod hoc tempore literis suis mihi melle dulcioribus non respondeam; non enim licuit jam respondere, nec de pretiosissimo munere depictorum martyrum mihi missorum gratias agere: sed faciam per proximum nuntium. Interim amo illum, vobisque de tali viro gratulor. Utinam daret mihi Deus talem collaboratorem. Deus vult omne onus in meos imbecillos humeros conjicere, sublatis mihi coadjutoribus Bristoo, Martino, Barretto ac similibus. Sed Dominus est, faciat quod bonum est in oculis suis. Habeat me dominus Georgius Gilbertus excusatum quod variis literis suis per Carolum Bassettum, per nuntium et cæteros missis nihil hoc tempore respondeam. De re ipsa in omnibus satisfaciam, sicut et reverendo patri confessario cæterisque qui ad me scripserunt. Inprimis vero dignetur [2] significare Pormorto [3] meo me literas suas accepisse, ac alteras Georgio Flintono [4] misisse, nec quidquam nos omissuros quod ad rem ipsius quovismodo pertineat. Literas quoque Danielis [5] lubenter legi et probe omnia ejus desideria observavi. De Richardo Singletono cogitabo etiam diligenter, quem inprimis mi pater tuæ pietati commendo.

De mittendis nunc cogito in autumnum secundum præscripta vestra. Atque plura hoc tempore non possum; proinde tuam p. multum Domino Jesu commendo. Id vero curabimus semper, ut cum vestrum aliquis moriatur, sicut nuper Andreas [6] in via, fiant hic publicæ omnium et privatæ omnium sacerdotum pro ipso preces et oblationes. Mutuo enim facietis. Interea vale in Christo charissime collega. Remis, 26 Junii, 83.

V. R. P. in Christo filius,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazerio, collegii Anglorum rectori. Romam.

CIV.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 11 July, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 303.

Pax Christi.

Literas R. V. magna cum voluptate legi, eas dico quas sexto Junii scripsistis. Perjucundum enim erat intelligere qua celebritate istic superbenedictæ Trinitatis festivitatem in collegio egeritis, cui utinam mihi interesse licuisset vel

[1] John Mush. [2] *R. V.* understood. [3] Thomas Pormort, martyr, 20 February, 1592. [4] F. Persons "procurò che un mercante molto pio e zeloso chiamato Giorgio Flintono s'aplicasse totalmente a quell' essercitio della stampa: il che fece da poi per alcuni anni sino alla morte." Punti della Missione d'Inghilterra per l'anno 1581, by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 23. [5] Daniel Holdsworth? [6] Andrew Wage.

propter devotionem vel etiam certe quod semel antequam moriar desiderem videre illud fundatum et amplificatum collegium, illum benedictum et beatum patrem nostrum, tanti muneris largitorem, sanctissimum Gregorium Papam, atque te etiam tuosque complecti: sed interim ipsa rei commemoratione et cogitatione recreor non mediocriter. Jam e nostro collegio numerosissimo seligo pro missione ad vos proxima optimos et aptissimos quosque, paulo plures fortasse quam putatis, vel quia maxime idoneos habeo vel quia hic numero summopere laboramus. Profecto ex Anglia nudius tertius, id est, 9 Julii venerunt decem. Narrant cæteris in locis pacatiora et mitiora quæque esse; Eboraci tamen ita sævire illius provinciæ præsidem ut adhuc duos e collegii nostri presbyteros[1] recenter martyrio vel crudeli morte muletaverit. Factum id esse dicunt ante mensem, sed modum non explicant. Si quid porro imposterum intellexero non celabo.

P. Rob. Personium, quem ante 20 dies (ut ex prioribus literis intelligitis) Lutetiæ conveni, nunc in horas hic expecto Rhemis. De P. Barretto dolens scripsi in prioribus literis ante 10 dies. Volebat subito, ut tum scripsi, propter suspicionem vehementem illius morbi pulmonum in Angliam dimitti; sed cum Parisios recte venerit et medicorum quorundam judicio adduceretur eum illo morbo non laborare nec periculum esse tabis, subsistit illic his diebus dubius de reditu ad nos an sit pergendum in messem Anglicanam. Sed ego si ullo modo valentem videro revocabo; est etenim inprimis necessarius nobis.

Erratum esse in nomine Joannis Harti[2] a reverendissimo Patre Generali facile judicavi. Scripsi tamen ad suam paternitatem de ea re. Sed nunc cum vestris literis reddor securus, curabo primo quoque tempore ut voluntatem optimi patris sciat, unde capiet ingentem consolationem. Hactenus se certe heroice gessit et non dubium hoc munere divino augebitur illi virtus et constantia. Quod collecta non bene nobis Neapolitana successerit ferendum est utcumque: de qua re plura ad D. Georgium Gilbertum. De quorundam vestrorum resipiscentia lætor quantum possum. Tandem per Deum jacebunt omnes illæ factiones quibus dæmon cupiebat perpetuo nos vel cribrari vel plane perdi: sit benedictus Deus. Curabo ut mittendi sint in via saltem in principio Augusti. Ne prius iter suscipiant faciunt extraordinarii hujus anni calores; nunquam etenim tales sensimus. Ut collegia nostra mutuam operam precum et sacrificiorum tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis præstent æquissimum est, lubenterque suscipimus conditionem; et hactenus id quidem utcumque observavimus, sed deinceps strictissime tenebimus. Optimos pp. confessarium, ministrum ac præfectum exosculor in Domino. Valete. Rhemis, 11 Julii, 1583.

R. P. V. filius,
G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazerio, collegii Anglorum de Urbe rectori dignissimo. Romam.

[1] In MS. *presbyteris.* [2] See p. 176.

CV.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 23 July, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 307.

Salve in Domino.

Mi pater; Si aliquando desideres literas nostras, nec nuntiorum Parisiensium singulas vices exacte servemus, noli id quæso incuriæ attribuere nostræ ac nec occupationibus nostris, quæ, licet magnæ ac continuæ sint, tamen eas his erga vos et collegium istud officiis lubens postpono semper. Sed his multis diebus, ab eo sane tempore quo Lutetia redii, adversa valetudine affligor, et adventantium ex Anglia numero distrahor, ut scribere nec delectet nec liceat. Porro distulit P. Robertus adventum suum ad nos diutius quam putarem, quocum multa vobiscum tractanda per literas erant et sunt communicanda, quem dum in horas expecto a scribendo supersedeo. Interim redditæ sunt mihi literæ P. V. 20 Junii scriptæ, in quibus non multa sunt quæ responsum requirant. Si habetis aliquas istic pecunias quæ non sint in usu debemus necessario habere. Nunc enim, ut D. Bayleus me monet, intra decem dies erimus vacui, nec uspiam nummorum quidquam his diebus expectamus. Propter numerum studiosorum indies excrescentem expensæ redduntur intollerabiles. Undecim appulerunt heri, et plures Parisiis expectantur. Illa spolia ex academia Oxoniensi retulit quidam presbyter,[1] hujus collegii alumnus antiquus. Sunt ex doctioribus illius universitatis et inter cæteros unus ex doctioribus et eloquentioribus concionatoribus.[2] Alter ingenio et doctrina apud suos clarior, Cicilius[3] nomine, quem non ante multos menses consiliarii Reginæ suspicati fugam ad nos meditari coegerunt cum aliquot fidejussoribus suis subire pacta conventa de non exeundo regnum. Conditiones accepit; nunc tamen una cum sponsoribus suis evasit.

Mira est nunc importunitas multorum qui ambiunt ut Romam mittantur, nec certe unquam habuimus tam præstantes in omni genere, ut hac consolatione plane compensetur omnis ex difficultate rerum tristitia ac solicitudo nostra. Illi duo, qui altera missione non lubenter consenserant ut proficiscerentur, nunc mire efflagitant, et cæteri permulti; atque vel propter necessitatem nostri collegii vel honorem vestri cogar fortassis plures mittere quam requiritis: quanquam, ut verum fatear, ipsa missio non est nobis minus onerosa quam totidem hic per annum sustentatio. Sed vel propter variorum exercitiorum onera, vel propter supplementum eorum qui vel moriuntur vel propter valetudinem dimittuntur vel religionem ingrediuntur collegium, illud longe majorem numerum requirit. Circa principium Augusti per Dei gratiam dabunt se in iter, licet ille mensis paulo citius quam solebat[4] veniat et æstus hujus anni hic sit

[1] Edward Stransam. [2] John Atkins, chaplain to the Earl of Bedford. [3] Edmund Cecil.
[4] August began ten days earlier than it had hitherto done owing to the change in the calendar of the preceding year.

maximus. Timuimus ante duos menses nonnihil de peste, sed nunc plane videtur extincta; Deo gratias.

De voluntate Greeni nostri inquiremus coram R. P. Roberto quid factu opus sit. Est pius juvenis et bene se gerit. Covertus credo significavit vobis de 65 scutis illis quæ jussistis solvi a patre rectore collegii Parisiensis ex literis scriptis 20 Junii; ex quibus D. Nortono et Coffino ut jubetis solvemus. Et ecce jam novum onus charitati vestræ imponere cupit D. Baro Thomas Copleus; cui, ut videtur, intercedente reverendissimo domino Nuntio Apostolico sua Sanctitas concessit 20 aureos menstruos. Is per Christum rogat vestram paternitatem ut dignetur hoc ipsius procuratorium acceptare et eadem opera qua Dacrei et Nortoni solutionem curare ac pecunias ad nos mittere. Super qua re ipse ad V. R. has mittit literas cum aliis ad D. Thesaurarium.

D. Barrettus Dei erga nos magna benignitate plane putatur convaluisse, atque tam animo quam corpore ita esse confortatum ut ipsum in dies hic iterum expectem. Domini Nicolai Fitzherberti laboriosam provinciam super promovenda collectione fuisse non dubito, eoque magis quod in illa civitate parum promoverit. Saluta ipsum a me quæso prolixe. Si vos judicaveritis, possumus procurare literas ad Viceregem[1] unde intelligat fore domino suo pergratum si non impediat sed promoveat. Valete usque ad proximum nuntium, mei meorumque semper memores, vestri enim vestrorumque non obliviscor unquam. Valete et gaudete in Domino semper. Rhemis, 23 Julii, 1583.

Vester in æternum,

G. ALANUS.[2]

CVI.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 8 August, 1583.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Inghilterra, Vol. I., pag. 257).

Ill^me^ domine, patrone optime; Quoniam secundum humanum judicium completæ sunt iniquitates hostium ecclesiæ atque Sedis Apostolicæ, et tempus venit judicandi Babylonem nostram ac miserendi Syon, cum cæteris et pro cæteris qui salutem quærunt a Domino et Gregorio decimotertio ejus sanctissimo Vicario, supplices manus ad te extendo, Cardinalis optime et sapientissime, ut hoc uno immortali beneficio cætera omnia in nos gentemque nostram officia et amores compleas, id est, ut admoneas Beatissimum Patrem nostrum nunc jam nunc esse tempus faciendi, nunquam hactenus eam rei bene gerendæ occasionem fuisse, talem nunquam imposterum fortasse futuram opportunitatem.

Saltem quia quid futurum sit ignoramus, hoc solum scio catholicos tam diu optatas

[1] The Viceroy of Naples. See p. 189.

[2] No address to this letter.

speratas, desideratas suppetias jam tandem ut maxime tempestivas et opportunas plane expectare. Frustra (scio) apud vos, nedum apud S. D. nostrum, hæc commemoro, quorum in hac re singulare studium et in gentem miseram propensionem vestram nemo mortalium me novit melius, nec ad æternam Sedis Apostolicæ gloriam lubentius prædicare solet: tamen vel pro officio et sollicitudine mea hoc tempore, cum omnes boni istud contendant summis precibus, ego solus tacere non debui. Particulares interim rerum rationes ab aliis accipietis, aut etiam jam pridem (ut spero) a R^mo^ domino Nuntio accepistis. Longam vitam et beatam S^mo^ Gregorio XIII^o^, patriæ (ut confido) liberatori, multos et felices etiam tibi dies, amplissime et optime patrone. Rhemis, viii Augusti, 1583.

V. Ill^mæ^ Dominationis charissimus filius et in Deo servus,

GUL. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Ill^mo^ a[c] R^mo^ Cardinali Comensi, patrono optimo. Romam.

CVII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 8 August, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 311.

Mi pater amantissime; Transfretavit ad nos his diebus partim negotiorum partim mei visendi causa P. Georgius Birkettus. Nihil narrat præter ea quæ omnium oculis et auribus sunt objecta; nempe hostes indies esse iracundiores sed imbecilliores, nostros patientiores, constantiores, fortiores. Omnium Londinensium ac vicinorum locorum carcerum hospites catholicos, seu laicos seu sacerdotes, valere et viriliter agere in Domino, nihil timere, omnia sperare, orare semper, sacrificare frequenter, in vinculis denique vitam vivere vitalem et beatam, cum nihil sit nunc in Anglia illis ergastulis felicius, nec extra ea sanctum pene quidquam. Atque ecce tibi Londinensis Castri[1] sanctum zeniolum quod gratitudinis ac devotionis ergo Arthurus Pittus vester, ejus loci nunc clarus confessor et incola, isti collegio Anglorum, matri dulcissimæ, mittit; purificatorium nempe pannum quo illi martyres, quorum nomina postea ipsius Arthuri opera sunt insuta, in sacrificiis dum in illo carcere conclusi sunt utebantur. Cupio id ad vos tuto et quam citissime ferri, et mihi receptum esse significari. Nobis egregiam partem cutis, variis aromatibus ad durabilitatem conditam, Campiani nostri detulit ibidem P. Georgius. His martyrum benedictionibus valde lætemur.

Pugnant contra catholicos nunc bonorum potius confiscatione, quorum incredibilem hoc anno fecerunt rapinam, quam mortis sententia. Post Gulielmum tamen Hartum, nobilem confessorem Eboraci factum martyrem, alter quidam presbyter, hujus collegii alumnus, Trelcelus[2] nomine, simili supplicio et constantia vitam gloriose finivit.

[1] The Tower.

[2] Richard Thirkill, martyr, 29 May, 1583.

Scripserat iste historiam ejusdem Harti et trium aliorum sacerdotum eodem loco occisorum, sed intercepta est ab hæreticis lictoribus cum ille comprehendebatur eoque modo periit; ut hactenus nuspiam confessorum istorum peculiares ac præclarissimas res gestas ac voces vel in judicio vel in morte assequi licuerit. Quæ res facit ut annales literas hujus collegii ac operariorum nostrorum, quas nollemus tam præclaris et memorabilibus rebus vacare, tam diu differamus. Porro et id nos impedit ne omnia in publica scripta conferamus, quod ex particulari relatione rerum et personarum magnum creetur catholicis periculum, quorum nomina, officia et actiones sanctissimæ magna cum voluptate et ædificatione legentium commemorari possent et deberent. Sed non permittunt catholici, ne rapiantur ex his indiciis ad supplicium vel etiam ad mortem. Declarandum enim esset quos haberent presbyteri fautores, quos hospites, quorum opera pericula evaserint, quomodo faciant sacra quotidie in omnibus carceribus, unde necessaria paramenta ad rem divinam, quomodo libri, literæ, donaria ultra citraque commeant in tanta exploratorum et custodum diligentia, et alia ejus generis reliqua magis particularia et mirabilia quæ prodere non licet scriptis. Mox enim ut illa publicantur, citius sane quam credi potest veniunt in hostium notitiam. Reliqua autem quæ in hoc genere scribi possunt nimis sunt vulgaria atque omnibus pene nota. Ante paucos annos vel unius hominis alumni pro fidei confessione vincula, tortura, nedum mors, pulchrum dedissent epistolæ scribendæ argumentum. Jam ista ita fiunt sæpe, ita passim, ut nemo miretur. In hujus collegii initiis si scripsissem concessisse huc ex Anglia intra mensem decem studiosos, quasi ex inferi faucibus ereptos et in ecclesiam vindicatos, fuisset commemoratione non indignum. Non mentior jam si dixero quinquaginta huc hoc mense venisse, et tamen nihil attulero novi nec literis dignum, hominum saltem judicio, cum tamen revera mirabile sit. Sicut et illud nunc quoque non est insolitum, venire nobilium non modo filios, sed unicos et hæreditati paternæ ex asse destinatos, non tantum ut fidem catholicam discant aut bonas literas, quod utcumque credi possit, sed, quod est pene incredibile, ut clero ac sorti Dominicæ in ipso ætatis flore contempto patrimonio se dedicent.[1] Cujus rei in hac missione et vos habebitis experimentum in

[1] "Quando fu invecchiato il zelo della religione in Inghilterra, benche la Chiesa fusse all' hora ricchissima, pure non ci fu quasi persona nobile che volesse farsi sacerdote. Intanto che sotto il Re Henrico ottavo si è vista emulatione grandissima tra la nobiltà del regno et il clero, che fu non poca occasione della rovina del tutto. Ma dopo la presente persecuzione la maggior parte di quelli che fuggono alli seminarii è di persone nobili ch' hanno mezzi di procurar passagio per via d'amicitia ò danari, chi col consentimento de' parenti et chi senza lor saputa, et fatti poi sacerdoti a' tempi suoi senza titolo et senza aspettatione di beneficio ò premio temporale (anzi al contrario) vanno allegramente et con desiderio dove son mandati per aiutar l'anime et essercitare con pericolo della vita le funtioni et ministerii sacerdotali. Et questo s'è fatto non per poco tempo, ma per molt' anni, con tanta constanza et si notabil frutto che già l'istessi heretici cominciano avvedersi che non può essere cosa humana che tanto supera le forze di carne et di sangue; ma che c'interviene l'omnipotente mano di Christo nostro Signore, che vuole nobilitare in questo modo la causa sua, etiamdio nel cospetto

nobili adolescente Dudleio[1] ac aliis. Ut nihil dicam de obstinatissimis hæreticis qui non tam propria voluntate quam amicorum impulsu aut divino potius tractu huc venerunt his mensibus; in quibus duos etiam hac vice ad vos in agnos generosissimos plane mutatos mitto. Schismaticorum vero ac hæreticorum officiorum in Insula jam pridem ministros, ac inter cæteros unum nobilem apud hæreticos ecclesiastem, pœnitentes et reconciliationem humillime petentes habemus. Reliqua minutiora, quæ tamen certe divinitus nobis ad salutem (ut speramus) patriæ indies obveniunt, coram commemorabunt ii qui perendie capient Deo volente iter.

Mitto plures fortassis quam desideretis; sed ubertas messis nostræ et horreorum nostrorum ac rerum angustiæ pauciores non requirunt. Nostram quæso in hoc genere causam apud benignissimum dominum Protectorem, ac etiam (ubi licebit) apud Sanctissimum Patrem ac Dominum quam potes age suppliciter; sicut et ipse per literas obnixe intercedam. Sed nimis ista pro occupationibus utriusque nostrum fuse, licet ad animum meum ac fortassis etiam tuum, mi pater, parce satis. Vale in Christo Jesu, vir optime ac charissime. Rhemis, 8 Augusti, 1583.

V. R. P. frater ac filius amantissimus,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, collegii Anglorum [de U]rbe rectori vigilantissimo. Romæ.

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del mondo, et facilitare soavemente la conversione di quel regno, facendo che si tenga quel conto del sacerdotio et della religione cattolica che se li deve." Relatione del presente stato d'Inghilterra, &c. p. 12. Roma, MDXC.

[1] Richard Dudley, eldest son and heir of Edmund Dudley, lord of the manor of Yanworth in the parish of Barton, Westmorland. His great grandfather, Thomas Dudley, of a younger branch of the Dudleys in the South, married Grace Threkeld, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Lancelot Threkeld, and had with her the manor of Yanworth. Nicolson and Burn's History of Westmorland and Cumberland. Vol. I., p. 413. "Est præterea magnæ nobilitatis adolescens et suæ familiæ hæres, maximus natu filius, qui vocatur Dudley. Iste cum a parentibus ex scholis jurisconsultorum Londini esset evocatus domum ut uxorem duceret quam sibi habuerunt paratam, propter Christum reliquit et patriam et parentes, hæreditatem et omnia, et venit in has partes ut theologiæ studeret et crearetur sacerdos sicque ad suos reverteretur." Barret to Agazzari. Reims, 11 August, 1583. First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 331. After studying at Rome and Valladolid he returned to England, a priest, in 1591. In conjunction with Mr Mush he succeeded in appeasing the dissensions among the catholic prisoners at Wisbeach in 1595.

CVIII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 12 August, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 319.

Reverende pater; Nisi me meum multorumque judicium fallat, mitto selectiores aptioresque quam unquam hactenus habuistis; et proinde quia non solum patria nostra sed et collegium vestrum his opus habet, et nostrum contubernium sua laborat magnitudine, do plures quam requiritis, sed certe non plures quam illius collegii dignitas et necessitas ac charitatis vestræ abundantia desiderat.

Christophorus Bagshaus. B. R.
Gulielmus Staffertonus. B.
Gulielmus Warfordus. Bar. f.
Thomas Warcopus.
Joannes Fixerus. B.
Joannes Robertus.
Richardus Dudleius. B. C.
Gulielmus Jonsonus.
Gulielmus Baldvinus. C. B. J.
Georgius Potterus.
Samuel Kennetus. b.
Christophorus Bails.
Georgius Bustard.
Arisonus. B. B.[2]

Tredecim igitur vobis represento, quorum coripheus est[1] Christopherus Bagshaus, presbyterio, ætate et varia doctrina multis præstans. Deinde Gulielmus Staffertonus, annis et eruditione vir gravis et sacerdotio aptus. Tum Gulielmus Warfordus, insignibus animæ et corporis ornatus dotibus moribusque suavissimis, præ multis mihi dilectus vobisque diligendus. Item Thomas Warcoppus, vir sacerdotio et scholasticæ theologiæ propter annos et indolem inprimis acutam vitæque etiam mihi diu expertam probitatem apprime idoneus. Sequitur deinde Joannes Fixerus, humanioribus disciplinis maximeque doctioribus linguis moribusque etiam cultissimis præclarissime instructus. Atque hos omnes cupio utrique theologiæ institutioni operam istic navare; sicut enim sunt pene omnes latinæ et græcæ linguæ periti, ita sunt judicio et ingenio ad res majores addiscendas, uti existimo, admodum idonei. Reliqui octo, ætate juniores, licet aliqui ipsorum dialecticam et philosophiam leviuscule pro more academiarum nostratium et institutionis Anglicanæ attigerint et in theologia etiam aliquid promoverint, tamen eos omnes vestro ac magistrorum examini relinquo. Fortassis ipsorum aliqui, ut Joannes Roberti, linguis et cæteris rebus instructissimus juvenis ac non ita pridem ab hæresi feliciter revocatus, itemque nobilis juvenis Richardus Dudleius, atque item fortasse alii possent mox tradi classi vel physicorum aut etiam metaphysices. Reliqui autem sunt Gulielmus Johnsonus, pientissimus juvenis; Gulielmus Baldwinus, ipsi similis; Georgius Potterus, suavissimis etiam moribus et ab hæresi etiam non adeo nuper recuperatus; Samuel Kennetus propter P. Joannem Hartum, qui istum in vinculis genuit, summe mihi dilectus;

[1] Compare Dr Barret's account of these students in his letter to F. Agazzari. Reims, 11 August, 1583. First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 330.

[2] *Arisonus* and probably the letters appended to the names are not in Dr Allen's hand.

denique Christophorus Bals et Georgius Bustardus, boni et apti omnes. Hos igitur vestræ charitati, disciplinæ ac regimini quantum possum commendo et committo, pro quorum humilitate et obedientia spero me posse tuto et simpliciter spondere. Reliquum est solum ut illustrissimum D. Protectorem ac patronum nostrum benignissimum de numero placatum reddatis. Ad quem etiam ipse de ea re scribam, sed mittam per cursorem Parisiensem, ut sint in manibus vestris illæ literæ antequam istæ appellant.

Præter istos, quos in collegii alumnos coaptari cupimus, veniunt etiam alii duo, qui suis vivent impensis. Alter est Gulielmus Lile, qui theologiæ est daturus operam, uti affirmat. Alter est Johannes Harrisonus, vir insigniter pius et devotus, qui peregrinationis tantum causa Urbem sanctam cogitat. Satis pecuniarum apud me hic reliquit; proinde curate obsecro ne quidquam illi desit ad vitam ac voluntatem necessarium. Cogitat tandem ingredi aliquam strictam religionem. Si potestis admittere ad aliquot menses ad victum in collegio, multum ædificabit omnes suo exemplo. Atque hæc hactenus. Per ordinarium plura. Id solum admoneo postremo, omnes pene quos jam mittimus esse nobili ac clara familia prognatos. Dominus Jesus vestram reverendam paternitatem ipsis nostrisque omnibus ac etiam mihi servet superstitem. Rhemis, 12 Augusti, 1583.

Frater et filius in Christo,

G. ALANUS.

Veniunt nostri in duabus turmis propter numerum paulo majorem quam ut una commode proficisci aut in diversoriis recipi queat. Sed per Dei gratiam venient uno ac eodem ad vos die. Mitto 4 chirothecarum paria de quibus disponite ut vultis. Plura non potui assequi.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazerio, collegii Anglorum de Urbe [rectori] vigilantissimo. Romam.

CIX.

Dr William Allen to Pope Gregory XIII. Paris, 22 August, 1583.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Inghilterra, Vol. I., pag. 258).

Beatissime Pater.

Præsentium lator[1] est unus ex reverendis patribus Societatis Jesu, cæterisque omnibus in Angliam his annis per illius ordinis Præpositum Generalem missis superior designatus, qui post insignia istic animarum lucra resque pro illorum locorum con-

[1] F. Robert Persons.

ditione felicissime gestas, ut nobiscum qui in eandem curam Sanctitatis vestræ auspiciis et mandatis continuo incumbimus commodius omnia imprimisque nobilitatis et populi studia ac desideria conferret, concessit in vicinam Franciam. Unde paulo post communicata quædam de republica et ecclesia nostra liberanda consilia visus est non solum nobis sed Sanctitatis vestræ Nuntio cæterisque et quorundam principum oratoribus et proceribus esse aptissimus qui ad S. M. Catholicam super his rebus mitteretur, eodem nempe tempore quo alius ejusdem ordinis homo[1] piissimus ad sanctissimos pedes vestros fuit directus. In aula ergo Hispanica rebus pene ex sententia expeditis, maximis saltem datis felicissimi successus spebus, principes hic viri non judicarunt aliud superesse vel ad causam complendam vel labores nostros tandem aliquando finiendos quam ut hæc summa et fortasse ultima bene gerendæ rei opportunitas per hominem istum omnium consiliorum tra[cta]tionumque istarum scientissimum coram prolixe et fideliter explicetur vestræ Beatitudini; ut vel jam tandem omnia sanctissima vestra desideria, beneficia, consilia erga Angliam vere vestram compleantur in Domino. Utinam vel una horula liceret mihi esse apud beatissimos pedes vestros prostratus ut commoditatem rei agendæ, gemitus compeditorum, catholicorum ad patrem unicum in terris clamores, expectationem omnium libere et confidenter commemorarem. Sed quia id nec sine mandato S^tis^ tuæ nec in hac maxima virium imbecillitate ea qua oportuit celeritate fieri potuit, suppliciter et obnixe precor vestram Beatitudinem istum optimum et prudentissimum patrem, nobis in Domino unanimem et omnis Anglici status expertissimum, solita benignitate exaudire. Qui etiam de numero, statu et progressu hujus vestri collegii Rhemensis per omnia vestram Sanctitatem informare potest. Dominus Jesus tuam Sanctitatem ad gentis nostræ totiusque ecclesiæ salutem nobis in multos annos servet. Parisiis, 22 Augusti, 83.

Sanctissimæ Paternitatis vestræ alumnus et servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

Addressed.

Beatissimo Patri, Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Gregorio Papæ XIII°.

CX.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 28 August, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 323.

Pax Christi.

Non potui, Parisiis his diebus existens, negotiorum majorum undis obrutus respondere literis V. P. primo Augusti scriptis. Sed domum rediens primo quoque arripui

[1] F. William Creighton, S. J.

calamum. Recepimus ergo illa 170 scuta solaria[1] quorum in illa epistola facta est mentio; de quibus ut jussistis disponemus. De pecuniis valde nunc laboramus, imposterumque (ut videtur) propter intollerabiles expensas laborabimus, nisi Deus, ut semper hactenus, abunde manum suam nobis aperiat. Quemadmodum et nuper, sicut ex vestris video literis, misit nobis alimentum largamque ex Ulisbona usque eleemosynam. Sit benedicta illius episcopi anima et cæterorum qui sunt erga nos divinæ Providentiæ administri. De numero eorum quos jam pridem misimus ad Urbem si major sit quam requiratis, necessitati nostræ condonate quæso; cujus rei rationes vobis reddidi alias, reddamque illustrissimo Protectori fusius per proximum tabellarium, quando etiam aliis patronis et amicis, præsertim R. P. Paulo Campanæ pro procurata benedictione Polonica, ut admonetis, scribam. Tam infinitis distendor curis et occupationibus ut non possim ista officia nisi tardius quam vellem et oporteat facere. De illis duobus scutis Joanni Bartono meo concessis non displicet mihi. Ipsius orationibus me multum commendo. Si aliquid Richardo Singletono, ubi requiret necessitas, etiam concesseritis, non erit ingratum; præsertim cum intelligam ex P. Suthwelli nostri ad doctorem Elium scriptis literis illum non esse indignum amore[2] nostro. Saluta quæso ipsum et cæteros mihi et vobis charissimos filios. In Novello non fuistis decepti. Conjunxit se in Anglia cæteris exploratoribus. De Barretti nostri in Angliam adventu præmonebat consiliaries, sed feliciter deceptus est. Ille numquam melius valuit et antiqua officia repetiit jam pridem. Valete in Domino Jesu. Rhemis, 28 Augusti, 83.

V. R. P. addictissimus,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Reverendo admodum in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, collegii Anglorum rectori. Romæ.

CXI.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 1 September, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 327.

Reverende pater. Pax Christi. Sæpe accidit ut cum hinc Lutetiam adferantur literæ ad magistrum postarum [ut][3] nuntius ordinarius una ante hora vel die discesserit, utque sic remaneant Parisiis usque ad quartumdecimum diem. Unde fit ut tardius aliquando quam expectatis, aut nonnunquam etiam ut variorum temporum epistolæ simul adveniant. Si hoc istis accidat sicut timeo ex longiori quam oportuit mora hujus Rhemensis tabellarii, condonate nobis hunc necessarium defectum.

Mitto hic nomina scholarium, in quibus soli isti duo, Willelmus Lisle et Joannes

[1] "Ècu d' or au soleil, monnaie frappée sous Louis XI. et Charles VIII. avec un soleil au dessus de la couronne." Littré, Dictionaire s. v. Ècu. [2] In MS. *amomore*. [3] *ut* superfluous.

Harrisonus, suis ut dicunt vivent expensis. Cur tam multos mittam rationes vobis antea reddidi, et culpam deprecabor apud D. Protectorem proxima vice. Literæ vel per manus vestras vel scholarium reddi possunt. Aliquot certe insignes mitto. Commendarem v. r. paternitati aliquot nominatim et præ cæteris, sed communis amor in omnes non permittit. Sunt quidam tamen, ut illi primi tres, 6 quoque et 8, linguarum et græcæ inprimis linguæ magis studiosi; in quibus secundus et tertius eximiam ejus peritiam habent. In quo genere quia delectantur et quia hujusmodi res nostris hominibus et moribus sunt admodum necessariæ, cupio tales horas aliquot pro judicio vestro in id studium extraordinarias collocare. Bagshaus ille primus est mei vestrique ordinis amantissimus et ingenio præstanti; ætate quoque matura, ut videtis. Gulielmum quoque Warfordum valde amo et vos scio amabitis, sed metuo multum ne sit imbecilliori corpore. Si in ipso senseritis aliquando declinationem valetudinis, remittite obsecro. Samuelem illum propter J. Hartum diligetis, et sic de cæteris. Singuli enim habent aliquas gratias peculiares, pro quibus utrique nostrum debent esse chari. Et de numero nolite irasci. Dico simpliciter plures misissem, si viaticum pro pluribus nancisci potuissem. Si recordari potestis quantum debebat vobis bonus Edwardus Throgmortonus moriens, cupio illud in proximis literis significari. Vobis per nos solutum est; sed cum repeto ab iis hic qui debebant solvere mihi, requirunt summam, et invenire non possum. Saluta quæso mihi multum patrem confessarium, quodque rarius quam vellet scribo attribuat occupationibus assiduis. Christus tuam reverentiam nobis incolumem custodiat. Rhemis, 1 Septemb., 83.

Vester totus,

ALANUS.

Tyrellus nobis consentientibus et aliis consulentibus e nostratium consortio ut commodius discat linguam gallicam Aurelias[1] concessit. Dicite quæso Georgio Powello me curaturum ut ad nos veniat circa Pascha. Interim pie et obedienter [se][2] gerat; ipsique suum patrem placabo; inprimisque curet ut nitatur scribere characteres meliores, hoc enim ipsius pater maxime offenditur.[3]

CXII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 8 September [1583].

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 329.

Pax Christi.

Mi pater reverende; Præter cætera in literis proximis 15 Augusti scriptis, quæ omnia semper sunt gratissima, placuit et necessarium fuit illud quod scribis de 400 aureis Parisios missis. Et cupimus adhuc plura de collecta vel undecunque mitti:

[1] Orleans. [2] Word supplied. [3] There is no address to this letter, which fills two pages.

mire enim pecuniarum difficultate premimur, nec ordinariæ provisiones quidquam pene faciunt ad nostras importabiles expensas sustinendas; quemadmodum quidam maximus intimusque amicus[1] utrique nostrum, qui Deo volente ibi brevi vobiscum erit, fusius explicabit. Non expetivi particulares collectæ rationes, sed tantum quanta esset nobis reliqua in universum summa, qua in extrema rerum nostrarum necessitate uti liceret. Pestis incipit Lutetiæ spargi maxime in vicinis collegio patrum ædibus et vicis. Proinde, si vobis ita videatur, cuperem in literis cambii addi nomen Thomæ Coverti, Angli, procuratoris nostri, ut ipse solus possit a mercatore repetere et accipere missas pecunias, si forte collegium (quod absit) inficeretur, aut reverendus pater rector absit aut non prodeat in publicum.

Nunquam, mi pater, ita passi sumus difficultates domesticas sicut nunc, et certe quantum video prememur magis. Nam ex numero et quotidianis catholicorum domi incrementis majores nobis oriuntur angustiæ foris; ut non solum mente cum Apostolo compatiamur omnibus afflictis, sed vere miseriarum participes reddamur. Huc omnes oppressi, spoliati bonis, captivi etiam (ubi possunt) advolant. Quidam nobilis catholicus nomine Joannes Stonerus,[2] cum ex Belgio nos versus ante decem dies veniret, capitur, ducitur a milite domini fratris[3] in castra, spoliatur, jubetur aut solvere 300 aureos aut perire fame. Non habet unde solvat teruncium, nos compellat, obtestatur, adjurat: nihil habemus. In summa miseri sumus non solum nostris angustiis sed aliorum casibus. Sed de his omnibus eripiet nos Dominus.

Credo non esse opus petere literas a sua Majestate Catholica pro illa collecta Neapolitana, cum amicus noster prædictus adferat (uti spero) ab oratore Parisiis residente, qui scit optime et testari potest regiam erga nos voluntatem. Non scripsi hoc tempore suæ Sanctitati, quia ante quatuordecim dies id feci per aliam viam. Sed scribo jam Magistro cameræ, Cardinali Comensi, D. Datario; et prolixe illustrissimo Cardinali, cujus epistolæ mitto vobis exemplum. Si non displiceat, potestis spargere, cum ipsius venia. Atque fortasse petendum esset a [sua][4] Celsitudine ut velit suæ Sanctitati legere; nam propterea statum rerum nostrarum paulo fusius persecutus sum. Poterit esse pro literis anniversariis; et imposterum illam servabo rationem ut singulis annis vel missionibus talia scribam. Solus sum nec habeo in hujusmodi rebus scribendis adjutores commodos, et opprimor infinitis occupationibus, sicut et vos estis. Ideo compatiamur nobis invicem, et comprecemur ut Deus det nobis requiem sempiternam in futuro sæculo, quia in hac vita nunquam quiescemus. Valete in Jesu. Rhemis, 8 Septembris, nempe in festo Nativitatis Deiparæ Virginis, in cujus Assumptione vos vestras dedistis literas.

V. R. P. frater et filius,

G. ALANUS.[5]

[1] F. Robert Persons. [2] See First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 193: also p. 101 *bis*.
[3] Duke of Anjou. [4] *sua* supplied. [5] Below the signature in the MS. at the bottom of the page Dr Allen has written *verte folium*.

Reverende pater; Exciderat illud quod ante mensem scripsisse oportuerat. Valde vellem paternitas vestra possit mihi expedire apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum quoddam non magnæ difficultatis negotium pro summo amico quem collegium nostrum habet in Gallia vestrique sincero amatore, domino Petro Frisonio, canonico Rhemensi. Voverat ille profectionem Hierosolimitanam, amicisque omnibus propter justissimas causas ne id faceret obtestantibus nullo modo cedere volebat, sed plane in proposito solvendi voti adeo erat firmus ut jam esset iter suscepturus intra triduum. Amici restiterunt quod ecclesia illa insignis summum ex ipsius tam diuturna absentia videretur perceptura incommodum, cum esset præ cæteris in illo capitulo zelosus et spiritualis, ipsiusque et exemplo et monitis multi continerentur in officio ac ad frugem converterentur. Porro accedit illud quod ipsius fidei et dispensationi soleant eleemosynæ omnium fere piarum personarum Rhemensium committi, adeo ut præsit fere omnibus largiendis eleemosynis, dicaturque et vere sit pater omnium pauperum. Postremo nostrum collegium ex tam multis constans externis iisque Anglis, inter quos et Gallos fuerunt antiquissima dissidia, non nisi amicorum ac bonorum opera et præsertim ipsius domini Frisonii studio potest hic in pace subsistere. Unde ex ipsius tam diuturna absentia ac incerto reditu nobis sæpe graves difficultates accidere queant. Tandem ergo his rationibus pene invitum ipsum tenuimus usque dum voluntas suæ Sanctitatis sciri possit. Promisi me daturum operam per vestram paternitatem ut sua Sanctitas propter has rationes et vel nostri causa cum ipso de voto dispensaret. Igitur ubi videbitur magis opportunum, quæso, vos dicite unum verbulum de ea re vel meo nomine suæ Sanctitati, ut vivo vocis oraculo saltem dispenset; nisi videatur necessarium rationes prædictas scripto memoriali, quod non puto, mandari. Responsum expecto.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazerio, collegii Anglorum de [Urbe] rectori optimo. Romæ.

CXIII.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal Protector (San Sisto). Reims, 12 September, 1583.

From a contemporary transcript, signed by Dr William Allen, in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 333.

9 Copia.

Illustrissime domine Cardinalis, benignissime Protector; Quia æquum et necessarium ducimus certis anni temporibus peculii istius Gregoriani tuæ Celsitudinis protectioni et meæ mediocritatis curæ commissi rationem reddere, id nunc faciam quam possum brevissime; si tamen antea culpam audaciæ meæ apud tuam bonitatem

deprecer quod paulo plures studiosos hac missione autumnali illi collegio vestro Romano dederim, non quam fortasse desideretis, sed quam requiratis. Fretus enim incomparabili clementia Sanctitatis suæ, expertus humanitatem vestram, intelligens illud collegium pro dignitate et necessariis exercitiorum officiis sustinendis non esse satis numerosum, hoc nostrum multitudine et magnitudine sua vehementer laborare rerumque necessitate extrema periclitari, putavi hic plusculum audendum.

Me miserum! vel illuc saltem plures mittere, vel in Angliam ad perditionem multos remittere oportuit. Animæ sunt, Protector optime, id est, res pretiosissimæ, et tales animæ quibus ad institutionem Romanam meliores vel doctiores nunquam illi collegio, nisi fallor, dedimus. Addidimus ergo quatuor vel quinque iis quos volebat pater rector. Ne displiceat Amplitudini tuæ obsecro; sed condonet aut approbet nostram in causa Christi confidentiam.

Atque statum hujus collegii Rhemensis utinam possetis oculis cernere corporeis, non ut majores erga ipsum aut compassiones in illis Sanctitatis suæ vestrisque misericordiarum et miserationum plenissimis visceribus excitentur, sed ut sanctissimus D. N. certius intelligat quantopere Deus his operibus manuum suarum benedicat, id est, quantum ex horum collegiorum institutione ac sustentatione ad ecclesiæ incrementum atque patriæ salutem proficiat.

Cujus certe consideratione et nos ipsi, licet in rei administratione graves continuo difficultates, necessitates, labores, pericula undique sentiamus, animoque et corpore subinde deficiamus, tamen ita recreamur in Domino, ut divina solatia omnes miserias angustiasque nostras longe superare videantur. Imo vero illud ipsum, unde nobis summa in sæculo solicitudo et rerum pene omnium ad vitæ sustentationem desperatio, id est, confluentium huc ex Insula indies frequentissima turba incredibilem a Deo consolationem et spem nobis adfert. Licet enim ne quisquam accedat capitalibus edictis prohibeant hæretici, et præsertim in universitatibus exquisitissima jam pridem utantur diligentia ne selectiora nanciscamur ingenia, tamen a Calendis Martiis anni 83, nempe hoc semestri, venerunt ad nos ex academiis et scholis Anglicanis studiosi octoginta, ut nunquam his mensibus pauciores fere Rhemis simus quam ducenti, præter alios non paucos, quos propter ætatem et commodiorem institutionem puerilem, partim propriis, partim nostris expensis collocavimus Mussiponti,[1] Verduni, Augii,[2] ac aliis nobis vicinis gymnasiis.

Veniunt autem non modo præclara indole et educatione varii, sed quod adversarios imprimis male habet, ex nobilitate multi, ac nonnunquam etiam, quod ipsis parentibus ingratum est, primogeniti, qui in ipso ætatis flore tam delitias patriæ præsentes quam futuræ hæreditatis paternæ spem spernunt, ut hæredes fiant in domo Domini, affligantur cum populo Dei, et, quo nihil est in gente nostra contemptibilius, odiosius, periculosius, fiant quoque sacerdotes Christi; quod in iis qui liberam faciem ecclesiæ et presbyterio justum deferri honorem nunquam viderant, pro divino miraculo

[1] Pont-à-Mousson. [2] Eu.

ducimus. Ex istis unum aut alterum Romam nunc misimus: sicut etiam hoc ipso mense duo confessores, antiqua fide et nobilitate clarissimi, possessionum amplissimarum bonorumque proscriptione facti pro Christo pauperrimi continuisque addicti carceribus, coacti sunt hæredes ac cæteram prolem masculam, ne ab hæreticis domi in prima ætate corrumperentur, ad nos transmittere.

In cæteris qui hoc tempore venerunt sunt septem doctrina et ætate maturiores viri sectæ Calvinisticæ diu apud suos ministri ac concionatores non vulgares, qui pertæsi hæresis et illius conditionis damnabilis hic per dignos pœnitentiæ fructus et sacramentum reconciliationis in ecclesiæ gremium recepti sunt. Reliqui, partim sacerdotum nostrorum opera in Anglia facti sunt catholici; partim illic bene affecti hic reliqua institutione fidei imbuuntur et ecclesiæ reconciliantur; partim demum amicorum orthodoxorum suasu advenientes, cum adhuc plane sint hæretici, consuetudine et colloquio nostrorum, divina concurrente gratia, non difficulter convertuntur.

Hoc semestri spatio decem et novem creati sunt sacerdotes, sexdecim in opus Anglicanum missi: quo loco tanta tamque matura dicitur esse messis ut nunquam hactenus. Certe unus ex nostris, scriptis ad me ea de re nuper literis, sancte affirmat se cum duobus presbyteris, collegis suis, post postremum Pascha in una regni provincia non adeo magna reconciliasse ecclesiæ Romanæ supra quadringentos homines. Alius per nuntium significat se unum hoc anno ad usum sacrum curasse calicum plus minus triginta fabricam, cum plures sint per varias Insulæ partes qui similem præstent operam. Altarium vero portatilium, quibus solis per totum regnum utuntur, tanta est penuria tantaque in illis ac cæteris paramentis benedicendis difficultas, (cum duo solum sint qui eam potestatem a Pontifice illic habeant) ut summopere conquerantur omnes. Istud commemoro, illustrissime Protector, partim ut spirituales nostras necessitates cognoscas et apud sanctissimum D. N. adjuves, partim ut catholicæ fidei quotidiana apud nos incrementa cernas. Si tutum esset nomina omnium nobilium qui indies hæresi renuntiant et ad Sedis Apostolicæ obedientiam redeunt publicare; si sine ipsorum periculo liceret indicare quibus quamque commodis et secretis locis exercitia religionis sanctæ fiant,[1] in palatiis magnatum, in ædibus tam nobilium quam plebeiorum, in omnibus etiam carceribus, de tanto Dei munere ac tot animarum in mediis persecutionis gravissimæ ardoribus lucro abunde lætareris in Christo, Cardinalis optime. His tamen mensibus non adeo est sævitum in catholicos ut prius, dum magistratus hæreticus justo Dei judicio cogitur a nobis in viscera sua, id est, in furiosos quosdam Puritanos gladium convertere. Duo tantum, quod sciam, presbyteri Eboraci morte mulctati sunt propter extraordinariam illius hominis qui

[1] "Molti de' cortegiani et familiari della Regina di quando in quando si scuoprono cattolici, et si sono arrischiati a far dire messa nel palazzo et alle volte sopra l' istessa stanza dove lei allogiava, mancandoli per all' hora luogo più commodo." Relatione del presente stato d' Inghilterra, &c. p. 12. Roma, MDXC.

civitati et provinciæ isti præest [1] ex hæresi insaniam. Cæteris regni locis qui intercipiuntur sacerdotes carceribus tantum conduntur, ne munus sacrum exerceant; licet ne tunc quidem ab opere desistant, cum et illic sæpe summa rei bene gerendæ commoditas existat.

Saltem qui captivis vel occisis succedant non deerunt per Dei gratiam unquam: præter eos enim quos patres vel e Societate sua vel e collegio nostratium Romano continuo suppeditabunt, habemus hodie in isto collegio viginti quinque presbyteros præter diaconos et subdiaconos cæterosque hujus militiæ candidatos plurimos, qui nullis priorum procellis persecutionum, nullis futuris periculis deterriti, incredibili ardent studio patriæ succurrendi aut mortem pro Christo appetendi. Quanti autem et quam nobis intollerabiles ad tot homines alendos, tot ad Urbem et in Angliam mittendos, reliquaque infinita pro patriæ salute obsequia requirantur sumptus vestra sapientia facile cogitare poterit, mihi dicere non est necessarium. Atque ita se hoc tempore habent res nostræ, quæ cum hactenus non solum patrocinio Celsitudinis tuæ, sed sanctissimis imprimis Gregorii XIII. patrui tui, clementissimi Domini nostri, mandatis et auspiciis, id est, ut interpretor, Christi voluntate et benedictione, feliciter gerantur, futurum aliquando speramus, ut nationem tandem universam salutis suæ tantique boni nostri authoribus representemus.

Vivat solummodo, per Jesum Christum, beatissimus Papa noster, ut hoc opus a se divinitus cœptum tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus nobis necessariis subsidiis feliciter prosequatur, quod et sua largissima bonitate et tua intercessione, benignissime Protector, ipsum facturum non dubito. Atque hic cum pro cæteris in illud collegium continuis favoribus, tum pro amplissima procurata nuper vinea quæ ad vitam et valetudinem nostrorum erat imprimis necessaria, prolixiores gratias agerem, nisi meliores a domino veræ vineæ pro his immortalibus in nos meritis in cœlo expectaretis. Deus Opt. Max. sanctissimum D. N. et te, Protector optime, ad ipsius et ecclesiæ ministerium diu servet incolumes. Rhemis, 12 Sept., 1583.

ALANUS.

Addressed.

R^do^ Patri Alfonso, Rectori.[1]

CXIV.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J. Reims, 9 October, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 337.

Reverende pater; Vestræ reverentiæ literas 11° Septembris scriptas accepi nudius tertius. Erant illæ, ut vestræ omnes, propter variam plenæ consolationis materiam admodum jucundæ. Inter cætera illud erat gratum quod dicitis Rev^mum^ D. Datarium

[1] The Earl of Huntingdon, President of the North. [2] The words 9 *copia*, *Alanus* and *R^do^ Patri Alfonso*, *Rectori* are in Dr Allen's hand.

lubenter quasdam literas ad paternitatem vestram non ita pridem a nobis scriptas perlegisse lubenter;[1] ad quem ipse etiam nuper epistolam peculiariter dedi, cum ad cæteros patronos scripsi. Scholares non tam multos misi quam vos video metuisse. Præter enim numerum ordinarium a vestra reverentia expetitum quatuor aut ad summum quinque dedimus, qui compensabuntur facile iis quos hoc tempore ægritudinis causa nobis remittitis, qui et ipsi sunt quatuor vel potius quinque, si ut insinuatis retineamus Odsonum. Vide quam simus erga vos, mi pater, justi et æquabiles. Profecto si difficultas viatici non impedivisset, plures forsan transmisissem; cum nos hic hominibus abundemus, vobisque sit satius carere pecuniis quam alumnis. Sed et hujus belli seu commercii nervus est pecunia, et illius defectu utrinque sumus miseri. Sed bono simus animo. Deus in tempore opportuno miserebitur peculii sui. Christus Dominus habet fidelem dispensatorem quem præposuit familiæ suæ, Gregorium XIII^um^, cujus misericordia maxime alimur, dabitque suis in tempore tritici mensuram largiorem.

Cupio audire vehementer de meorum ad Urbem appulsu. Vestros post 14 dies avide vicissim expectabo. Jam pridem incolumis advenit Gilbertus Giffordius, totus pauper habitu et corpore, spero etiam et spiritu. Certe nunquam ita se gessit hactenus: confitetur simpliciter omnem priorem miseriam ac malitiam suam proterviamque contra V. P. et cæteros superiores ac bene monentes. Petiit veniam cum lachrimis a Gulielmo Giffordio quod illum implicuerit illis contentionibus iniquissimis. In summa spondet se novam vitam instituturum, mihique in cunctis morem gesturum, animumque totum ad s. theologiæ ac sacerdotii studium applicaturum. Porro se certo scire vestram reverentiam nihil contra ipsum hoc toto perturbationis tempore ex malo animo, sed ex amore omnia fecisse; atque se hoc nunc adeo, cum ad se rediit, agnoscere ut pro vobis vitam profusurum pro vobis,[2] si opus sit, profiteatur. Hæc et similia mihi dixit; unde spem aliquam concipio ipsius et salutis et studii atque diligentiæ, licet omnino non sim securus in tanta fragilitate ac consuetudine peccandi. Animus erat ipsum Parisios amandandi; sed summo studio egit mecum ut possit hic manere. Fortasse probabo ipsius constantiam, utarque in docendo dialecticam ad tempus. Admonui ipsum de superbissimis sæpe sermonibus habitis cum r. patre confessario. Confessus est omnia, seque fecisse pœnitet valde, sicut ait. Quamdiu se bene gerit, obsecro, mi pater, cura ut solvatur ipsi provisio menstrua. Ipsius comitem Bradshaum statim dimisimus. Lutetiæ expectabit illos nummos quos apud vos deposuit, de quibus ipsi persolvendis scribitis; quod primo quoque tempore faciemus. Item solvemus filiæ domini Nortoni undecim scuta nomine illustrissimi Cardinalis Palleotti. Pensionem domini Baronis Dacrei recepimus usque ad primum Junii exclusive et non ulterius; non enim recepimus pro Junio. Cogimur D. Nortonum sæpe adjuvare antequam nobis solvatur: ita senex clamat post nos. Patri Cornelio reddemus octo scuta et julios tres, sicut jubetis. Repetemus etiam illa octo scuta quæ dedistis Henrico Anslæo a domino Francisco Englefildo.

[1] *lubenter* redundant. [2] *pro vobis* redundant.

Significate, quæso, Walpullo meo gratas mihi fuisse humanissimas literas suas; ipsumque ac cæteros mihi dilectissimos filios a me salutate, inprimis Richardum Singletonum, a quo aliquid literarum accipere cupio. Pater Greenus significavit mihi per literas ad D. Bayleum scriptas, se jam plane exhaustum esse nec habere quidquam nummorum reliquum, ut proinde jam non possit se ultra sustentare suis sumptibus; quod optimo ac sincerissimo viro plane credo. Eo enim semper fuit animo et affectu erga commune bonum ut nunquam voluerit accipere quidquam ex publico ærario quamdiu privata crumena suppeditaret sibi necessaria. Nunc vero cum parentes ipsius optimi et fratres carceres et bonorum rapinam pro fide ita sustineant ut isti amplius succurrere non queant, rogat ut vel ad reliquum tempus commorationis suæ in Urbe admittatur in alumnum vel ipsi procuretur dimissio cum ordinario viatico eorum qui [in][1] Angliam mittuntur; quam petitionem æquissimam sine dubio vestra pietas suaque etiam Sanctitas judicabit. Et ut hoc illi concedatur obnixissime rogo. De munusculis sacris quæ misistis nobis per nostros et imposterum gratias agemus et disponemus ut cupitis. Dominus Jesus te nobis diu conservet, colendissime pater. Rhemis, 9 Octob., 1583.

V. R. P. confrater et filius,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso, collegii Anglorum de Urbe rectori vigilantissimo. Romæ.

CXV.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 18 November, 1583.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 343.

Pax Christi.

Reverende pater; Hominum necessitates et importunitates sunt tam infinitæ ut nec ipse conquiescam nec V. R. patiantur requiescere. Est quidam illic in Urbe Franciscus Foulerus, frater Joannis Fouleri, catholicissimi et doctissimi librorum impressoris. Ex Urbe usque inconsolabiliter per literas me de extremis suis necessitatibus compellat; ut apud vos intercedam per omnia sacra obsecrat ut aliquid a Pontifice nanciscatur vel aliunde sibi provideatur. Ego quidvis ipsius causa cupio, quia testantur mihi quidam quibus plene fido ipsum esse probum, elegantem et catholicum virum, et ut[2] pro opportunitate quantum licet et potestis eum oro ut adjuvetis: si nulla alia ratione fieri potest, saltem ut possit vel ex pecuniis D. Georgii[3] piæ memoriæ,[4] vel[5] nostris habeat ad reditum 10 vel 12, decem inquam vel duodecim, scuta.

[1] The MS. being worn away, *in* is conjecturally supplied. [2] *ut* redundant. [3] George Gilbert, who died in Rome, 6 October, 1583. [4] *habere* understood. [5] *ex* omitted.

Ecce sic cogimur facere, ista perpeti, ne pereant fratres nostri; et tamen hodie mihi sancte affirmavit idque in particulares rationes duxit Bayleus noster nos iterum debere mille scuta. Sed quid faciemus? In Domino Deo confidemus.

Accidit hic his mensibus aliquid unde nobis aliqua causa jurgiorum inter amicos domini Audoeni et me. Quidam juvenis ex petulantia fregit ipsius picturam relictam in quodam obscuro cubiculo ab aliquo Wallo. Ad cujus rei excusationem cogor pacifice scribere ad D. Archidiaconum. Mittite, quæso, ipsi literas quam potestis citissime. Christus Jesus semper servet vestram reverentiam. Rhemis, 18 Novembris, 1583.

Vester totus,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso Agazerio, collegii Anglorum de Urbe [Rectori] vigilantissimo. Romæ.

CXVI.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 20 November, 1583.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Inghilterra, vol. I., pag. 263).

Ill^me^ ac benignissime Patrone; Qua sit in nos patriamque nostram voluntate S^mus^ Dominus noster, quantumque ipse in rem ac salutem Britanniæ incumbas meque ipsum ames, et ex literis tuæ Celsitudinis datis 24 Septembris et ex ejus qui eas attulit prolixo sermone, magno meo solatio perspexi.

De muneribus autem illis amplioribus quæ suo tempore obire jubeor hoc solum in hac magna corporis et animi mei infirmitate polliceri possum, daturum me operam ut Sanctæ Sedi Apostolicæ vestræque pietati gratus, morigerus ac denique fidelis inveniar. Deus interim Opt. Max. nobis eam gratiam ac misericordiam concedat ut quibuscunque vitæ vel mortis laboribus istam tandem ecclesiam Anglicanam virginem castam Christo ejusque sanctissimo Vicario exhibeamus; ut illo peracto opere dimittat demum servos suos in pace. Brevia[1] illa Apostolica tuto pervenerunt ad manus oratoris Regis Catholici, quibus cum opportunum erit (ut admonetis) et non prius utemur. Reginam afflictam interea diligenter præmonebo quantum Sanctitati suæ, quantum Dignitati tuæ debeat. Cætera quæ scribenda essent literis commode committi non possunt. Dignetur solum Amplitudo tua adjunctas literas S^mo^ Domino nostro tradere. Dominus Deus te mihi, Mæcenas optime, diu felicem conservet. Rhemis, 12 Cal. Decemb., 1583.

Vestræ Amplitudinis obsequentissimus alumnus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

Addressed.

Ill^mo^ ac r^mo^ in Christo patri ac d^no^, D. Cardinali [Com]ensi, patrono opt^mo^. Romam.

[1] These were probably Briefs appointing Dr Allen Bishop of Durham and Apostolic Delegate to the intended expedition for the restoration of the Catholic faith in England.

CXVII.

Dr William Allen to Pope Gregory XIII. Reims, 20 November, 1583.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Inghilterra, vol. I., pag. 262).

Beatissime Pater.

Quanto ardeas desiderio regna Britannica ad fidem et ovile Christi, cui felicissime præes incredibilique solicitudine invigilas, reducendi, cum antea ex infinitis his annis in nos nationemque nostram collatis beneficiis abunde perspeximus, tum hoc maxime tempore ex ejus[1] qui non ita pridem ex Urbe ad nos rediit gratissimo sermone optatissimaque rerum suarum expeditione intelligimus. Nec in hoc genere quidquam jam sane superesse videtur quod a Deo Opt. Max. petamus, nisi ut corda principum ad hanc sanctissimam voluntatem tuam promovendam et exequendam misericorditer inclinet, faustissimumque hunc nobis totique orbi præsulatum tuum eousque proroget ut istorum sanctissimorum consiliorum, laborum sumptuumque omnium optatos fructus in diebus tuis cernas, de iisdemque postea in cœlis cum primo auspicatissimi nobis nominis prædecessore tuo Gregorio, gentis nostræ primo apostolo, æternum læteris ac triumphes.

De meipso autem hoc solum liceat mihi apud S^mam^ Paternitatem vestram libere dicere, quod etsi vel ex his minimis ecclesiæ patriæque negotiis in quibus jam diu Beatitudinis tuæ jussu et auspiciis versor imbecillitatem indignitatemque meam plane sentiam et agnoscam, ac proinde ad illa majora[2] obeunda vehementer animus trepidet, tamen cuncta quæ mandato Sanctitatis vestræ, id est (ut interpretor) Christi voluntate, meæ mediocritatis humeris imponentur per ipsius gratiam, Apostolicam vestram benedictionem et nostram obedientiam fient (uti spero) si non levia tamen ita saltem mihi portabilia, ut liceat cum Apostolo dicere :—Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat.

Cujus sanctissimo Nomini ad nutum divini apostolatus tui omnia quæ intra me sunt usque ad mortem sine omni laborum periculorumque exceptione inservient. Dominus Jesus Sanctitatem tuam nobis universæque ecclesiæ suæ beatam ac florentem diutissime conservet, meque ac conservos hic meos, devotissimos alumnos suos, benedictione impertiat. Rhemis, in vestro Anglorum collegio, 12 Cal. Decemb., 1583.

Sanctitatis vestræ alumnus et servus humillimus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

Addressed.

S^mo^ Domino Nostro.

[1] F. Robert Persons. He had remained only a few weeks in Rome. p. 197, note 5.

[2] See the preceding letter

CXVIII.

The unjust seizure by the sheriff of Lancashire of property belonging to the children of George Allen of Rossall, deceased. 1583-4.

From a contemporary document in the Public Record Office, London. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 167, *n.* 42.

George Allen of Rossall in the countie of Lancashire gent died 21 of August in the 21 yeare[1] of the raigne of our soveraigne Queene Elizabethe, etc., havinge the day of his deathe Elizabeth[2] his wife and one sonne and heyre then of thage of XV^th^ yeares and three doughters, theldest of them at the tyme of his deathe of thage of IX^th^ yeares, etc.

The said George Allen had also at the tyme of his deathe a lease of a farme called Rossall and another lease of the mannor of Norbrecke for certen yeares then enduringe worth C marks by yeare, and certen good to the valure of IX^c li^, and in monie CCC^li^ and in debts now collected CXL^li^. All which goods and chattels the said George Allen lefte to his wife and children: viz. the sonne and heyre havinge lands by discent from his father can claime none of his goods by the costome of the countrie, but the wife ought to have the third parte, the children the other third parte, and the husband might disburse an other third parte to whom he would by the same costome. Also a lease called Tatterstafe was conveyed to towe of the said doughters by ther uncle, which ther father occupied in his life tyme and there mother since to ther use.

The wife of the said George Allen aboute tow years last past, beinge an obstinate person and refusinge to come to the churche, [did][3] deliver up to the handes of one Thomas Curwen, servant to Thomas Preston esquire, goods to the valure of IV^c IV^xx X^l.^ to be kepte upon the farme of Rossall to the use of the said children; and appointed one William Anyon to have the dealinge and imployinge of the said goods upon the said farme of Rossall to the benefite of the said children by the over sight of the said Thomas Preston, who did imploye the same goods accordinglie; of the profitts of the which said goods the said Elizabethe Allen and the said Anyon laid upp V^c li^ with the above said III^c li^ of money which was left by the father of the said children in the said Anyon's house. And then shortlie after the said wife, beinge knowen to be suche an obstinate person as is affore said, was therof indytted and outlawed in September last, 1583; and in Januarie then next after the sheriffe of the said county of Lancashire seysed the said goods and farmes as forfeyted by the said wife, and toke away the said V^c li^ in gould, not confessinge anie more the IV^c LII^li^ in gould, and made an inventorie of the residue of the said goods, and upon Thursday the XXIII^th^ of Januarie, 1583[4] at Manchester caused an inquisition to be made and charged a jurie

[1] 21 August, 1579. [2] See the Certamen D. Alanæ in the Concertatio. [3] Supplied.
[4] 23 January, 1583-4.

therwith; who found all the said goods and farmes to be the said wifes and forfaited to the Queenes Ma^tie by reason of her outlarie: the truthe beinge otherwise, as is afore said; for the IV^c IV^xx and X^li and the third parte of the farmes of Rossall and Norbrecke and the whole lease of Tatterstafe do belong to the said children.

Endorsed.

Information touching some bad dealing of the sherife of Lancashire towardes Mistresse Allen a recusant.

CXIX.

Dr William Allen to Reims, [early in 1584 ?]

From a paper in Tho. Phelippes handwriting;[1] *Public Record Office, London. Dom. Eliz., vol.* 171, *n.* 85.

Hon frater, my harty commendacions. These are to request yow^r worshipp to send me word what is become of Throgmorton and thothers. I pray God comfort them. Also of Mr Knots I have understode that one of my Lord Setons sonnes of Scotland is gone imbassador into Spayne. I trust in ow^r Lord that all ow^r banishement shall not be long time hurtfull to us. If yow send me any letter, I have direction from docter Stapleton to deliver it unto Humfrey Eyton, and he will procure it by one which docter Stapleton[2] letters, which safely will bring it me. Also send me word what my Lorde Lumley pretendeth. For the rest I trust in God all shall go well very shortlye. I bid you most hartelye farewell, hoping that you will procure my answer of Mr Knote; which God grant very shortelye. I receaved Nicolles letters of his recantation, but out of doute I make fambe[3] [small accompt] of him. Thus in hast I bid you hartelye farewell. From Rheyms.

W. ALLEN.

CXX.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. 3 January, 1584.

From a transcript by F. Christopher Grene, S.J., in the archives of Stonyhurst College. P. 61.

Mirifice nos de vestro sincero in nos amore recreor, etiam tum cum de vestris laboribus afflictionibusque pro nostris hominibus ac rebus susceptis ingemisco, et ita sane compatior vobis ut proper istam nostratium importunitatem[4] vitam pene meam acerbam mihi putem. R. p. confessarius justa indignatione commotus putat hoc esse vitium nationis quod nusquam sint contenti quomodocunque illis succedat,

[1] Calendar of State Papers. [2] Blank left in MS. [3] *fambe* is underlined, and *small accompt* written above it in the same hand as the rest of the letter. [4] The occasion of this letter being written was according to F. Persons the following:—"Agazzario per il gran zelo ch' haveva dell' aiuto d' Inglesi esuli in Francia e Fiandra procurava con ogni diligenza

minimamque gratiam amicis et adjutoribus referant. Ego istud attribuo potius exilio, miseriis necessitatibusque nostrorum ut et in præsumendo et postulando sint importuni, et in habendo quod minus sit quam cupiant difficiles, morosi, inquieti. Undecunque sit, ut[1] omnium pene malorum quæ in humanæ vitæ societate accidere solent molestissimum maximeque nobis invisum; quo tamen præ omnibus aliis vult Deus nos exercere[2] ad patientiam et pietatem, et (uti spero) præparari ad gloriam. Sic Moyses luctatus est cum populi sui murmure, querelosis clamoribus, seditionibus ac æmulationibus in deserto. Sic primi Apostoli erant vexati murmure Christianorum Græcorum contra fratres Hebræos super ministerio et dispositione rerum temporalium. Inter ipsos etiam Apostolos, dum portant evangelium per exteras nationes et collectas sanctorum vel procurant vel dispensant, oriuntur leviusculæ quædam sed ipsis valde ingratæ dissentiones. Interim nos (quod etiam vos facitis) incessanter clamamus ad fratres nostros in ista peregrinatione quod patriarcha Joseph fratribus a se domum dimissis pro vale addidit—'ne irascamini in via.' Erit tamen semper aliquid, quamdiu homines sumus in hac miseriarum valle, quo et probemur et tentemur et castigemur et exerceamur. Et iste fortassis est stimulus noster quem, mi Alphonse pater, cupis tibi auferri: postulo enim et ipse a Deo quantum possum ut mihi tollat; sed vereor ne non faciat; atque utinam saltem (quod plane spero) det gratiam sufficientem ad istas tribulationes tam necessarias æquanimiter perferendas ut virtus ipsius in infirmitatibus nostris perficiatur.

Tamen ut ingenue fatear, ne stulto labore (ut ille dixit) consumamur, cupio non solum mihi sed etiam tibi animo et voluntate robustiori ac promptiori adjutores ascisci ad illorum externorum hominum negotia ac postulata promovenda. Scio enim domesticam collegii curam et abunde esse satis et multum his exoticis rebus impediri, professionique vestræ ita parum consentaneam.[3] Sed quid faciemus? Hominem qui isthic his rebus sit accommodatus non scio. In laicis soli [sunt][4] qui aliquid facere fortasse possint DD. Fitzherbertus et Bainus, et tamen non sunt ejus aut conditionis aut gratiæ aut authoritatis ut nostra commode et fructuose agere posse videantur. In clericis extra collegium solus est D^or^ Hartus, cujus in rebus agendis gratiam ac voluntatem ignoro. Dignetur V.R. mihi suam sententiam de his aut aliis suggerere, et illi quem magis idoneum judicaverit scribam.

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di riscuotere le loro pensioni e mandarle. Ma perche piu volte accadeva, per non esser pagati a tempo per non haver modo di mandarle, che li pensionarii aspettavano piu di quel che desideravano, vennero a murmurare del buon padre e questo in tal excesso ch' Alano gli consegliò di lasciare questa cura a qualche secolare: il che fece: e vi fù poi contrasto tra l' Inglesi della persona, perche Alano desiderava che fosse il Signor Rugiero Baines, confidente suo, ma li fattiosi volevano qualche amico lore: ma finalmente Agazario fece elettione d'un Italiano e con buon modo levò da se ogni invidia, non mancando pero d'aiutare in tutto quello che poteva." Punti della Missione d' Inghilterra per l'anno 1584, by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 61. [1] *est?* [2] *exerceri?* [3] Sic in MS. Perhaps it should be *ista esse parum consentanea.* [4] *sunt* supplied.

Sin autem istorum nullum aptum senseritis, cogitet quæso de aliquo zeloso aulico Romano, qui pro charitate et aliquo stipendio annuo hujusmodi negotia utriusque nostrum et nationis nomine transigat: scribemusque ad Ill^mum Protectorem ut ipse talem hominem tanquam agentem nostrum sub sua Ill^ma Dominatione admittat ut possit tam apud suam Sanctitatem quam apud Ill^mam Dominationem suam negotia nostra tractare. Atque hoc ego optimum judico.

CXXI.

Memorial from Dr William Allen and F. Robert Persons to Pope Gregory XIII. 16 January, 1584.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, vol. 17, pag. 285).

Scrittura data dal padre Alano et dal padre Ruberto[1] a 16 di Gen^ro (1584) perche si mandasse a N. S^re.

Non è dubbio che S. M^tà sarà desiderosa di ricever avvisi de le cose d'Inghilterra per li varii rumori che arriveranno in Spagna sopra li nuovi accidenti di quel regno. Ancorchè sappiamo che l'Amb^re di S. M^tà tanto in Inghilterra come in Francia non mancheranno di scrivere tutto quello che del caso intendano, nondimeno havemo stimato per cosa pertinente al officio nostro verso Dio e S. M^tà di proporre semplicemente nel conspetto del Signore tutte le conditioni presenti d'Inghilterra quanto habbiamo potuto sapere per lettere de principali di quel regno. Prima, è cosa certa che i ministri de la Regina sono stati qualche tempo con paura de lo stato loro, max^e questo anno dopo la ricuperatione de la Terzera, l'accrescimento del' armata di S. M^tà, ripigliati i porti di Fiandra, il Duca d'Alansone scacciato, et liberato il Principe di Scotia; queste considerationi, dico, hanno fatto che detti ministri siano stati più

[1] "Toward the end of this summer (1583) I being not yet returned from Rome, the Prince of Parma, being advertised from Spaine that he should conferre with me, sent Mr Hugh Owen and Mr —— to Rhemes to D^or Allen and from thence to Paris to call me; whither I went from Roan. . . . Soe as I stayd in Tornay with the Prince and with F. Oliverius [Manareus] all this winter. . . . About Corpus Christi day (1584) I returned from Flanders to France. . . . The rest of this summer I remained at Paris, and Monsieur, Duke of Alençon, being dead, there was much parling between the Princes for making their league that brake forth the next spring after. Wherupon I buying myself dyverse sortes of good books returned to live for the next winter in Roan in a voyde house given to the Society in a garden, where were with me Mr Stephen Brinkly, a vertuous gentleman that translated Loartes book under the name of James Sanker, and Mr Flinton, an honest marchant, who both of them did help me to set forth my 2^d edition of the book of Resolution much augmented." Autobiographical Notes by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS., P. 231, 232. F. Persons left Rouen for Flanders about mid-Lent, 1585, and remained there until the autumn, when he went with Dr Allen to Rome. "Da Lovanio, 10 Maggio, 1585, al P. Agazario. Mi partirò di qui (como spero) fra 4 o 5 giorni per andarmi a St Omer. La mia partita da Roan fu a mezza quaresima. Da St Omer, 12 Luglio, 85, al medesimo. Spero trovarmi fra pochi mesi in Roma." *Ib.*, 304.

sospettosi, però li mesi passati mandando fori spioni, acciochè avvisassero tutto quello che si poteva sospettare et scoprire de le prattiche de' principi cattolici, max^e di S. M^tà et S. S^tà o vero de li SS^ri Guisi, acciochè da queste relationi potessero formare qualche construtto contra i cattolici d'Inghilterra. Mentre dunque attendevano a questo, permette Dio che pigliassero sospetto di Throgmortono, il quale pratticava la casa di don Bernardino,[1] et al quale benchè habbino dato tormenti tre o quattro volte, pur lui non ha confessato cosa alcuna in pregiudicio de la causa, come ci scrive don Bernardino et si vede per la confessione di Throgmorton fatta ne li tormenti. Circa il medesimo tempo fu preso un parente del detto Throgmorton, detto Homerfildo,[2] il quale già da lungo tempo fu stimato per matto. Costui essendo tormentato confessò che havea comunicato con varii signori, et signori tanto heretici come cattolici: de li quali quattro solamente cattolici furono condannati a morte, ciò è il socero,[3] la socera, la moglie et il confessore del matto, insieme col matto, il quale dipoi impiccò se medesimo in prigione. I cattolici vedendo questa crudeltà cominciorno a temere et alcuni a ritirarsi fuori del regno, fra quali sono venuti quà in Parigi Milor Pagiot[4] et Carlo Arundello, tutti due intrinseci con la nobiltà cattolica d'Inghilterra; et questo saputo in Inghilterra, la fuggita di costoro, si turborno li adversarii dubitando che questo non fusse principio d'una rivolta generale de la nobiltà, et però gettorno subito l'occhio sopra i più grandi con li quali questi dui fuggiti erano stati più intrinsechi, come sono il Conte di Danundel[5] et il Conte di Nortomberland, a quali fu comandato che restassero come prigioneri ne li proprii palazzi, et al Conte di Rutland fu comandato che non si partisse oltre x miglia di Londres. Chiaro adunque è che queste crudeltà ch'hora usano gli heretici procedono di diffidenza ch'hanno de le cose loro; ma in particolare quanto a li trattati di S. S^tà et S. M^tà Cattolica, sono ragioni a provare che non intendono fin qui niente: prima perchè si dice publicamente che i Conti di Arundel et Nortemberland sono prigioneri per la fuga di Milor Pagiot come consapevoli di quella. Secondo, nissuno di questi Conti imprigionati, fuori del Conte del Nortomberland, sa cosa alcuna del nostro negotio. Terzo, se fussero imprigionati per rispetto del nostro gran negotio, certo è che si metterebbono ne la torre di Londres, come si suole in simili casi et persone. Però per queste ragioni ci assicuriamo che sin' adesso li adversarii non hanno penetrato particolarità alcuna del nostro negotio: et quanto a quello che hanno fatto sin' adesso li nemici, è parer di quelli che sanno bene la dispositione d'Inghilterra che gioverà a l'impresa, et che per questo dovrebbe animarsi S. M^tà a la prosecutione di essa impresa con ogni celerità: et quanto a le persone di questi tre Conti ristretti, non sarà per la gratia di Dio la restrittione loro di grande impedimento, perchè è probabile che al tempo de la guerra cominciata troveranno modo di liberarsi; et quanto questo non fusse, pur ci resteranno altri conti et principi dentro Inghilterra per esser capi de l'impresa, et li detti ristretti hanno parenti, amici et fig^li per pigliarla loro come il Conte di Arundel,

[1] Don Bernardino de Mendoza. [2] Somerville. [3] Arden. [4] Lord Paget.
[5] Earl of Arundel.

che ha dui fratelli potenti et un zio, tutti cattolici; il Conte di Nortemberland ha sei fig^li, et tre di quelli sono quì a Parigi; l'istesso si potria dir de gli altri. Per concluder adunque dichiamo che questo che fin' adesso gli adversarii hanno fatto non haverà portato nocumento, ma più presto giovamento, a l'impresa con haver fatto la nostra parte dentro l'Isola più risoluta che non era prima. Quello ancora ch'hanno fatto contra li cattolici non è proceduto da alcuna cognitione loro del negotio in particolare, ma da qualche sospetto in generale. È ben vero che si può chiamar gran miracolo di Dio che una causa, la quale si communica con tanti amici per lo spatio già di dui anni, non si sia scoperta totalmente da molti giorni in quà, et certo è che non potrà passar longo tempo che non si scopra per una via ò per l'altra, et allora, se prima non viene aiuto di fuori, seguirà la perdita di tutti i cattolici dentro quell' Isola: et per questo gettandoci a li piedi di S. M^tà la supplichiamo per amor di Giesu Christo che non abbandoni tante anime afflitte, le quali con le mani alzate al cielo stanno aspettando giornalmente suo aiuto. Il tempo è molto propitio adesso; ogni giorno di dilatione ci porta gran danno et pericolo: per questo supplichiamo S. M^tà con ogni instanza possibile che non differisca l'essecutione più di quello [che] sarà necessario; il che ancora il Sig^r Ducà di Guisa ci ha comandato di supplicare a S. M. in suo nome, il qual sta più risoluto adesso che mai, et non aspetta altro che la buona risolutione di S. M^tà Cattolica.

Una scrittura simile è stata data da sudetti padri a questo Amb^re di Spagna.

CXXII.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Paris, 21 January, 1584.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 597.

Ill^mo domino ac rev^mo in Christo patri, domino Cardinali Comensi optimo.

Illustrissime domine, Mecænas optime; Quod homines et res Anglicanas amanter semper et diligenter, cum suo[1] tum Sanctissimi Domini nostri nomine et authoritate, reverendissimo domino Nuntio, singularis sane gratiæ, pietatis et prudentiæ præsuli, commendas, summo in nos amori et antiquissimæ in gentis nostræ salutem propensioni attribuo; cujus me olim completissimum nationi meæ futurum testem spero. Hac sola commendatione et patrocinio sumus, ut confido, in Gallia utcumque securi interim, dum Dominus Deus meliora et viciniora saluti nobis parat, licet his diebus etiam in hac Christianissimi Regis ditione fratres nostros Angliæ orator vexare cœperat. Quo in statu res Anglicanæ sint vel ex literis reverendissimi domini Nuntii vel ex quodam scripto,[2] quod nos et pater Robertus suæ Dominationi tradidimus ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum transmittendum, facile tua Celsitudo intelliget. Hoc solum addo non rem hoc [*sic*] cunctando nobis sed festinando restitui: si sine mora, nunquam melius; si tarde, nunquam pejus. Post

[1] *tuo?* [2] p. 222.

æstatem videtur occasio futura salva. Quæ recens acciderint non impedient sed juvabunt gerendi rationes si mature suscipiantur. Cætera a dignissimo domino Nuntio, his locis et temporibus nostrisque negotiis (nisi fallor) commodissimo suæ Sanctitati[1] ministro, accipiet.[2] Deus Optimus Maximus tuam Celsitudinem ad nostram spem ac salutem et ecclesiæ bonum quam diutissime incolumem servet. Parisiis, 21 Januarii, 1584.

Hoc ipso momento intelligimus mandatum fuisse a Regina illustrissimo domino Bernardino Mendozio ut intra spatium viginti quatuor horarum discederet; sed interim subito mandatum ne domo exiret datamque ipsi custodiam.

Vestræ amplissimæ Dominationis dilectissimus filius et servus,

G. ALANUS.

CXXIII.

F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J., to Dr William Allen. Rome, 17 February, 1584.

From a transcript by F. Christopher Grene, S.J., in the archives of Stonyhurst College, P. 63.

Adm. R^de^ Domine, in Christo colendissime. Pax Christi.

Tot et tanta sunt inconvenientia quæ sequuntur ex isto nostro assumpto labore in promovendis Anglorum extra collegium degentium pecuniariis negotiis ut omnino præponderent cuicunque inde exsurgenti utilitati, et ut aliqua ex multis recenseam, impediunt imprimis quam maxime collegii administrationem. Cogor enim sæpius negotia collegii negligere ut externorum causas promoveam; cum enim imbecillo corpore sim, utrumque præstare nequeo. Præterea nonnulli offenduntur tam Romæ quam Parisiis propter istam nostram (ut ipsi vocant) nimiam authoritatem, et quod propterea ipsi in nulla sint existimatione quia volumus nos omnia tractare; et cum sit impossibile omnium necessitati et cupiditati satisfacere, si aliquid desit (licet quod convenientissimum est obtineant) conqueruntur tamen dicentes nos non facere quod facere debebamus et poteramus. Mitto quod est contra nostram religiosam professionem quotidie cursitare per aulas principum ut procuratoria quodammodo negotia tractemus. Mitto quod nimiam Pontifici molestiam exhibeamus dum non solum negotia et pecuniarias petitiones pro collegio (quæ satis multæ sunt) verum et pro quocunque Anglo ad Urbem adventante agimus; unde aliquando fit ut pro collegio petentes minime exaudiamur. His aliisque nonnullis rationibus permotus, de consilio etiam R. P. nostri Generalis, statui in posterum nullius prorsus in Urbe causam pecuniariam agere. Quapropter cogor etiam ad vos scribere, et vel invitus interdicere ne posthac quenquam mihi vestris literis commendetis ut ejus negotia pecuniaria apud

[1] *Sanctitatis?* [2] I.e., *Celsitudo tua*; or else it should be *accipies*.

Pontificem vel apud quemcumque alium promoveam. Cæterum si in quocunque alio genere quicquam potero, præsertim in vestram gratiam, non recuso laborem. Paterno charitatis affectu amplectar omnes, Anglos præsertim, quorum patriæ saluti meipsum devovi. Si petatur a me de quoquam testimonium, dabo libenter quam optimum, si per conscientiam licebit, et si ipse quicquam præstare potero, illos juvabo quacunque ratione. Puto D. V. R. totum hoc accepturam in bonam partem, sicut ex optimo animo provenit. Dominus Jesus te mihi et Anglis omnibus conservet. Romæ, 17 Feb., 1584.

CXXIV.

The Nuncio [1] in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como, 2 April, 1584, enclosing a letter from Dr Allen to the Nuncio, dated Reims, 20 March, 1584.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., 810.

Cifra del Nunzio di Francia al Cardinale di Como. Parigi, 2 Aprile, 1584.

In una lettera del padre Alano, scritta da Rhens a li 20 del passato, era l'infrascritto capitolo.

Qui dabit suæ Dignitati has literas est presbyter Anglus, licet aliquantulum habitu, ut sua negotia peragat secreto, personatus. Est in rebus agendis apprime sedulus, dexter ac sedulus; de magno tamen negotio [2] nihil debet scire, licet ad me sit peculiariter missus ex Insula super quodam secreto quod indicabit vestræ tantum sapientiæ, et nemini in his partibus præterea patefaciendum. Rem ipsam coram tutius et commodius narrabit ac in scripta etiam rediget, ut interim, dum inter nos tractatur causa, procuretur nobis ex Urbe facultas quæ requiritur. Negotium debet undique esse secretissimum, sicut et personæ nomen. Expectatur responsum hujus presbyteri vel reditum ipsius, ut cognita voluntate vestra ac propensione ipse mox veniat ad me et reliqua conficiat. Si res habeat optatum exitum, erit magni momenti et emolumenti.

Il messo che mi ha portata la sopradetta lettera mi ha dato la infrascritta scrittura, et havendogli io dimandato il nome del capitano di queste navi, mi ha detto chiamarsi Joane Davisio,[3] et esser nobile et ricco di forsi 800 scudi d'entrata, et haver

[1] Mgr Girolamo Ragazzoni, bishop of Bergamo, was appointed Apostolic Nuncio in succession to Mgr Castelli, bishop of Rimini, who died at Paris, 27 August, 1583. The appointment of Mgr Ragazzoni was announced by Gregory XIII. to the King of France in a letter dated Rome, 28 September, 1583. Theiner, Ann. Eccles. III., 455. [2] The invasion of England.

[3] The person referred to would seem to be Captain John Davis, who sailed from Dartmouth, June 7, 1585, with two barks in the hope of discovering a new passage by the North West parts of America to the East Indies. The expedition was fitted out at the charge of several of the nobility and gentry, particularly Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State, and of many merchants of London and the west country. Davis strait was so called from the name of Captain Davis, its discoverer. See Biographia Britannica, s. v. Davis.

deliberato di vender tutti li suoi beni secretamente prima che si parta d'Inghilterra, et di menar seco sua moglie et un figlio unico che ha, et haver già ricevuto in mano sua forse 120 mila scudi de li interressati in dette navi et dover riceverne altretanti per spendere in quello bisognerà, et non dubitar che li marinari non lo debbano seguitare, si per altri rispetti, si perchè una buona parte di essi saranno catholici.

Detto messo si è già partito di qua dicendo di dover andare a Rouan per aspettare esso capitano et condurlo a Rhens al padre Alano. Et havendo io dimandato a questo messo il nome suo, mi ha detto chiamarsi Thomaso Alfidio[1] et essere Inglese et sacerdote già sei anni, nutrito per un pezzo nel collegio di Rhens, et stato prigione in Inghilterra per più di un anno per causa de la religione.

Potentiores quidam hæretici in Anglia, quorum principes sunt Reginæ a consiliis, comites Gii, Lhcestrensis, Beafordiensis, Huntingtoniensis, et Walsingamus secretarius, tres rostratas et bellicas naves ad vim inferendam vel repellendam plane instructissimas cum quatuor minoribus naviculis seu pironibus cursoriis, Anglorum idiomate vocatis pinvisens[2] jam paraverunt, et easdem nautis, militibus, tormentis bellicis et omni apparatu ad suas libidines explendas apto armatas brevi credere mari cogitant.

Ut autem populum sua celent consilia, exploraturos se prætendunt aditum quendam expeditiorem quam hactenus sunt experti ad regnum Ginæ occupandum, sed revera statuunt Hispaniæ Regis Catholici ditiones infensare, et suæ Majestatis annuos redditus ex India impedire et intercipere.

Huic classi præficitur quidam nobilis ætate florentissima, illorum judicio ad hoc facinus suscipiendum aptissimus, et nostrorum istic degentium sententia non indoctus; qui, dum Londini versaretur hanc expeditionem curaturus, divino beneficio in quendam catholicum summa sibi necessitudine a primo quasi vagitu conjunctissimum incidit; cui totum hoc negotium plenissime significavit, ipse eo tempore hæreticus, non nihil tamen rerum et reipublicæ statum sugillans quem dixit hujusmodi iniquis consiliis maxime sustentari.

Hac ansa data bonus ille vir, amici et familiaris sui animam sitiens, cum quibusdam presbyteris qui tum ob fidem catholicam tenebantur in vinculis sedulo cœpit promovere illius nobilis, in re nautica peritissimorum judicio exercitatissimi, salutem; et illum hoc nomine cuidam presbytero tum ibidem commoranti diligentissime prædicti presbyteri commendarunt.

Hujus presbyteri opera et industria præfectus hic, revocatus ab hæresi inflammatiorque paulatim catholicæ fidei amore factus, se cœpit plane recipere ad frugem et se totum nunc devovit ecclesiæ, atque est jam dicti presbyteri consilio perductus ut prius nihil habeat quam ut hoc omni apparatu privet prædictos hæreticos, modo hoc ipsi per suæ Sanctitatis condonationem et concessionem liceat facere, et in tutelam ac servitium suum vel Regis Catholici recipi possit; quam facultatem et protectionem si

[1] Thomas Alfield, martyr, 6 July, 1585. [2] *pinnaces.*

Pontifex dabit, non modo prædictas naves vi et tormentis bellicis instructissimas abducet, et in ejusdem[1] gratis sine omni stipendio militabit ecclesiæ et causæ catholicæ vel contra Turcas vel hæreticos vel quemvis Sedi Apostolicæ hostem, sed sua etiam omnia libenter ad ejus servitium conferet.

Ad quam rem ut fidem suam magis suæ Sanctitati contestatam faciat, et ut reliquæ partis gratiosior fiat remissio, dabit ornatissimo domino Alano ad suos alumnos tuendos sustentandosque quindecim millia scutorum, et eidem totidem ad ea conficienda quæ dictus dominus Alanus pro sua sapientia judicabit ad fidei propagationem in Anglia spectare: ad quem mihi dixit ut hoc ei nuntiarem, et ad quem ipse est clam et secreto venturus.

Hoc modo dicti hæretici magna vi pecuniarum, quam ex rapinis et spoliis catholicorum collegerunt, et quibus nunc abuti cogitant non ad suas modo hæreses disseminandas sed etiam ad suæ Majestatis Catholicæ ditiones invadendas, exhausti minus in posterum valebunt vel ad turbulentos seditiososque cives foris in suos principes armandos vel domi ad suos furores in innocentissimos homines exercendos.

CXXV.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 21 March, 1584.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 607.

Ill^mo^ ac rev^mo^ in Christo patri ac domino, domino Cardinali Comensi, domino ac patrono colendissimo.

Illustrissime domine, patrone benignissime; In iis qui his superioribus mensibus immanem persecutionem Britannicam declinantes Dei benignitate in vicinas Gallias incolumes evaserunt cæteris longe præstat illustris D. Baro Pagettus, vir et dignitatis splendore et patrimonii amplitudine et gratia ac authoritate tam apud plebem quam nobilitatem catholicam adeoque apud serenissimam Scotorum Reginam plurimum potens, atque de religione orthodoxa si quis alius in tota Anglia optime meritus.

Qui cum cerneret se hæreticis esse exosum, suspica[re]turque sua in ecclesiam studia aliquousque ipsis esse patefacta, a tam truculentis hostibus merito sibi metuens fugaque saluti consulendum ratus Parisios mox concessit; ubi cum nobilissimo ac prudentissimo Carolo germano suo jam degit, domi proscriptus amplissimisque fortunis et possessionibus ac etiam pecunia universa quam ad vitam in exilio sustentandam præparaverat prorsus spoliatus.

Similem subiit eodem tempore miseriarum sortem, fugæ et exilii sui comes, dominus Carolus Arundelius, genere et virtute præstantissimus ac clarissimus vir. Cujus in ipsius Elizabethæ aula, ubi gratia apud Principem et proceres plurimum valebat, multa insignia his annis erga patriam et ecclesiam officia extiterunt.

[1] *iisdem?*

Atque tales sane sunt isti, illustrissime domine, qui et imposterum magna possunt et plane omnia cupiunt sanctæ Sedi Apostolicæ et causæ catholicæ obsequia præstare: ut proinde non solum hac tantorum virorum indignissima calamitate commotus, sed publici etiam boni studio ductus, cogor ipsorum supplicibus ad suam Sanctitatem literis et aliorum amplissimorum hominum commendationibus meæ quoque mediocritatis testificationem adjungere.

Obsecro igitur tuam Celsitudinem, Cardinalis pientissime, per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri et per observantiam in te meam ut cæteris tuis excellentissimis in afflictam gentem nostrosque homines antiquissimis meritis hoc addas, ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster per tuam pietatem intelligat meum desiderium erga istos excellentes viros, et benigne ipsorum postulatis annuat. Hoc erit suæ Beatitudini apud Deum ac homines, uti spero, gloriosum et catholicis certe omnibus gratissimum. Dominus Deus te nobis, patrone optime, diutissime florentem conservet. Rhemis, 12 Cal. Aprilis, 1584.

Ill^mæ ac Rev^mæ Dominationis tuæ filius et servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

CXXVI.

Mary, Queen of Scots, to Dr William Allen. Sheffield, 22 March, 1584.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 599.

Mi pater; Recepi literas, quæ in Octobri, Novembri ac Decembri scriptæ propter interruptas ex his novis turbis ordinariæ nostræ intelligentiæ vias tam tarde venerunt ut maturius respondere non potuerim. Incredibiliter sum consolata ea quam commemorasti suæ Sanctitatis in me incomparabili studio ac propensione; quam in mea et hujus Insulæ causa tuis aliorumque literis cognovissem, tamen supra modum erat gratum idem et particularius et certius et hoc maxime tempore mœstitiæ meæ a te audivisse, qui eris olim (uti conjicio et summopere desidero) mandati ipsius apud me gratissimus interpres.[1] Idcirco cures, quæso, ut meo nomine ac verbis gratiæ humillime agantur suæ Sanctitati, ac ut porro illi declaretur me his suis favoribus ita in dies magis magisque devinctam haberi suæ Sanctitati ut ipsius et de me ipsa et de rebus publicis mandatis sim sine exceptione per totam vitam obtemperatura.

Atque quod ad te, pater Alane, attinet, committo et commendo tuæ pietati cum mearum tum communium hujus Insulæ rerum, quas omnibus meis privatis commodis longe antepono, curam et directionem. Quod judicaveris ad gloriam Dei et bonum utriusque nationis et maxime hujus Anglicani regni, ex quo solo (experta loquor) totius Insulæ salus pendet et provenire debet, hoc ego, quantum in me erit, sincerissime semper præstandum curabo.

Carentia illius pecuniæ annuæ, aliquot menses postulatæ ad hic procurandam

[1] As Apostolic Delegate to accompany the contemplated expedition for the deliverance of the Queen and the restoration of England to the unity of the Catholic church.

liberationem meam e carcere, facit ut hactenus non transegerim cum amicis qui id efficere possint. De qua re mentionem peculiarem facio, ut scias, ubi tempus rei gerendæ venerit, opus esse in primis ut aliqua militum vel Anglorum vel externorum manus mox ad hæc loca ubi custodior ad me liberandam dirigatur: perfacile fiet, quia neque locus est munitus, neque ex isto præsidio est quidquam curandum. Miror tantillam pecuniam personæ meæ propriæ tam necessariam nusquam inter tot minus necessarias expensas haberi potuisse, nisi forsan meæ personæ nullam rationem habendam putant.

Si existimes Principem Parmensem ullam habiturum partem pro Rege Catholico in negotio nostro, vellem meo nomine Rodulphum Ligonium in aulam ipsius commendari, ut per illum si quid istinc cognoscere mea interesset, ipsius opera mihi communicetur. Potest ei fides in omnibus sicut mihi ipsi adhiberi; sum etenim illius fidem in meis maximis rebus experta sæpe: quod quæso eidem Principi meis verbis testari, simulque eidem Ligonio adjunctas literas mittendas cura. Porro hoc solum restat hoc tempore ut Thomam, Francisci Trogmortoni fratrem, qui Parisiis residet meo nomine, ubi opportunum tibi videbitur, suæ Sanctitati suppliciter commendes; cujus tota pene nobilis familia est mei et communis causæ studio fracta, dissipata. Si essent eæ facultates meæ ut de me tantopere benemeritis ullam compensationem facere possem, ab aliis principibus non peterem quidquam; sed facere cogor, confidoque ipsos in bonam partem accepturos si me tuis precibus commendo. Shefild, 22 Martii, 1584. Saluta Eusebium,[1] si apud vos est.

CXXVII.

The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. Paris, 16 April, 1584.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 812.

Cifra del Nuncio di Francia. Parigi, 16 Aprile, 1584.

Detto padre Alano è venuto hora in questa città, chiamato con grande instanza dal ambasciatore di Scotia, per nome ancora del Duca di Guisa, per tirarlo ne la loro opinione del nuovo disegno; ciò è incominciar l'impresa d'Inghilterra per la Scotia; et havendo egli addotte alcune de le alligate difficultà, si sono essi alterati seco; onde desidera detto Alano che non si sappia che egli habbia data l'alligata scrittura, per rincontro de la quale hanno ancora essi Scozzesi le sue ragioni che doveranno esplicar a la Santità sua.

[1] F. Robert Persons.

CXXVIII.

Memorandum by Dr William Allen to the Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) for transmission to Pope Gregory XIII. [Paris, 16 April, 1584].

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 600.

Si exercitus exponatur prius in Scotiam quam in Angliam istæ difficultates obventuræ videntur. Metuendum ne illi qui alioquin propter religionis causam conjuncturi se essent catholico exercitui, si recte in Angliam tenderet, sequerentur hostium partes; cum propter antiqua odia illarum provinciarum, et Scotorum magnam hoc tempore ad hæresim propensionem, facile et sponte sua et hæreticorum Anglorum instigatione adducentur ut suspicentur nihil hic de religione sed de subdendis Anglis Scotiæ imperio agi. Qui scrupulus si semel injiciatur, verendum est ne non modo hæreticos sed etiam catholicos habeant hostes, qui de exercitu ex Scotia veniente omnia habebunt suspecta.

Hanc dubitationem augebunt varia hominum judicia de Rege Scotorum, quem suspicabuntur forsan nec militaturum religioni catholicæ quam non agnoscit vel curat, nec Papæ quem non agnoscit superiorem, nec fortasse Catholico Regi quem catholici Angli tam propter ipsius cognitam fidem et obedientiam Sedi Apostolicæ quam propter justum titulum regnare cupiunt; sed sibi ipsi imperium retenturum, aut suæ Sanctitati obedientiam præstiturum, nec fortasse restituturum (quod apud Anglos plurimum valebit) fœdus cum domo Burgundica observaturum,[1] sed fœdera tantum Francica (sicut Scoti solent) sequuturum: de quo Rex Catholicus etiam bene cogitabit antequam rem aggrediatur.

Si autem in Angliam recta trajiciatur, sine omni dubio catholici liberabuntur hoc omni metu, et sequentur partes nostras lubenter; quæ[2] etiam acceptabunt et expetent tunc auxilia Scotica, et ipsius Regis copias non solum non timebunt propter causas prædictas, sed incredibili studio sequentur.

Si eatur prius in Scotiam, dabitur tempus ac spatium hostibus se ad pugnam præparandi; dabitur commoditas intercludendi catholicos qui velint se adjungere exercitui catholico; dabitur tempus externis confœderatis hæreticorum vel hujus actionis vicinis æmulis ut ingrediantur Angliam et juvent hæreticos; dabitur denique commoditas et spatium muniendi urbes aliquot, quæ alias catholicis facile cederent.

Si per Scotiam aggrediantur, summa erit annonæ difficultas, idque per plures dies, cum transeundi sint montes desolati et loca vasta, utriusque regni confinia; faciet bellum prolixum, sive ibi subsistant ad subdendum regnum Scotiæ ut deinde Rex tutius et securius Angliam invadat, sive ad munienda tantum loca quædam necessaria futuræ expeditioni morentur, sive etiam quantis queant itineribus procedant; quia

[1] The text is manifestly corrupt. Perhaps *non* has been omitted before *præstiturum* and *nec* before *observaturum*.

[2] *qui?*

aberunt longissime a Londino et principalibus regni partibus: unde et gaudebunt plurimum hæretici quod vis hostilis tam longe absit a visceribus suis, et insidientur hostes tantum calcaneo ac pedem a longe mordeant.

Ubi et illud commodum erit hostibus quod ex ingressu exercitus catholici in Scotiam præmonebuntur de loco et via per quam sunt invadendi, quod erit utile ipsis multipliciter: cum si in Angliam recte proficiscuntur, habent multos in variis regni partibus portus commodos ad militem in terram exponendum; unde id erit hæreticis incommodum quod non possunt ad aliquem certum locum aut oram maritimam præsidia justa collocare, sed cogentur vel multa in variis partibus Insulæ munire, atque ita vires suas distrahere, vel plurima loca indefensa relinquere. Ipsa navigatio est difficilior ac prolixior, magisque non solum classi Anglicanæ, quæ semper est fortissima, sed etiam casibus obnoxia, quam si in Angliam tantum trajicerent.

Contra vero cur in Angliam primo non trajiciatur hoc solum videtur habere magnum momentum, quod ibi futuros putemus qui non solum in littore ubi est exponendus miles externus resistant, sed qui quam possint citissime in terra confligent cum catholicis; præsertim si illic appellat miles ubi indigeni sunt magna ex parte hæretici.

Si autem in partibus septentrionalibus, sive orientali sive occidentali ora oceani, sive Walia,[1] aut aliis locis catholicis appellere contingeret, de resistentia hostium non erit magnum periculum; sed nec ipsis in locis hæreticorum, si manus externorum sit satis numerosa et instructa: nam communis et promiscua plebs, quam opponet in primo hostis ingressu, non est bellicosa nec quidquam fere ad bellum instructa. In summa spero rem alterutra via confici posse feliciter; cum tamen existimem ob plures difficultates et prolixius atque sumptuosius futurum bellum per viam Scotiæ, salvo semper meliori judicio.

CXXIX.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Paris, 16 April, 1584.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Inghilterra e Fiandra, Vol. I., fol. 278).

Ill^me^ et R^me^ in Christo pater; Quæ jampridem de Rege rebusque Scotiæ certissimis nuntiis et literis allata sunt bonis omnibus ac suæ inprimis Sanctitati tuæque Amplitudini lætissima videri debent. Certe animos multorum, meliorum rerum et temporum longa expectatione languidos ac propemodum desperatos, ad majorem quam unquam antea spem evexerunt. Quid sit licet multorum maximorumque hominum literis copiose hoc tempore scribatur, tamen in ea causa quæ mihi mea vita est charior nolui

[1] Waliæ in Theiner.

committere ut vota mea deessent. Clamantem ergo ac manus supplices ad Beatissimum Patrem jam tandem et jam primum tendentem totius Britanniæ Principem atque futuræ obedientiæ suæ testes primas literas, quantum potes quantumque nos et ecclesiam Christi amas, complectere, exaudi, adjuva, benignissime patrone. Eo jam omnium judicio res devenit ut, si primo quoque tempore pecuniis ad corporis custodiam et paulo post justis ad rem Britannicam constituendam et restituendam copiis suæ Majestati non succurratur, tristissimus horum omnium consiliorum eventus (quod avertat Deus) Reginæque matris et filii regnorumque omnium suorum ac populorum miserabilis interitus videatur expectandus. Adhuc liber est Princeps; rerum potitur; in communem causam, in matrem, in bonos et catholicos singulariter affectus, ad meliora demum consilia ita propensus ut in ea ætate et rerum conditione plura requiri aut sperari non queant. Ea est item utriusque regni dispositio, is in communis patriæ restaurationem omnium bonorum consensus ut Deum tentare gravissimeque peccare Principes putemus si tantam salutem negligant tamque pulchram rei gloriosissimæ gerendæ occasionem, qualem nunquam videantur in posterum habituri, contemnant. Si per Angliæ portus (quam viam et antea semper propter rationes alias propositas, et adhuc credo esse expeditissimam) rem aggredi secure non existiment, saltem illud ostium a Deo ipso in Scotia, ut spero, apertum nobis arripiant. Vel faciendum est semel, vel nulla videtur in orbe septentrionali intra paucos annos futura ecclesia. Si autem unquam fieri aut possit aut debeat, hoc sine dubio est tempus acceptabile. Proinde per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri et per singularem charitatem tuam, ill^mæ patrone, gratiose et benigne (ut soles) has non tam meas quam totius Insulæ, utriusque Majestatis, Ill^mi Ducis a quilia,[1] bonorum omnium preces apud pedes suæ Sanctitatis deponas obsecro; ut Beatitudinis suæ auctoritate et sancto mandato excitentur tandem ad hoc gloriosissimum facinus et ecclesiæ totius saluti tam necessarium aggrediendum, ipsius nomine et auspiciis per Christi gratiam etiam feliciter peragendum. Si hoc anno non geratur, omnem humanam spem abjicio, et reliqua vita mihi acerba erit. Scio Sanctissimi Domini nostri in hac re desiderium sanctissimum etiam vota nostra superare: voluntas quoque Celsitudinis vestræ hic est omnibus notissima; sed ex abundantia cordis mei os meum promit necessario has querelas, ut solus omnibus undique ad vos clamantibus ipse qui nostrorum gemitus et dolores optime cognoscam non tacerem. Dominus Jesus te nobis, patrone unice, diutissime conservet. Parisiis, 16 Aprilis, 84.

Ill^mæ Dominationis vestræ filius et servus,

G. ALANUS.

Addressed.

Ill^mo ac R^mo in Christo patri ac domino, domino d^o Cardinali Comensi, patrono optimo. Romam.

[1] Guisia?

CXXX.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 20 July, 1584.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 607.

Ill^mo ac Rev^mo in Christo patri ac domino, domino Cardinali Comensi, domino ac patrono colendissimo.

Illustrissime domine Cardinalis; Quantum licet et possum abstineo ab istis postulationibus pecuniariis, non modo sanctissimo Domino nostro molestis et onerosis, sed vestræ quoque Amplitudini et mihi imprimis ipsi supra modum ingratis. Cæterum cogor hoc tempore serenissimæ Scotorum Reginæ nomine (secundo enim id mihi serio commendavit) pro Thoma Throgmortono intercedere. Is fratre natu majore post quæstionem et varia tormenta dudum capite damnato et universa pene familia fracta et proscripta, nunc patria et rebus omnibus interdictus, Parisiis vitam degit.

Sua Serenitas est de ipso et quibusdam aliis magis solicita quod judicet in hanc eos fortunam sui causa incidisse. Non est ille primariæ nobilitatis, licet familiæ claræ, et fortasse cum ad conditionem et necessitatem suam tum ad animum Reginæ esset satis, si dignaretur sua Sanctitas provisionem decem vel duodecim aureorum menstruam ipsi clementer concedere. Dico audacius et simplicius omnia apud vos qui facile sapientia et authoritate desideria nostra, si quid exorbitent, modificari potestis. Obsecro ergo humillime tuam pietatem ut Sanctissimo Domino nostro rem proponat, nosque saltem ad suæ Majestatis satisfactionem, ne officium non fecisse ipsi videamur, responso dignetur.

Puto illustrissimam Dominationem tuam jam ante aliquot menses audivisse aliquid per reverendissimum dominum Nuntium Parisiis residentem de quodam Salomone Aldredo[1] nostrate, suæ Sanctitatis pensionario; cujus variæ antea interceptæ

[1] "È venuto qui in questi giorni da Inghilterra un certo Salomone Aldred, Inglese. Sua professione antica fu di sartore: adesso tratta molto con la Santa Inquisitione: ha la moglie in Lione, e pensione da sua Santità in Roma. Furono prese qui in Parigi questo inverno passato alcune sue lettere cattive scritte da lui in Roma ad un heretico in Inghilterra chiamato Umptono, del quale V. P. sarà stata forse informata, perche le dette lettere furono di qua rimandate a Roma, come mi è stato detto. Adesso lui è stato in Inghilterra molto accarezzato dalli consiglieri della Regina e rimandato qua con favori, sicurtà e molti denari (come si dice) e lettere, &c. Non volle veder ne il Signor Alano ne me, ma scrisse due o 3 paroline, significando oscuramente che lui non faceva questi traffichi senza commissione et ordine di Roma, dove lui è adesso per tornare. Stette qui in Parigi alcuni giorni e diede ad intendere a molti . . . che lui sia impiegato dalla Santa Inquisitione, e che un fratello della Compagnia nostra chiamato Batsono è consapevole e compagno di tutti suoi traffichi, li quali non piacciono troppo alli catolici di qui, &c." F. Persons to F. General of the Society, Paris, 23 July, 1584. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 175. "Hebbe anche principio in questi giorni o poco prima un altra fattione contro li padri della Compagnia et Alano per mezzo di un certo Inglese chiamato Salomone Andredo[*sic*] di bassa conditione, il quale venendo a Roma li anni passati insieme con la

sunt plenæ suspitionis et scandali literæ. Atque iste non ita nuper Roma transiit in Insulam et in aulam Reginæ; et illinc nunc huc in Galliam reversus iterum ad Urbem proficiscitur, ultro citroque (ut affirmat) commeandi libertatem a Regina et Summis Inquisitoribus habens, passimque iis quibus minime convenit divulgans se a Sancto Officio missum in Angliam ut cum Reginæ consiliariis agat de quodam inter partes instituendo colloquio et de aliqua in religionis causa moderatione, ipsumque de ea re gratissimum responsum ac literas ad Illustrissimos Dominos ex aula referre. Si vera sint quæ dicit, non possunt tuam Amplitudinem latere, et cur id fiat justæ forsitan sunt rationes. Sed quod homini tam suspecto et futili hujusmodi credantur multis bonis viris, qui ejus ingenium et conditionem norunt, scandalo est. Hæc non potui apud tuam sapientiam tacere. De majori negotio[1] silemus, oculos et manus tendentes ad Dominum donec misereatur nostri. Christus Jesus te nobis servet incolumem, humanissime patrone. Rhemis, 20 Julii, 1584.

Ill^mæ ac rev^mæ paternitatis tuæ filius et servus,

G. ALANUS.

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moglie procurò per il favore di Monsignore Odoeno una pensione dal Papa Gregorio, e mostrando d'essere d'ingenio vivace il detto Monsignore, mentre stette Vicario del Cardinale Boromeo, cominciò a servirsene di lui e particolarmente per l'occasione che un gentilhuomo Inglese molto principale chiamato Edoardo Umptono stava preso nel Santo Uffitio di Milano, per quale occasione fu mandato Aldredo in Inghilterra dal detto Umptono alli suoi parenti et amici accio negotiassero la sua libertà; e nel primo viaggio che fece, che fu nel fine del 1582, il dottor Baretto tornando da Roma a Rhemis andò in sua compagnia da Milano fin a Lion di Francia, e scopri il mal animo che haveva contro li padri della Compagnia, e n'avisò il padre Agazario per una sua del 19 Novembre [see First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 320] e molto piu largamente per un altra al Signor G. Gilberti, e finalmente li effetti lo mostrarono. E benchè costui fusse huomo di poco conto quanto alla persona sua, tuttavia coll' occasione di questa negotiatione raccomandato da Monsignor Odoeno entrò in favore con alcuni consiglieri della Regina, massimamente Hattono, dipoi cancelliero, [e] Walsingamo, segretario principale della Regina, e tornò alcune volte in Italia, et entrò in amicitia con alcuni personaggi principali di Roma, e portò con seco quantità di danari da Inghilterra in Italia per distribuere a persone (come egli diceva) che sarebbero aproposito per favorire le cose che lui trattava. Procurò anco che li fusse dato per compagno nel secondo viaggio in Inghilterra un fratello scolare della Compagnia, chiamato Batsono, nato in Fiandra da parenti Inglesi, ma spedito alcuni anni dipoi dalla Compagnia. Ne sapeva il Padre Generale di che negotio si trattava, ne manco volevano passando per Francia vedere Alano o Personio, anzi s'intendeva chiaramente che facevano oppositione a loro, e questa negotiatione durava cosi coperta per alcuni anni, che riuscendo in vano tutte le speranze date dalli heretici, Aldredo lasciata ogni dissimulatione si fece heretico e servitore di Walsingamo, e cosi impiegato da lui nel porto di Haverdegrace in Francia quivi morse." Punti della Missione d'Inghilterra per l'anno 1583, by F. Persons, Stonyhurst MSS. P. 59, 60. In Raphe Brooke's Catalogue, &c., p. 188, ed. 1622, mention is made of an Edward Umpton, who married Katherine, daughter of George Hastings, fourth Earl of Huntingdon.

[1] The proposed invasion of England.

CXXXI.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari,[1] S.J. Reims, 5 August, 1584.

From an early copy in the archives of Stonyhurst College. P. 497.

Ex literis doctoris Alani.

De missionibus[2] vero quod istic aliqui dubitent propter trajectionis et aliquæ[3] rei gerendæ difficultatem, minus miror quod viventes ibi in continua pace ecclesiastica non cernunt quomodo hoc bellum Christianum geri debeat, qua ratione aut vitari pericula possint aut subiri pro salute animarum debeant. Non perdidimus vitas 30 hominum his annis persecutionis. Lucrati sumus supra centum millia animarum, ac ipsum pene statum ac gentem vel in summam hæresis defendendæ desperationem vel in meliorem rerum considerationem duximus. Si minimum cederemus hostibus propter ista pericula, si gravioris metus levissimum ederemus indicium, actum esset de

[1] This letter is addressed to F. Agazzari, as appears from a note in the handwriting of F. Christopher Grene, S.J. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 73.

[2] "Si come il commun nemico non cessò nel principio di questa missione d'impedirla, così per mezzo di persecutioni, minaccie et editti particolari contro li padri della Compagnia, come ancora per via di persuasioni et rispetti humani d'alcuni cattolici poco zelanti, che persuadevano alli padri che per qualche tempo si ritirassero dall' impresa cominciata; così adesso coll' occasione della presente persecutione diede un assalto più gagliardo che mai a questa santa opera per mezzo d'alcuni cattolici paurosi, dalle cui persuasioni vinto il padre Claudio Mattei, provinciale per all' hora della Compagnia in Francia, scrisse al Padre Generale che sua paternità pensasse bene s'era servitio del Signore mandare più soggetti in Inghilterra in tempo di tanti pericoli e persecutioni; e non mancavano degl' altri, tanto della Compagnia quanto de secolari, che davano il medesimo consiglio a sua Santità et al R^do^ Padre nostro Generale. Il che saputo ch'ebbe il Personio scrisse subito al Padre Generale, scusando il padre Mattei e sollecitando sua paternità per un supplemento nuovo di padri per Inghilterra, mostrando come li nostri e li sacerdoti erano già vincitori de tormenti e morti e che gli heretici cominciavano a calare havendo poca speranza di guadagno per via di crudeltà. Metterò le parole della sua lettera a nostro Padre delli 23 Luglio, 1584 :—Il nostro padre provinciale sta per il più lontano daquì, e quando sta quì molti sono i quali non pensano che convenga per alcuni rispetti fastidirlo molto con le cose nostre, onde sua r. non ha tanto modo di saper tutte le particolarità e circostanze del negotio; di poi ancora lui ha un cuore molto tenero, il quale si muove presto con le aversità e persecutioni che sente; onde non mi maraviglio se sua riverenza si turbò un poco con la furia dell' ultima persecutione d'Inghilterra, la quale veramente fu asprissima, e non ci dispiacque quì (come scrissi a V. P. da Turnay) che V.P. andasse un poco differendo la missione fin tanto che si serenasse e passasse in qualche parte: il che già è venuto per la gratia di Dio, perchè adesso non si sente nulla di quel gran rigore, anzi dicono quì alcuni heretici e fanno creder così a molti cattolici che non faranno morir più gente per la religione; et io per me credo che se loro sapessero farlo con l'honor loro desiderarebbono haver pace con noi, almanco qualche accordo, perchè temono estremamente e ben vedono che *non longe abest ruina ipsorum:* di modo che adesso più che mai è il tempo nostro d'andare inanzi, vedendo che Iddio ci aiuta così manifestamente nelle battaglie." Punti della Missione d'Inghilterra per l'anno 1584, by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 72.

[3] *aliquam?*

nobis et de republica. Nam sic hactenus tentarunt nos inimici et eum in finem tantum, ut explorarent si aliquo modo vel ad tempus propter gravissima pericula et tormenta vellemus intermittere ista officia et conatus religiosos. Si uspiam animadvertissent nos potuisse a proposito ulla vi aut diligentia adversariorum dimoveri, excitassent truculentiorem persecutionem; nam si olfacerent futurum esse ut non mitterentur novi sacerdotes vel fere ut deseratur hæc militia, trucidarent omnes in Anglia sacerdotes; quorum vitæ in omnibus carceribus nunc parcitur quod putant frustra ipsos tolli cum magna orbis et sui populi offensione quibus mox succederetur ex collegiis et aliis locis transmarinis.[1]

[1] The increased severity of the persecution of Catholics in England at this time is shown by the following extract from a letter of F. Robert Persons, S.J., to F. Ribadeneira, S.J., dated, Paris, 15 September, 1584:—"Cum violentissima superioribus diebus esset persecutio portusque Angliæ tanta vigilantia tenerentur ut nulli pateret vel ingressus vel exitus, necessarium videbatur ut aliquis his in locis maritimis esset qui novas vias industria et pecunia pararet . . . quod per Dei gratiam perfectum est. Nec D. Alanus qui longe abest a littore infinitisque aliis curis . . . distinetur, huic etiam oneri sufficere poterat. Itaque partiti sumus invicem negotium, sic ut ille sacerdotes ex seminario ad me mittat, ego autem . . . transfretationem tutam in Angliam illis pararem. Ad quam rem faciendam et ad alia quædam necessaria ad hujus belli spiritualis apparatum cogor Rhotomagi . . . familiam quandam sustentare, ex qua aliqui excurrant ad littora, ut naves transvehendis hominibus præparent (non enim aut communibus navibus aut portibus ordinariis . . . uti possunt) alii præsunt excudendis et invehendis libris . . . Deinde etiam chrisma, calices, vestes librique sacri transmittuntur, multaque alia ex his locis præstantur quæ ad commodum aut auxilium pertinent eorum qui intus in Insula laborant. Atque hæ sunt occupationes nostræ, mi R. P^r, satis quidem in se molestæ et difficiles, sed Christi tamen causa quousque liceat perferendæ. Tuemur quidem certamen contra adversarios potentissimos et vigilantissimos, cum ipsi simus exules et egenissimi. Deus tamen hactenus nos juvit, et juvabit, uti speramus. Quanquam, ut verum fatear, difficiliori longe loco sunt res nostræ quam unquam antea ob extremam rerum temporalium indigentiam. Cum enim quotidie catholicorum numerus crescat qui bonis omnibus spoliati vel domi carceribus includuntur vel huc ad nos transfugiunt, cumque per universam modo Angliam rapinæ publicæ in omnes fidei nostræ professores permittantur, hinc fit ut nos hic multitudine egentium opprimamur, et nihil subsidii ex Anglia speremus, cum ipsi sibi sufficere non possint modo redacti in tantam inopiam ut a nobis petere cogantur, maxime sacerdotes in illa vinea laborantes, qui ad trecentesimum fere jam numerum excreverunt et eleemosinis catholicorum antea sustentabantur, nunc autem spoliatis et effugatis per omnes fere provincias catholicis præcipue nobilibus, qui eleemosinas facere poterant, sacerdotes Dei nec domos habent quo se recipiant nec cibaria quibus sustententur. Hic apud nos vel eadem vel major est indigentia; cum enim in seminario nostro Rhemensi ad 200 fere capita reperiantur nec multo pauciores sint illi qui extra seminarium hinc inde vivunt pauperrimi et indigentes omnes (licet major pars ex nobilitate sit) quotidieque etiam cum augeatur numerus ex Anglia fugentium, V. R. existimare poterit quantis angustiis premamur quantoque successu temporis majores timere debeamus. In his tamen omnibus per Dei gratiam non deest nobis animus, nec minuitur ardor sacerdotum nostrorum ad pericula adeunda, sed acuitur magis et incenditur zelus; cæterorum etiam catholicorum constantia ipsa difficultate, Deo cooperante, roboratur; quod V. R. ex his fere verbis quæ scripsit nuper ex carcere sacerdos quidam intelligere potest. Durissima, inquit, conditio fuit mensibus hisce præteritis catholicorum omnium qui carceribus tenentur; nominatim vero Eboracensis et Hullensis carceres egestatem magnam perpessi sunt, pro quibus jam petuntur eleemosynæ per omnes fere pro-

Quid fecissent temporibus ecclesiae primis sub Diocletiano, Maximino, Juliano, Valente? Quid faciemus temporibus ecclesiæ ultimis sub Antichristo, cum ista ludum jocumque esse dicas præ illorum tyrannorum et temporum rabie. Atque quod ad meos attinet, coram Deo dico tuæ paternitati ita nihil timent ista ut his 14 annis quibus in hoc genere versor nunquam fuerint tam ad hoc bellum ardentes et inflammati. Hac ipsa æstate partim abierunt et incolumes appulerunt in Anglia, partim hoc mense ibunt, ad summum ante hyemem 20 ex hoc collegio. Et catholicorum in Insula studio et industria, quæ assidue crescit cum hostium nequitia, habemus indies oblatas nobis novas trajiciendi vias et portus, sicut et exeundi. Passim enim nunc ultro citroque commeant sine omni periculo, neque ullus quod sciam his mensibus duobus est captus. Sed de his rebus alias largius; hoc solum hoc tempore est necessarium ut ex prudentioribus et melioribus seligantur qui opus Domini persequuntur.[1] Dominus Jesus V.R. diu nobis conservet. Raptim, Rhemis, 5° Aug^ti^, 1584.

V. R. P. addit^mus^,

GULIEL. ALANUS.

Endorsed.[2]

Literæ D. Alani, 1584. Pro missionibus Anglicanis tuendis contra impug.

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vincias Angliæ. Hic vero Londini non minores fuerunt angustiæ: statim enim postquam quinque illos sacerdotes Dei ad sextum Februarii hoc ipso anno interfecerant, mandatum exiit ad universos carcerum custodes ut catholicos quos habebant arctiori quam antea custodia tenerent, laicosque omnino a sacerdotibus dividerent, nec unquam ad invicem convenirent, ne alii ab aliis consolationem acciperent; ad sacerdotes autem nullum omnino permitterent introire amicorum, nec ad laicos quidem nisi post meridiem. Hoc autem faciebant ne sacerdos aliquis simulato habitu ingrederetur ad faciendum sacrum pomeridiano[3] tempore. Si quis externus ad laicorum colloquia admitti peteret, examinandus erat diligentissime quis esset, quo venisset, quid apportaret negotii. Si autem suspicio vel minima in eum cadebat (maxime vero quod eleemosinas adferret) statim retinebatur et ad judices adducebatur. Qua vigilantia hæreticorum factum est ut nullo audente quicquid mittere in subsidium inclusorum catholici cœperint ingenti fame et inedia laborare; quod cum cerneret custos quidam, misericordia motus adivit pseudo-episcopum Londinensem [Aylmer], qui est primus inter Inquisitores, eumque docuit de necessitate eorum qui suæ curæ commissi erant. Ille subiratus respondit custodi—Satis est ut illos pane et aqua pascas. Imo, inquit custos, sed quis mihi solvet pro illo pane? Aquam enim ego facile de meo dabo, sed panem nullo modo. Cui alter iratior, discede, inquit, quid mihi curæ est? Vescantur papistæ, si velint, suis excrementis. Atque hæc sola spes fuit quam attulit nobis custos ab hoc pio prælato. Unde repeto quod superius dixi, durissimam esse nostram in carceribus conditionem, multosque catholicorum mortem potius quam carceres electures, si daretur optio, sed tamen ad utrumque pro Dei gloria paratissimos esse, idque non sine Dei consolatione. Hucusque scripserat sacerdos ex carcere." Stonyhurst MSS. P. 301, 494.

[1] *persequantur?* [2] In F. Persons' handwriting. [3] *antemeridiano?*

CXXXII.

The Cardinal of Como to Dr William Allen. Rome, 27 August, 1584.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Inghilterra, Vol. I., pag. 47).

Al dottor Alano in Rens, 27 Agosto, 1584.

Molto reverendo come fratello; Sa ben la Santità di Nostro Signore che vostra Signoria è talmente informata della buona dispositione che la Santità sua tiene di compiacere in tutto la serenissima Regina di Scotia che, se ben non condescende sua Beatitudine per hora a la grazia dimandata ne l'ultime lettere de xx del passato a favore del Sig^{r} Thomaso Throgmortono, non perciò crederà che in sua Beatitudine sia in parte alcuna diminuita la solita buona volontà verso tutta la natione. Vostra Signoria sa in parte quanto sua Beatitudine sia gravata; certo che il gravarla più non è hora comportabile a le forze di sua Santità, ne forse espediente per le cose che più importano, oltrechè non pare honesto che sua Santità habbi a dar trattenimento a tutti quei che escono de la Isola: però sarà bene che in questo particolare vostra Signoria scusi sua Santità nel miglior modo che potrà.

Quel Salamone Aldredo Inglese mostra bene di esser leggiero et bugiardo, havendo dette tante cose che non sono circa il credito et autorità che dice essergli data quì dal Santo Officio; ma sarà bene mostrar di credergli ogni cosa, acciò non si spaventi di venire in Roma, ma pigli confidenza et vi venga quanto prima. Et Dio voglia che siamo più a tempo et che già egli non habbi preso più sospetto di quel che bisognerebbe, poichè si è trattenuto tanti giorni in Parigi senza seguitar il suo camino per Roma. Il che è quanto ho a dire a vostra Signoria in risposta della sua, offerendomi a lei di core et raccomandandomi a le sue sante orazioni. Di Roma.

CXXXIII.

The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. Paris, 11 September, 1584.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 17, *pag.* 523).

Il dottor Alano ha fatto stampare il suo libro (però senza il suo nome) composto in risposta di quello che mandai già a V. S. Ill^{ma} intitulato *Justitia Britannica,*[1] et

[1] "Li heretici hanno stampato un libro in inglese, latino, francese, tedesco et italiano intitolato *Atto della Giustitia d'Inghilterra* in scusa della persecutione loro. La risposta è fatta in inglese e quasi stampata: si traduce ancora in latino, la qual traduttione subito che sarà stampata inviaremo a

perciochè m'ha fatto a sapere che ne manderà con questo medesimo ordinario alcune copie costà et una particolarmente per sua Beatitudine, io resto di mandarglielo.

CXXXIV.

The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. 17 September, 1584.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, [Vol.] 17).

Sono fatto certo da persone di verita che il collegio ò seminario de gli Inglesi a Rens si trova in grandissima necessità, ne puo hormai piu sostentarsi, essendovi forse 200 persone, et concorrendone tuttavia: onde si dubita che, se non viene soccorsa quella santa opera et sola speranza di mantenere la fede cattolica in Inghilterra, verra a cadere del tutto: et il dottore Alano si è lasciato chiaramente intendere meco di non potere piu reggere con forze cosi deboli tanta machina. Il che ho voluto per debito mio notificare a V. S. Ill^ma^. Il padre Roberto Personio, Gesuita, m' ha detto che di ordine del suo Generale, havuto pero da S. B^ne^, ha mandato ultimamente in Inghilterra tre de la sua Compagnia, cioè due sacerdoti et un compagno, et che per loro necessaria provisione di vestimenti, viatico et altro ha dato a ciascuno di essi 50 scudi d'oro, i quali ha preso ad imprestito, et m'ha pregato che lo scrissi a V.S. Ill^ma^, si come dice di fare hora esso stesso al detto Padre Generale.

CXXXV.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 27 September, 1584.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 610.

Illustrissime et reverendissime domine; Ex Celsitudinis tuæ literis XXVIII. Augusti scriptis facillime serenissimæ Reginæ[1] de domino Thoma Throgmortono satisfaciam; quæ ut conjicio hujusmodi postulata non tam suopte marte quam aliorum motu facit. Nec certe, cum non exauditur, de suæ Sanctitatis in se nationemque

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Roma, accioche sia tradotta li da qualche huomo intelligente della lingua." F. Persons to F. General of the Society, Paris, 23 July, 1584. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 175. The name of Dr Allen's book is:—"A true, sincere and modest defence of English Catholiques that suffer for their faith both at home and abrode against a false, seditious and slanderous libel intitled The Execution of Justice in England."

[1] Mary, Queen of Scots. See pp. 230, 234, 239.

nostram studio singulari et affectu plus quam paterno, tam incomparabilem sæpe experta charitatem et beneficentiam Apostolicam, debet aut potest dubitare; eaque est prudentia ut et infinitas Beatitudinis suæ expensas animadvertat, et publicæ rei rationes privatorum hominum commoditatibus anteponat.

Ego tamen feci quod sua Majestas jussit, qui alioquin in his rebus ita merito sum tardus ut meorum sæpe reprehensionem immerito incurram. Sed dum in hoc genere meam et aliorum vel deprecor culpam vel factum excuso, ecce cogor, patrone unice, pro communi patriæ causa novam querelam instituere, quam liceat mihi quæso per tuam charitatem apud pedes Sanctissimi Domini nostri deponere; quæ res est dicam breviter et simpliciter coram Deo et Christo ejus.

His multis et maxime tribus superioribus annis extremam adhibui diligentiam ut hoc collegium, quod toto hoc difficillimo tempore circiter ducentis alumnis constitit, utcumque sustentaretur; ut missiones Anglicanæ et cætera ad salutem gentis nostræ varia commercia continuo quam commodissime fierent; ut libri ad communem causam et religionis defensionem pernecessarii ederentur atque in Insulam portarentur [1] ibique dispergerentur; ut aliorum coexulum meorum etiam per totam Galliam et Flandriam dispersorum alioquin fame periturorum necessitatibus et desperationibus utcunque succurrerem; denique ut reliqua officia omnia quæ Christo, Sedi Apostolicæ meæque adamatæ patriæ vovi peragerem.

Non potui ista et hujusmodi facere sine magnis sumptibus, ad quos ferendos quantum singulis mensibus Sanctissimus Dominus noster tribuat, quantumque sua Majestas Catholica suppeditet scitis: reliquam pecuniam cum incredibili molestia variis collectionibus, mendicationibus mutuationibusque conflavimus, et nonnihil etiam aliquoties ex patria, cum tempora essent utcunque tollerabilia, acquisivimus.

In summa, benignissime domine, omnia fecimus omniaque sustinuimus quam diu rei illius majoris [2] gerendæ ulla dabatur propinqua spes. Nunc et omnibus (ut apparet) rebus fractis, et sublatis prioribus adjumentis, atque novis etiam ex hac graviore persecutione et meorum ad me recenti fuga et spoliatione oneribus additis, non possum ultra procedere nisi nobis tempestive opitulandi aliqua via excogitetur.

Non habeo ubi has querelas deponam nisi apud sanctissimum ecclesiæ et patriæ nostræ nobis a Deo datum parentem. Si deserat, perimus; si diffluat collegium, consuetaque officia intermittamus, mirifice exultabunt hostes, lugebunt catholici, desperabunt boni omnes, et reliqua vita mihi in primis acerba erit. Proinde inveni obsecro,

[1] "Ho fatto mandar in Inghilterra, dopo che sono in queste bande, in calici, paramenti, messali, breviarii, officioli, catechismi, libri spirituali e di controversie a diversi tempi più che la valuta di 4,000 scudi: per le quali mercantie vero è che rimandano alcuna volta denari, ma con molta incertezza, perdita e pericolo." F. Persons to F. Agazzari, Paris, 23 July, 1584. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 300. "Rodolfo [B. Ralph Emerson] . . . e tornato adesso dal mare dove ha fatto mirabilia, havendo tramato due nuove vie di passaggi, per le quali ha mandato dentro 4 sacerdoti e 810 libri; ma ci ha costato bene." The same to the same, Paris, 20 August, 1584, *ib.* 461.

[2] The invasion of England as a means of restoring it to Catholic unity.

sapientissime et optime patrone, modum aliquem unde si fieri possit sine magno suæ Beatitudinis gravamine nobis ita succurratur ut in hoc saltem spirituali opere, ipsius auspiciis felicissime cœpto et multis annis ad Christi et Sedis Apostolicæ gloriam innumerabiliumque animarum salutem sustentato, pergamus.

Et si libet, quia longe ab Urbe absumus, et statum rerum nostrarum non tam exacte cognitum habeatis, si sua Sanctitas dignaretur reverendissimo domino Nuntio mandare ut vel collegium visitet, vel nos ad se vocet rationesque œconomiæ particulatim examinet, ut quid desideremus quidve facto opus sit certo cognoscat atque ad eandem Sanctitatem suam referat, non dubitaremus fore ut intelligatur justissimum esse desiderium nostrum. Quod totum tamen Domino Deo exilii nostri protectori et ejus summis sanctissimisque in terra ministris discutiendum relinquimus. Dominus Jesus te nobis diu florentem et felicem, patrone optime, conservet. Rhemis, 27 Septembris, 1584.

Ill^mæ et rev^mæ dominationis vestræ filius et servus obsequentissimus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

CXXXVI.

The Cardinal of Como to the Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni). [Rome] 8 October, 1584.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Nuntiatura di Francia, 16).

Al Nunzio di Francia, 8 Ott^re, 1584.

Ill^mo et molto Rever^do Mons^re; Rispondo con questa a le lettere di V. S. di 17 del passato [1] ricevute per l'ultimo ordinario. Pare a N. S^re che V. S. più tosto non habbi voluto che non habbi saputo risponder a chi l'ha informata che il collegio d'Inglesi in Rems si trova in grandissima necessità, ne può hormai più sostentarsi, essendovi da ducento persone et concorrendovene de l'altre, et che il dottore Alano le ha detto di non poter più reggere tanta machina con forze così deboli: con che vien quasi a inferire esso, et gl'altri che ne parlano, che quella casa sia aperta per tutti li Inglesi che vogliono venirci se ben fossero a miliaia; cosa absurda et fuori d'ogni ragione. Così poteva V. S. rispondergli, et di più che quel collegio doverebbe haver prefisso il numero de le persone che può sostentare secondo li assegnamenti che tiene, et se vengono altri per entrarci non li accettare, ma dirli che aspettino che ci sia luoco: così usa di fare chi governa collegii con ragione et con buona maniera: et di tanto doverà V. S. avvertire il dottore Alano, essortandolo di ristringere le persone del collegio al numero che può sostentare secondo li assegnamenti che tiene, li quali se a la giornata cresceranno, sarà sempre in tempo di crescere esso ancor il numero de suoi; et questo officio sarà bene che V.S. lo facci quanto prima ad ogni buono effetto.

[1] See p. 240.

In questo proposito d'Inglesi ho da dire a V. S. che N. S^re^ è informato che li catholici di quel regno in Francia patiscono persecutioni grandi da la lor Regina, la quale non solamente ha posto lora grossa taglia adosso, ma procura anco di farli bandire di Francia: onde dice la S^tà^ sua che a suo nome V. S. operi con efficace officio appresso il Re, che li Inglesi catholici che sono in Francia siano sicuri, et in particolare il S^r^ Carlo Arondel et S^r^ Thomaso Morgano.

CXXXVII.

The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. 30 October, 1584.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, [Vol.] 17).

Scrissi a V. S. Ill^ma^ hieri quanto m'occorrea. Hoggi ho poi ricevuto le sue del ordinario, che sono de li VIII del corrente; a le quali rispondendo dico che immediate havute dette lettere ho scritto al dottore Alano in conformita di quanto V. S. Ill^ma^ mi avvertisce et mi commette in proposito de la necessita di quel collegio.

CXXXVIII.

Mary, Queen of Scots, to Dr William Allen. Wingfield, October 30, 1584.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 600.

Mi pater; Post nostras ultimas confiteor me a vobis quaternas accepisse: non[1] ut autem et meæ sint rariores et tuæ reddantur tardius quam uterque vellemus faciunt tam variæ istæ et difficiles circa personam et res meas mutationes, de quibus tu securius et plenius per alios intelligis. De libro autem tuo contra Justitiam Britannicam, quem simul cum postremis literis 14 Augusti datis accepi, ago ingentes gratias. Sine dubio est opportunissimo tempore et modo scriptus; atque in Scotia, quo eum te misisse intelligo, causam communem insigniter promovebit. Vos in sollicitudine suppetiarum tamdiu expectatarum sine intermissione pergite. Tractatio de libertate mea continuo fit; sed ita omnia aguntur simulate ut nihil sperem. Quidquid autem mutationis circa statum meum accidet, aut in quodcumque vitæ vel rerum mearum periculum devenero, vos in sollicitatione et procuratione suppetiarum tamdiu expectatarum tum sine intermissione pergite, et contendite, quanto potestis studio, ne quidquam in executione omittatur propter aliquem respectum aut curam personæ meæ. Jam enim statui nunquam mihi vitam felicius quam in hoc tempore et causa finire posse; quod pro mea in hac re ultima resolutione semel tandem tibi dictum velim, ne in posterum mihi tuto

[1] *Non* is superfluous.

scribendi libertas aut commoditas non detur: quidquid[1] cupio per te a me significatum esse his omnibus quorum interesse judicaveris; præsertim vero velim ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster et Rex Catholicus hoc certo sibi persuadeant rem ex una parte ita nunc in Anglia esse maturam, et altera ita plenam desperationis ut si ultra proximum ver differantur auxilia fore ut omnia perdantur, nec ut quicquam boni in diebus nostris expectemus.

Filius meus ægre tulit quod ex destinatis et promissis sibi in suum proprium usum decem millibus sex solum receperit. Ejus tamen erga communem causam voluntas firma immobilisque manet, et ipsius in me summus vereque filialis existit affectus, cui in omnibus se semper obtemperaturum sane pollicetur; atque hoc tempore misit nobilem quendam et catholicum juvenem Graium[2] nomine oratorem, maxime ut me invisat curamque de omnibus istis rebus communibus agat. Det Deus ut Angliæ Regina ipsum ad colloquium nostrum admittat. Hæc hactenus; in posterum si non licebit, vos causam meam, id est, vestram atque communem, apud Principes persequemini. Winxefeldii, penultimo Octobris, 1584.

CXXXIX.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 16 January, 1585.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 633.

Illustrissime domine, patrone benignissime; Quam non debeam nec certe velim esse Sanctissimo Domino nostro in his pecuniariis postulationibus vel onerosus vel ingratus vel importunus et ipse, qui ejus in cæteras omnes nationes maximeque in nostram gentem infinitam propemodum largitatem omnium optime video, mihi sum conscius; et tuam bonitatem mei in hoc genere metus ac moderationis testem habere spero.

His quinque nobis laboriosissimis et gravissimis annis nihil pro hoc collegio a sua Sanctitate præter ordinariam stipem petii. Difficillimis emendicationibus cum meorum necessitatibus tum variis in patriam officiis quantum et quam diu potui satisfeci. Quæ a Deo sive per Beatissimum Patrem nostrum sive per Regem Catholicum sive per piorum eleemosinas interim donata sunt nobis, ut ad plurium salutem extenderentur, tam sobrie dispensavi ut multos semper singulis aureis menstruis aluerim, in nullos supra duos in victum expenderim, atque in reliqua vita et apparatu similem sane parcitatem servavimus. Omnia demum fecimus, omnia sustinuimus ut hoc opus, quod Christi nutu ac ejus Vicarii benedictione ad salutem et reconciliationem gentis nostræ cœptum est, quam minimo patronorum nostrorum sumptu prosequeremur.

Hoc solum tamen, amplissime domine, quod in literis ad reverendissimum dominum

[1] *quod quidem?* [2] The Master of Gray.

Nuntium servandum monuisti quodque scio in omne collegiorum administratione fere teneri, nempe ut præfinitum tantum juxta facultates studiosorum numerum reciperem utque neminem nisi ex alterius decessu vacet locus admittam (ut ingenue fatear) non servavi, nec si rempublicam certe nostram salvam esse velim observare imposterum possum. Atque sine me, quæso, hujus rei tibi rationem reddere. In causa igitur hæc sunt.

Hoc nostrum collegium est alterius instituti quam cætera quæ in pacificis locis ad juvenum tantum institutionem comparata sunt: habet alium finem superiorem et difficiliorem, quem assequi non potest sine majori molimine, majori numero et pluribus adminiculis, et nisi plusculum audeat aliquando quam ordinariæ facultates ferant.

Necessarii sunt nobis hic exercitatissimi professores plurimi qui nostram[1] ad sacram contra hæreticos pugnam continuo exerceant, qui libros variis linguis ad defensionem et declarationem catholicæ fidei scribant, qui adventantes ex Anglia in fide infirmos, dubios aut etiam religionis omnis expertes vel plane hæreticos docte et dextre doceant et tractent.

Mediis etiam variis ad principum populique Britannici, quo omnia referimus, conversionem opus est, ut librorum multiplici scriptione, impressione, per longissimos maris et terræ tractus vectione, et demum in Insula distributione gratuita eaque periculosissima; qua una, licet plane intollerabilis sumptus, incredibiliter profecimus. Opus etiam frequentissima sacerdotum ordinatione [et] continuis eorundem in patriam missionibus, ut ibi extemplo pro Christo occisorum aut vinctorum in loca et officia succedant et omnium catholicorum necessitatibus inserviant. Opus denique juvenum ad Romanum nostratium collegium missione: quæ omnia hujus quoque collegii expensis fieri debent.

Hoc collegium cum aliorum tum maxime nobilium filios, vel parentibus pro fide catholica orbatos, vel contra patrum voluntates advenientes, debet mox recipere; quia non possunt sicut in statis quietorum locorum collegiis expectare donec vacet locus, cum in hanc exteram provinciam veniant desolati et exuti omnibus rebus, sæpeque etiam de itinere ære alieno gravati: tantum abest ut in diem sine nostra ope vivere, nedum ut per tot pericula terræ marisque spatia ad hæreticos domum redire queant. Atque sane, si vel unum idoneum remitteremus aut rejiceremus, nulli deinceps venirent.

Quinimo hujus instituti est juvenes melioris ingenii et spei adhuc in Anglia cum hæreticis versantes ad nos donis et pollicitationibus invitare ut disciplinam catholicam capessant, exilium exiliique incommoda contemptis patriæ delitiis pro Christo seligant, in collegialem nobiscum vitam veniant, denique ut ad sacerdotium hoc odiosissimo[2] tempore et ad martyrium aspirent; qui propterea cum veniunt non possunt a nobis repelli aut donec vacet locus differri. Et certe si idoneos omnes præter paucos et certos repelleremus, Romam importunissimis clamoribus ad suam Sanctitatem pro provi-

[1] *nostros?* [2] *odiosissimum?*

sionibus venirent, sicut illi quos recusavimus hactenus fecerunt; quod ut plures non faciant hoc solum collegium est in causa, licet omnes ab illo itinere averti non possunt.

Si secuti fuissemus modum tantum præsentium facultatum, hoc seminarium nunquam fuisset institutum; quod factum est ab hominibus pauperibus qui nullas habebant opes, stetitque totum biennium sine ullo certo subsidio postremis Pii Quinti temporibus, donec Sanctissimus Dominus noster vocatus ad culmen Apostolicum pensione centum aureorum,[1] additis postea quinquaginta menstruis, nos benignissime donavit; ut proinde merito non modo collegii fundator, sed tanti boni quod ex eo secutum est author sit et nuncupetur.

Porro vero si vel tum postea secundum illam Pontificiam provisionem, de qua sola tunc eramus certi, rationes regiminis nostri constituissemus, Deus majora subsidia, quæ postea misericorditer variis modis concessit, nunquam donasset; ultra quadraginta studiosos non aluissemus; tot sacerdotes non creassemus; missiones nullas adornassemus; paucissimos ad fidem revocassemus; tantos denique in Insula fructus, tamque necessariam rerum, qualem hodie cernimus, mutationem, tantamque pro religione et republica restituenda animorum contentionem, et ad mortem usque pro fide ac Sede Apostolica tam gloriosam omnium ordinum concertationem nunquam vidissemus.

Quæ omnia si istud collegium per divinum auxilium, expensis suæ Sanctitatis quam potuit fieri minimis, hactenus fecit, speramus suam incomparabilem bonitatem alicunde nobis misericorditer prospecturam, nec huic tam necessario et salutari operi suis auspiciis cœpto defuturam unquam; ne quando dicat inimicus, prævalui adversus eum. Multa certe millia darent hostes ad hoc institutum tollendum. Nos non adeo magna summa annua priori provisioni et piorum quas corrogabimus eleemosynis adjecta (infinita enim hic non erit opus expensa) Christo adjuvante cœptum cursum contra adversarios tenebimus.

Adsis ergo nobis, pie patrone, apud Sanctissimum Patrem nostrum, et ne sinas nos cum hæreticis, cum paupertate, cum exilio, cum infinita demum animi solicitudine pro ecclesia conflictantes succumbere. Si quid præterea de statu rerum nostrarum scire cupiat Celsitudo tua, præsentium lator, coadjutor meus et laborum meorum omnium particeps, vir vere pius et prudens,[2] qui religionis maxime causa ad Urbem proficiscitur, omnia exactissime exponet; cui ut fidem tanquam mihi habeat suppliciter postulo; et de prolixitate literarum mihi quæso, humanissime domine, ignosce. Vale. Rhemis, 16 Januarii, 1585.

Ill^me^ et Rev^me^ Dominationis vestræ devotissimus in Christo servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

[1] The college began at Douay on Michaelmas day, 1568, and Gregory XIII., who was elected Pope, 13 May, 1572, assigned to it a monthly pension of 100 crowns, 15 April, 1575.

[2] "1585, 17 Januarii, Romam profectus est, solo peregrinandi studio ductus, D. Thomas Baileus, seminarii nostri œconomus supremus seu vicepræses." First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 203.

CXL.

Dr William Allen to Mary, Queen of Scots. Reims, 5 February, 1585.

From a deciphered copy by Curle in the British Museum, Caligula, C. VIII. 309 *verso, collated with another copy deciphered by Phelippes in the Public Record Office, State Papers, Mary, Queen of Scots, Vol.* 17, *n.* 74.[1]

Madame my good Soverane; God knoweth whether any of our former letters may have cum saufly to your Majesties hands now since these new alterations in your state; the doubt whereof maketh me wryte seldom, as the slownes of such as shold help us in our gret affaire geveth us no gret matter of new advise, only this, wherof[2] perhappes your Majestie is advertised by better meanes and more spedy than I can have for our resolution owt of Sp.,[3] that the wholl execution is committed to the Pr.[4] of Par.,[5] and that fath. Euseb. [Parsons *interlined*], M[r] Hew Owen and my self shold deale with no other person, but solicit him only in your Majesties affaires; whereof the sayd Hew Owen hath browght the D[6] his determination to the Pr.,[7] who seameth as glade as wee that he may have the effectuating of the wholl matter so glorious in the syght of God and man. He geveth goot[8] signe[9] to do it streyt upon the recovery of Antwerp, but harpeth still on this string that your Majestie shold by money or meanes whatsoever put yourself owt of ther handes; wherof and of other matters him self wryteth now by an other meane for answer of your former. Par.[10] by order, as I take it, of D[11] acquenteth none particularly and fully with these things but my self, Euseb.[12] and Owen; yet because of your Majesties commendations he may perhappes utter him self to ПС[13] [Liggons *interlined*], and so I have desyred and written what experience your Majestie hath of his fidelitie; wherof they doubt not, but yet as theyr use is they kepe theyr secret in the compas of as few as they can, and they think it behoveth very much that it be mervellous secrete that the affaire is to be executed by him and by way of Fl.[14] But, good Madame, lett not these long delayes and manyfold crosses that God layeth on your Majesties persone and your faithfull servants discourage yow; for if yow hold hope and harte, all wilbe well with tyme. The Du.[15] of Gwyse kepeth at Jomiulle[16] still, of whom and whose affaires gret rumors still ryse. Christ Jesus

[1] The variations from the B. M. copy are indicated in the notes by the letter P. which is appended to them. [2] *which* P. [3] *Spayne* P. [4] *Prince* P. [5] *Parma* P. [6] *K. of Spayne* P. [7] *Prince* P. [8] *great* P. [9] *signes* P. [10] *The Prince of Parma* P. [11] *the king of Spayne* P. [12] *Parsons* interlined P. [13] ПС omitted P. [14] *Flanders* P. [15] *Duke* P. [16] *Joinville* P.

prosper all his good intentions and preserve your Majestie from your enemys. The L[1] of February at Reims, 1585.

These two pagets[2] deciphered by me, 5th October, 1586. Gilbert Curll.

Endorsed.

D. Allen to the Scottish Q., 5 Febr.; confessed by Curle, 5 Oct., 1586.

CXLI.

Dr William Allen to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 28 February, 1585.

Printed in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. Tom. III., *p.* 634.

Illustrissime domine, patrone optime; Cum in his rebus quas pro patriæ salute gerimus aliquid accidit insolens consiliique ac momenti majoris quam ut ipsi nos recte expedire queamus, cogimur per vestram Celsitudinem ad Sanctissimi Domini nostri Apostolicum judicium confugere. In causa hæc sunt.

Qui rem Anglicam pro Regina administrant, post acerbiora omnia ut progressus nostrorum impediant frustra pertentata, novo tandem et admirabili apud nos consilio ac exemplo, ex singulis quibusque Londini ergastulis non omnes sed certos eosque præcipuos sacerdotes in universum viginti et laicum unum jubent per custodes eorum carcerum in quibus detinebantur ad navem quandam in Thamesi præparatam deduci et in Franciam deportari. Id factum est die 21 Januarii secundum veterem quam illic adhuc tenent supputationem.

Antequam conscenderunt navem nostri quantum poterant verbis et rationibus restiterunt, affirmantes se sine judicio et condemnatione in exilium mitti non debere; sed non sunt auditi: post biduum tamen in altum jam delatis qui illos deportabant ostenderunt diploma quoddam regium aliquot consiliariorum chirographis munitum, in quo post mentionem conspirationis ipsorum in Reginam continebatur sententia exilii et clementiæ Reginæ ac in ipsos misericordiæ insignis commemoratio, cum hac tandem admonitione ut si unquam sine licentia in patriam redeant fore ut extremo supplicio mox afficiantur.

Presbyteri cum falsi criminis objectionem et denegatum in patriam reditum animadverterunt, unanimes clamabant sibi gravissimam injuriam fieri, se nullius in Principem perduellionis esse conscios, ex ipsis plurimos nunquam de hoc capite accusatos, quosdam etiam plane publico judicio absolutos, neque se posse quidquam de non redeundo in Angliam polliceri cum in vita et religione superiores haberent quorum arbitrio actiones suas moderari debeant.

Obsecrabant proinde ductores suos ut liceat Londinum reverti et ibi de criminibus

[1] 5 P. [2] Two pagets are mentioned by Curle because there is another letter deciphered by him on the same sheet.

istis judicio legitimo contendere; se catholicos sacerdotes esse; religionis causa in patriam a præfectis suis missos; exilium volentes non acceptare, sed cupere in patria pro fide pati, nec agnoscere ullam in hac sententia exilii aut misericordiam aut æquitatem. Hæc et similia dicentes confessores Christi nihil profecerunt, sed post aliquot dies ducti sunt in Gallias.

Ex his aliqui nunc ad me venerunt; reliqui his diebus venturi sunt, partim quia non habent ubi ad tempus alibi alantur, partim ut de reliqua vita et actionibus consilium capiant, partim et maxime ut de restituenda re spirituali, quæ non leviter hac istorum ejectione domi impeditur, deliberemus.

Atque sane nisi brevi compensemus istud damnum largissimo supplemento, nimis de hoc suo artificio novo triumphabunt adversarii nimisque dolebunt catholici, qui ægerrime dicuntur ferre hoc stratagemate sibi optimos patres sublatos.

Et nos hic possumus præter eos qui ex Urbe mittentur quatuordecim vel sedecim, si opus sit, dare in illam messem.

Sed hoc nunc mihi non constat, nec quidquam ausim de ea re nisi ex suæ Sanctitatis voluntate et mandato statuere, utrum isti ipsi qui nunc ejecti sunt vel ex eis aptiores quique remittendi sint ad opus Dominicum: nam ipsi se reversuros sine exceptione interminatæ mortis aut quorumcumque periculorum ad superiorum arbitrium profitentur.

Neque fortasse pejor erit istorum quam aliorum presbyterorum conditio, cum putetur legibus hujus parlamenti novis futurum capitale ut quis sacerdotem quemvis in domum recipiat. Sed hoc incertum est; et quicquid statuant, non deerunt qui ingrediantur presbyteri lubentissime, non deerunt qui hospitium et necessaria tribuant quique Deo magis quam hominibus obediant. Quia igitur nolumus de istis pulsis sacerdotibus aliquid disponere, nec certe possumus, nisi cognita voluntate Sanctissimi Domini nostri, putavimus hæc obiter insinuanda Celsitudini tuæ, per quam speramus nos brevi Apostolicam sententiam ad nostram directionem et solatium habituros; atque id ut benigne cures humillime in Christo rogo. Ipsorum perplures cupiebant interim vel devotionis ergo vel aliis de causis ad Urbem ire; sed quantum possum impediam, licet difficulter id faciam. Quidam etiam sunt de Societate, de quibus facile disponent illius ordinis præfecti. Christus Jesus tuam illustrissimam dominationem servet semper incolumem. Rhemis, pridie Calend. Martii, 1585.

Ill^mæ ac rev^mæ dominationis vestræ alumnus et in Domino servus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

CXLII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Reims, 8 March, 1585.

From the original holograph in the archives of Stonyhurst College. Anglia, I., 60.

Admodum reverende pater; V. R. literas scriptas 12 Feb. accepi Remis 5 Martii, unde vestram in procurandis nobis tum alibi tum ex venditione locorum montium ad Carolum Buffettum pertinentium pecuniis sollicitudinem summam videmus. Pecuniæ

autem hac vice transmissæ pro collegio vel pensionariis Covertus rationem reddet, et nobis secundum literas vestras satisfecimus istis omnibus pensionariis. Putatur Alfildus, jam dudum in Angliam clam me profectus, esse impius delator et proditor sacerdotum; idemque timetur de Rogero ejus socio, licet non tam certo adhuc de illo dicatur; sed antequam certo sciatur, non erit forsan consultum eos deferre ad Thesaurarium Pontificis.[1] Quia video vos adhuc desiderare libros nostros contra 'Justitiam Britannicam,' scribo ad Covertum ut duos vel tres mittat. Lætor quod non displiceant patronis nostris. Multum etiam dicitur juvisse res Anglicas: sit benedictus Deus. In illo libro vertendo italice curare debetis ut illa quæ adjecta sunt ad finem libri suo loco ad primum caput apponantur. In quibus additionibus, ubi sermo est de sorore Gulielmi Alani, cupio illud verbum—"præstantissimi"—tolli, ne ii qui sciunt me librum scripsisse existiment me appendicem quoque illam addidisse, et me hoc adjectivum meo nomini apposuisse; cum revera ego illud additamentum non scripserim. Bayleus noster cum suis (uti spero) jam vobiscum est; ad quem forsan hoc tempore non scribo quia multas habet a me post discessum literas, nec novi quidquam occurrit. Istud solum cupio illi dici ut oret pro anima amici nostri Georgii Flintoni qui jam pride[m][2] Rothomagi obiit. Dicatur porro charissimo mihi patri et filio Suthwarto ut in his rebus de quibus ad me hoc proximo tempore scripsit agat cum vestra paternitate et eodem domino Baileo, et quicquid vos cir[ca][2] omnia statuetis me approbaturum. Idem dico d[e][2] Joanne Pricio; ut quam diu D. Bayleus es[t][2] ibi non sit necessum scribere, quia ipse pot[est][2] de receptis aut debitis pecuniis omnibus coram satisfacere. Multum doleo quod Suthw[artus][2] etiam excreet sanguinem. Ego tandem, non obstantibus literis scriptis per Baileu[m][2] ad Protectorem, sum persuasus vestris binis aut ter[nis][2] literis mittere sex scholares, qui hinc discedent cras per Dei gratiam hac feria 6 Quinquagesim[æ].[2] Debetis exusare rem apud illustrissimum Dominum. Isti pulsi sacerdotes vix poterant habere locum i[n][2] variis refectoriis nostris ad tempus nisi istis missis. Omnes enim isti [presbyteri *erased*] fere huc v[ene][2]runt et lubenter se submittunt nostræ dispositio[ni],[2] quindecim numero. Solum P. Tidderius vult ad Urbem jam ire, [nec][2] ulla dehortatione nostra permovetur ne ut tantillum quidem expectet donec responsum ex Urbe [de][2] ipsorum dispositione habeamus. Vereor ne sit futurus vobis simplicitate et mendicitate molestus, et aliis forsan scandalo; quem tamen propter ejus importunitates debeo vobis qualitercunque commendare, sicut et alium quendam laicum vulgarem, quem aliorum impulsu utcunque literis cogor vestræ charitati.[3] Sed de omnibus discernite secundum sapientiam vobis desuper datam. Valeat R. P. vestra in Christo. Rhemis, 8 Martii, 1585.

V. R. P. addictissimus,

G. ALANUS.

[1] Concerning Alfield and Roger see p. 134. To inform the Papal treasurer of their malpractices would have led to the stopping of their pensions from the Pope. [2] MS. worn away.

[3] A word like *commendare* must be understood.

Dignetur[1] literas adjunctas tradere R. P. Generali et cum illo agere pro P. Alexandro Marklando ut recipiatur in aliqua provincia Flandriæ, Aquitaniæ vel alterius regionis. R. P. provincialis Franciæ lubenter accepisset illum, nisi locus novitiorum fuisset plenus et plurimi expectantes; sed post examen judicabat ipsum esse non inidoneum, et me rogavit ut illum commendarem V. R. P. ac reverendissimo P. Generali. Ipse nunquam conquiescet nisi hoc ipsi concessum fuerit.

Addressed.

Admodum reverendo in Christo patri, P. Alfonso [Ag]azerio, collegii Anglorum [rect]ori vigilantissimo. Romæ.

Endorsed.

1585. Remis a D. Alano, 8 Martii. De Roberto malo. De scolaribus ad Urbem. De P. Tedero venturo. De Sodverto et Pritio. De Marcalando.

CXLIII.

Count de Olivares to Philip II. Rome, 24 February, 1586.

From a transcript of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.[2]

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Legº 947. Copia de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á S. M., fecha en Roma á 24 Febrero de 1586.

S. C. R. Mᵈ.

He recebido la carta de V. Mᵈ de los 2 de Enero, y estando todavia Luis Dovara en Florencia sin nueva de quando vendra y haviendo el doctor Alano hecho todo su esfuerço con el Papa y teniendole tan prendado de la empressa de Ynglaterra como V. Mᵈ havra visto por mis precedentes, fue forçoso entrarle en la ultima forma de las 3 que V. Mᵈ antepone.

Por el inconveniente que de negocio tan grande se pudiera seguir de qualquier equivocacion, me parezcio necessario[3] en la ultima audiencia di al Papa un sumario de lo que de parte de V. Mᵈ le havia dicho, glosado de la resolucion en que en cada capitulo se havia finalmente apuntado, todo en español, porque posee la lengua muy bien, para que el lo viese todo y se ratificasse en ello; y porque en el capitulo del dinero no me quise allanar a nada, sino escrivir a V. Mᵈ lo que me dixesse poco o mucho, le lleve en blanco, y la glosa del como va queda en mi poder de letra del Cardenal Carrafa, que sirvira de memoria para todo lo demas.

En lo que toca al punto de general no me parezcio mover ninguna duda; pues

[1] V.R. should be supplied.

[2] For this and the following very valuable documents from the Archives of Simancas I am indebted to the kindness of Don Pascual de Gayangos, at whose request Don Francisco de Paula Diaz, director of the archives, was so good as to cause a search to be made in the archivium for letters and documents relating to Cardinal Allen and to send me copies of such as could be found there.

[3] Some words seem to be wanting, though the meaning is obvious.

haviendo de estar a cargo de V. Md la empressa es justo que sea el que V. Md quisiere; y esta muy bien con el Principe de Parma, celebrando mucho el no haver querido acceptar la reduccion de las yslas con las condiciones que escrivi a V. Md los dias passados.

El ultimo dia me dixo el Papa que estos señores de Guisa le havian enbiado a dezir desta liga para la empresa de Ynglaterra, que alla se sonava, que suplicavan a su Santidad no se hiziesse cosa en que ellos no entrassen. Su Sd dize le respondio que no havia nada en quanto a esto, y que quando lo huviesse les avisaria, y offrezce de no hazerlo hasta que a V. Md le parezca sin inconviniente. El Cardenal Sanz[1] procura persuadir al Papa de parte destos señores que no es tiempo de la empressa de Ynglaterra; que lo que conviene es la de Genevra porque con ella se dara calor a sus cosas en Francia.

Lo del secreto que[2] encargue mucho, y ha se obligado a el con tanto encarezcimiento que me tiene con alguna esperança de que le ha de guardar, porque me dixo que no hablaria con hombre nacido en el, ni yo lo hiziesse con ningun ministro suyo, hasta que la necessidad al fin le costrinio el haver menester alguno, y se resolvio en tomar por el mas secreto al Cardenal Carrafa, que es a quien ha remitido el libro y la correspondencia de Alano, el qual por lo que yo puedo juzgar se ha portado bien en este negocio.

El tratar de querer persuadir al Papa que no sea el principal fin que mueve a V. Md acudir a esta platica la venganza de ofensas particulares, la conveniencia para la cosa de Hollanda y la imposibilidad de poder de otra manera assegurar la navegacion de sus Yndias, es cosa de que no hay remedio hazerle capaz, aunque me he esforçado quanto me he podido con las razones y miedos que en la relacion digo; y demas de la tenacidad de su condicion y el escudo de los exemplos de sus antecessores ha[3] hecho mucho daño los avisos que por todas partes lleven de las preparaciones que V. Md haze y que sean para esta empressa; y quanto mas crecieren, se negociara peor con su Sd, y el gusto que mostrava y desseo de hazer alguna cosa señalada se le ha resfriado con el dolor del dinero. Ultimamente me ha embiado una carta en que le escriven de Portugal que el cosario Dragues[4] entre otras presas havia tomado una nave de mucha ymportancia de las de la Yndia; todo para mostrarme mas la necesidad en que V. Md se halla de poner remedio a esto.

En caso que aya de yr esta platica adelante supplico a V. Md mande se me embie orden muy particular y precissa cerca de todos los puntos que[5] la relacion se tocan y los tiempos en que se ha de procurar cada cosa; porque si ogaño se huviese de hazer esto, queda poco tiempo para gastarle en demandas y respuestas: y particularmente mande V. Md avisarme del tiempo en que se havra de poner en execucion lo de la privacion del Rey de Escocia y ynvestidura de quien huviere de succeder para Rey, que en hazello luego se offrezcen los inconvinientes de la publicidad y lo que

[1] The archbishop of Sens. [2] *que* redundant? [3] *han?* [4] Drake. [5] *en* omitted?

estragaria el nombre de la empressa, y en diferillo se pondria a risgo el efecto; y el resolverse el Papa de hazello en secreto no dexara de tener dificultad con el, y tambien el guardarle el despues en su condicion. Lo que V. M^d^ eligiere en todo se procurara executar con el mayor cuydado y desseo de acertar que fuere possible.

No toque en lo del Cardenalato de Alano, teniendo por muy conviniente lo que V. M^d^ dize de que vaya al mismo passo que lo de la empressa, no haviendo de diferir, que en este caso dize el Teatino[1] que seria de grande ymportancia para sostener en buen animo a los catholicos. Yo le he dado un recaudo muy amoroso de parte de V. M^d^ sin dezille palabra que le meta en esperanza de brevedad hasta agora en la empressa; y al Jesuyta, que es el que habla en lo del Cardenalato,[2] le he puesto in mucha esperança de que V. M^d^ ha de hazer lo que baste para que se consiga su desseo, sin darle prenda ninguna; y no tendria por malo que V. M^d^, porque passa necesidad este buen hombre le hiziesse alguna ayuda, que mientras no es Cardenal de mil escudos seria buena y quinientos no seria mala. Digolo, porque tengo por muy ymportante obligar este hombre que ha de ser el que ha de guiar toda la dança, y mucha parte para inclinar al Papa en lo que V. M^d^ dessea para lo de la succesion, y otro Cardenal por lo del que succediere; y pocos tiene V. M^d^ en su servicio que sean testigos de vista de aquel tiempo, y solo yo de los que estan ocupados en negocios.

Tiene Alano hecho un libro contra la Reyna de Ynglaterra, *cuyo sumario embio aqui*[3] a V. M^d^, y no va el libro porque no[4] tiene mas que un volumen. Trata de querer publicar la estampa; y tienenlo por obra que sera conviniente se publique algunos meses antes de la empressa, por lo que les parezce que movera los animos en la Ysla y fuera aquesto. Si V. M^d^ hallare algun inconviniente a esta publicacion, mandandomelo avisar la procurare entretener.

Estan inclinados Alano y este Roberto a que en el fin se hiziesse un quaderno en respuesta del manifiesto de la Reyna de Ynglaterra contra V. M^d^: pero yo les yre en esto a la mano, mientras no tengo orden de V. M^d^; y en haviendole ellos hecho, embiare copia del, y quando algo huviessen de hazer estaria mejor dividido y V. M^d^ juzgara en cuyo nombre en tal caso se havra de publicar. Guarde nuestro Señor, &c. De Roma, a 24 de Hebrero, 1586.

[1] *I.e.*, the Jesuit, F. Robert Persons. When the Jesuits first came from Italy to Spain, they were confused in the popular mind with the Theatines, to whom as clerks regular they bore a resemblance, and hence were sometimes called by their name. Thus St. Teresa in a letter from Avila, 31 December, 1561, speaks of the Jesuits as "Teatinos."

[2] F. Persons in his Autobiographical Notes, summing up the results of his first visit to Spain in 1582, writes thus :—"At this my being with the K. of Spaine I obtained 24 thousand crownes to be sent to the K. of Scots, which were payed by John Baptist Taxis in Paris. I caused also 2000 duckets of yearly pension for the seminary of Rhemes and a promise for Dr Allen to be Cardinal, which was afterwards fulfilled." Stonyhurst MSS. P. 230.

[3] The words italicised are underlined in the transcript.

[4] *no* should perhaps be omitted.

CXLIV.

Memorandum of certain propositions made by Count de Olivares to Sixtus V. and the Pope's replies to each, with a narrative of the discourse thence arising between his Holiness and the ambassador. Rome, [24 February] 1586.

From a transcript of the original document in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg°. 947. Carpeta del documento en la cual dice:—Relacion sobre lo que se propuso a su Santidad de la empressa de Ynglaterra: lo que respondio y parezce en cada capitulo al conde de Olivares. (No tiene fecha; està entre papeles del año 1586).

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 947. Copia de un documento que dice lo siguiente:—Lo que su M^d^ dize cerca de las exortaciones que diversas vezes se me han hecho en nombre de su S^d^ para que se encargue de la reduccion del reyno de Ynglaterra a la obediencia de la Santa Sede Apostolica Romana, y lo que su S^d^ responde a ello (sin fecha).

Su S^d^ da infinitas gracias a Dios de haver sido ynstrumento de mover el animo de su M^d^; a la qual da muchas bendiciones por el zelo con que se dispone a acudir a negocio tan digno de la profesion de Rey Catholico.

Primer punto.

Que si bien su M^d^ ha sido diversas vezes amonestado para esta empressa de los successores[1] de su S^d^, no se ha assegurado tanto de las veras con que acudirian a ayudarle en ello como se promete del pecho y animo de su B^d^; lo qual y el mucho favor con que con tanta razon su S^d^ le dessea y[2] desseo que su S^d^ tiene de darle satisfacion le mueve[3] a acudir a ello, no embargante lo que le importava dar fin primero a las cosas de Holanda y Gelanda,[4] y otras dificultades que en tratar agorá desta empressa se offrezcen.

Alaba su S^d^ y se conforma con lo que su M^d^ propone en esto.

Segundo punto.

Que el fin y nombre de la empressa ha de ser reduzir aquel reyno a la obediencia de la Yglesia Romana y poner en la posession del a la Reyna de Escocia, que tan bien lo merezce por haverse con-

[1] *antecessores?* [2] *el* omitted? [3] *mueven?* [4] *Zelanda?*

servado entera en la fe en tantas calamidades.

3°. punto.

Tiene su S^d^ de gran consideracion aquesto y por muy acertado no fiar la religion de aquel reyno del Rey de Escocia por las razones que su M^d^ da; y en quanto al que sera bueno para successor de la Reyna se conformara su S^d^ con lo que parezciere a su M^d^, y en hazer lo que para el efecto desto fuere necessario.

Despues de los dias de la Reyna, dize su M^d^, que seria entrar en mayores yncon-venientes y mas dificiles de sobrepujar, si succediesse el Rey de Escocia, su hijo, siendo herege confirmado y pudiendose tener por dudosa qualquier convencion [1] y facil la reincidencia, demas de haver mamado esta ponzoña por haver por fuerça de estar entre gente sospechosa como los que le han criado: haviendo menester para afirmar la religion catholica en aquel reyno persona que tenga muy fundada su intencion en ella. Y assi parezce a su M^d^ que conviene pensar y mirar dende luego en persona a proposito y lo demas que a este punto toca; *para que la Reyna de Escocia no pueda, engañandola el amor de madre, pensar que sera bueno introduzirle en la succession y meterle en la possession del reyno.*[2]

Quanto a esto estuvo su S^d^ en proposito al principio de convertir al Rey, y en las replicas se le fueron mostrando tantos inconvinientes que inclino a que se fuesse mirando en algun catholico que fuesse a proposito y casarle con la Reyna y que aquel se hiziesse Principe, con que estaria proveido en caso que muriesse sin hijos. A esto se le respondio el riesgo a que se pondria la vida de la Reyna con el desseo de tener suecession el que se casasse con ella, y la dificultad que havria en hallar este Ynglés qual conviniesse, y que, quando por si fuesse bueno, podria tener muchos parientes que no lo fuessen, contra quien no havia de proceder; que fuera de lo de la religion ay facciones y passiones en aquel reyno como en toda parte, y los de la contraria del qué se hiziese Rey, y aun sus mismos amigos, tomarian muy impacientemente que un ygual se les aventajasse tanto, y no solo esto sino tambien sus parientes, que no podrian dexar (demas de la mala satisfacion) de tenerle poco respeto, y empeçar de aqui passiones privadas que hiziessen daño a lo de la religion, y que no podria con aquella autoridad y securidad que convenia castigarlos, y lo que mas hazia en este sentido: con que el Papa (aunque procuro diminuyr estos yncon-vinientes y mostrar la conveniencia de Principe natural) todavia quedo confuso, y se salio con que havia

[1] *conversion?*

[2] Assi viene rayado en la cifra.

tiempo de deliberar sobre esto; y en la respuesta le ate tanto (como V. M^{d} vera) en haver de passar en esto por el parezcer de V. M^{d}, y haviendola leydo y tenido en su poder no dixo nada contra ella.

No ose salir a mas particularidades por convenir, como V. M^{d} lo manda, que este primero assentado lo de las ayudas. Piensome valer en esto de Alano, quando fuere tiempo de apretarle.

Esta su S^{d} muy assegurado que V. M^{d} no piensa a la succession de Ynglaterra, y assi lo respondio al Cardenal de Este en la ocasion que adelante apunto, y yo no le dixe nada contra esta opinion.

Tambien le veo lexos de ymaginar que V. M^{d} tenga yntencion en cosa suya, y assi lo ha de estrañar mucho quando se le toque en esto, y por muy empeñado que esta a conformarse con lo que parezciere a V. M^{d} pienso que no ha de dexar de hazer alguna dificultad, y algo que a este proposito se me offrezce *vera V. M^{d} de mi mano.*[1]

Lo que adelante digo cerca de restituyr al Papa lo que socorriere para esta empressa podria servir de puente para esto, diziendo que, en satisfacion de lo que V. M^{d} pone, fuesse para dote de la Señora Ynfanta Doña Ysabel la succession de aquel reyno; y aun quando se dixesse solamente que le retuviesse hasta que se pagasse a V. M^{d} todo lo que en la empressa del reyno y por razon della huviesse gastado con daños y yntereses, etc., a relacion de sus ministros, seria en efecto lo mismo, pues en pocos años vernia a crecer tanto que seria ymposible juntar nadie lo que es menester para esto. V. M^{d} lo mandara ver; que yo no movere nada sin orden de V. M^{d}, aunque lo tengo por punto de ymportancia y de poco ynconviniente, pues la carga de lo que se huviere de bolver al Papa havia de ser dividida en años, y la mayor parte dello havria de tocar de razon a la Reyna de Escocia.

No he tratado mas claro lo de la privacion del Rey de Escocia, porque tomara materia el Papa de hablar en ella, parezciendome que podria ser de ynconviniente la publicidad, pues debaxo de las palabras de la propuesta y respuesta se yncluye pribacion y todo lo demas que para este fin fuera necessario.

En lo que dixe a su S^{d} en este punto me parezcio añadir a lo que V. M^{d} me mando escrevir lo que va rayado por parezcerme necesario tapar aquel portillo.

Quarto punto.

Sua Santita come tiene per benissimo impiegato ogni agiuto ch'a questa ympressa si da, cosi sente dispiaccere di non poter a pieno sodisfare a la demanda di sua M^{ta}, attesso che ha trobato il erario del Pontificato molto exausto a[2] la[3] yntrate

Su M^{d} se halla de las largas guerras de Flandes tan alcançado, y tan apretados sus subditos de todos estados que con mucho desplazer suyo (por lo que holgara poder sin pedir nada a su S^{d} hazer esta empressa) la grandeza de ella y las prepara-

[1] The words in italics are underlined in the transcript. [2] *e?* [3] *le?*

de la Sede Apostolica in gran parte dispensate e impegnate; onde non potendo (seben volesse grabar a populi) offerir quello che volontier contriburrebe, e parata de ecedere ogni agiuto ch' habbiano dato i suo[1] predecessori in quel si sia impressa fatta fin hora per la religione catholica, et offerisce a S. M[ta], partita che sia la armata per l'impressa d' Ynglaterra, dar 200 V scuti, e cento altre miglia dara subito che il esercito sara smontato nella Ysola, e di piu in capo de sei mesi altre cento miglia, e similmente doppo altri sei mesi centro[2] altri miglia: e durando la guerra oltra el anno seguitara sua S[ta] per ogni ano dar 200 miglia scuti, intendendosi durar la guerra mentre la persona la quale dovera haver el regno non sia posta in possesso; et questo agiuto darasi o in denari contanti overo parte in denari contanti e parti[3] in tanta gente Italiana pagati, la quale gente S. S[ta] volentieri opiegarebbe in questa impressa si come s' e costumato in ogni altra simile de ymportanza. In oltre non mancara de eccitare e animare tutti Principi Italiani a se[4] gloriosa e santa impressa, la quale succedendo come s' espera con el favor d' Idio felicemente, intende sua S[ta] che la Sede Apostolica recupere e sia integrata efectualmente a i vente,[5] ragioni, jurisditioni et accioni ch' per prima haveva in quel regno avanti ch' Herrico Octavo apostatasse[6] fede.

ciones necessarias para resistir a los muchos que trataran de impedirlo haze necessario que su S[d] de su parte le ayude con dos millones de oro; pues es para cosa en que tan bien empleados seran y de tanto servicio a este Sede Apostolica y de toda la Christiandad, como su M[d] dara por bien empleado lo mucho que gastare en esto por la satisfacion que tendra de haver sido ynstrumento de bolver segunda vez aquel reyno a la obediencia desta Santa Sede.

No entre por demanda de porcion por la dificultad de las quentas, y mas desta que es inexcusable que vaya mezclada con la de Flandes; y aunque en la demanda presuponiendo que costaria la empresa con lo que en consequencia de ella se havia de gastar quatro millones pedidos (y en esto me quede en lo que di por escrito) de palabra dixe bien que la ultima comision que tenia de V. M[d] era de baxar hasta millon y medio

[1] *suoi?* [2] *cento?* [3] *parte?* [4] *si?* [5] *le rendite?* [6] *dalla* omitted?

No hablo su S^{d} palabra en que entrasse en esta empressa el Gran Duque[1] por agora, si bien se promete del y de Venecianos grandes ayudas despues de publicado el negocio: que agora esta con sospecha que podria ser del inconviniente que otras vezes participarselo; y cessando el fin que tenia el Gran Duque de ser general de la empressa yo me prometo poco de su liberalidad ni de la de Venecianos, y assi en las platicas para hazer alargar a su S^{d} le ofrezci que sirviesse para alivio de lo que el havia de ayudar lo que estos diessen; de que hizo poco caso, y a mi parezcer con razon, porque quando les saque algo sera vendido en mas de la que vale.

No me he valido de lo que algunas vezes se ha offrezcido de parte de los catholicos de Ynglaterra de pagar lo que se gastare en esta empressa, que es cosa que podria ser de algun efecto con el Papa, por reservar esto para dar el ultimo golpe a la valança; y para este mismo tiempo he reservado el valerme de Alano, despues de haver apurado lo que en esto se podria hazer, por que con estas dos cosas verisimilmente se puede esperar hazer dar algun paso adelante a su S^{d}.

Lo que creo le apretaria mucho seria si se le persuadiesse, o de parte de V. M^{d} se le pudiesse dezir, que sino ayuda con tanto que V. M^{d} dexara la empressa, y sera culpa de su S^{d}, y que se publicara por el mundo, y echalle entonces el Alano a la oreja; que si bien le he llegado a hazer alguna significacion de algo desto, seria otra cosa dezirselo con resolucion y de parte de V. M^{d}, y aunque sea tan grande su tenacidad en lo del dinero no podria dexar de hazerle nulla; pero esto se entiende para alguna quantidad mas, porque sino se baxasse aun de millon y se le diesse comodidad de tiempo sin duda saltaria por todo, pareciendole que cumple con dar mucho mas que en ninguna ocasion sus antecessores.

En lo que toca a agravar las yglesias de Spaña no he tocado ni hecho rostro a ello, y assi solo se toco en este a proposito de la demanda que el Gran Duque hizo para Argel;[2] y queriendo yo deshazer la offerta del Papa dixe que V. M^{d} no havia hecho caso de los 3000 V escudos con 520 de subsidio y otras cosas, sin querer espresar lo de los fructos de Toledo por no darle materia de que travar.

Caraffa[3] me dixo en gran confidencia que, tratandose destas primeras pagas que fuessen luego, le havia hecho el Papa escrupulo de la seguridad que podria tener de que V. M^{d} no dexasse despues de hazer la empressa y se quedasse con el dinero; a que dize respondio[4] convenia: y aunque al principio yo procedi con lenguaje de que se havia de dar luego una gran parte para empeçar a hazer las preparaciones, porque no parezciese que acceptava offerta tanto menor de la comission de V. M^{d}, aunque en quanto a dinero de la bolsa de su S^{d} sea la mayor que se ha hecho, no quise disputar sobre estos plaços.

Haseme offrezcido por buen medio para assegurar a su S^{d}, sin mostrar que sea con este fin ni que se sabe su duda, que se le podria anteponer que, para dissimulación del

[1] Grand Duke of Tuscany. [2] Algiers. [3] Cardinal Caraffa. [4] Supply *lo que?*

efecto a que ha de servir este dinero dandole luego, se fingiesse una compra de tanto juro en Napoles con contraescritura secreta de que havia de servir para este efecto y quedar extincto con el; y desta manera me persuado que no dudaria de anticipar los 300 V a lo menos y aun quiça todos 500 y mas, si le diessen reditos dellos o de parte hasta los plazos, pues estos 500, aunque no ture tanto la guerra, va con la lectura su S^{d} de que los haga suyos V. M^{d}.

Para tener seguridad en caso de muerte del Papa de lo que offrezce en años se le podria pedir obligacion con el Colegio [1] a tiempo que no huviesse inconviniente en la publicidad.

Tambien se podria ypotecar las colectorias de Spaña y Napoles y los 20 V escudos que se pagan de la cruzada.

Por no alargar escritura en dezir a V. M^{d} los coloquios que passaron entre su S^{d} y mi en lo que toca al dinero, que fue lo en que mas tiempo se gasto, dire los fundamentos principales de que ambas partes nos ayudamos, para que V. M^{d} vea lo que podre añadir para persuadir mas a su S^{d}. De cuya parte fueron que V. M^{d} esta necessitado a satisfazerse desta muger: se acaba con esto lo de Hollanda y Zelanda: se ha assegurado, lo que nunca lo[2] estaria con tan mala vezina: que sin comparacion sera mas facil empressa que la de Holanda y Gelanda: se asseguraran de cosarios las carreras de las Yndias y costas de Spaña: lo que montan las gracias que V. M^{d} goza de la Sede Apostolica: haze quenta de muy poco gasto, y que en tiempo de Pio Quinto se tasso que costaria esta empressa 400^{m} escudos: trae per exemplo que no gasto 200 V escudos Pio Quinto en dos años de liga, y que en diversas vezes que socorrio con dineros al Rey de Francia y le embio gente pagada no llego a 260 V, y alega otros exemplos semejantes, y muestra las quentas dellos: la necesidad en que esta la Sede Apostolica, quasi vendidas sus rentas y las anatas y derechos de las expediciones; el escandalo que causaria abrir puerta a haver dineros por los medios que algunos Papas lo han hecho, de que plegue a Dios se abstenga: que lo que tiene junto en el castillo [3] no puede estar ningun Papa sin ello para una repentina necesidad que se puede offrezcer a esta Sede Apostolica: que para la empressa de Argel no havia propuesto el Gran Duque que seria menester mas de 400 V escudos, y aun estos sacados de subsidio en dos años,[4] que no ha hecho ningun provecho ni tampoco los avisos que vienen de todas partes de que V. M^{d} va haziendo grandes preparamentos para esta empressa.

Los de que me he valido para animarle a ayudar a socorrer gallardamente son:— mostrarle por una parte que si quiere ayudar bien la empressa se podria hazer presto, sin empeñarme en el quando: que no es ynexcusable a V. M^{d}, como le parezce, mientras no tiene acabado lo de Holanda y Gelanda: que no ha hecho la Reyna de Ynglaterra offensa que no se le pueda muy bien perdonar la hora que sea ynstrumento de reduzir aquellas yslas[5]: hechole echar en las orejas que se entiende que no esta lexos desto aquella Reyna, ni aya querido con otro fin poner pie en las yslas, siendo el principal suyo asse-

[1] The college of Cardinals. [2] *le?* [3] Castle of S. Angelo. [4] *lo* omitted? [5] Zeeland.

gurarse que V. M^{d} le dexe vivir: como, passada esta occasion y pacificado V. M^{d} con aquella Reyna, quedan eternalmente prescriptas las cosas de Ynglaterra para no poderse pensar en ello, y cerrada la puerta a las de Alemania, donde tantos terrores daria esto, y acabaria de allanar lo de Francia: que lo que mas mueve a V. M^{d} son las persuasiones de su S^{d}: que viendo V. M^{d} que se ha entibiado en cosa que tantas prendas ha metido y tanto ha persuadido a V. M^{d}, terna por cierto que ha de ser lo mismo en otra qualquiera en que hable: las necessidades de V. M^{d}: lo que ha vendido por la misma causa: efectos a que estan aplicadas las gracias ordinarias: quanto mas gasta V. M^{d} en lo mismo, y origen que tuvieron estas gracias: que en la liga concurrian otros de quien su S^{d} podra sacar ayuda: la gran costa de la empressa; porque ha menester V. M^{d} fuerças para conservar lo que tiene en Flandes, para yr continuando lo de Holanda, para resistir a la diversion que en qualquier parte le quisieren hazer los herejes de Francia y Alemania que no dormiran, demas de las fuerças que son menester para hazer seguramente la empressa y una potentissima armada que pueda resistir a la de Ynglaterra, Flandes y Francia: el gran servicio de Dios y honrra [1] en el mundo que ganara, que aunque viva 20 años y no haga otra cosa dexaria gran memoria, y finalmente pedidole que tema menos el dar quenta a Dios y al mundo de lo que gasto algo mas de lo que convenia en esta empressa que de que se dexe de hazer por andar corto en ella, que es lastima que jamas perderia y reputacion que dificilmente recobrara: que le parezcera carbones el millon del castillo, quando por guardarle se pierda esta ocasion: que havria de parezcer a V. M^{d} muy pequeña oferta, y que temia que le havia de resfriar: que quando su S^{d} por via del mismo Gran Duque viesse lo que V. M^{d} pide para Argel veria quan diferente era de lo que le havia querido dar a entender el Gran Duque.

Despues de apartado yo del Papa añadio en lo de la offerta lo del dar parte en gente; de que tengo por cierto se apartara, entendida la difficultad y publicidad que podra causar.

Dixome tambien de palabra el ultimo dia lo que toca a la jurisdicion de aquel reyno a la Sede Apostolica, para que se asegurasse con la Reyna de Escocia y con el que huviesse de ser successor antes de entregalle el reyno. Yo dixe a Carafa, que le hable despues de recebido este papel, que entendia que V. M^{d} no consentiria que lo que en tiempo de V. M^{d} se huviesse hecho dexasse de hazer la Reyna de Escocia, y en quanto a lo del Rey Henrrico antes que fuesse cismatico podria haver alguna diferencia que tuviesse dificil verificacion: que lo avisaria todo a V. M^{d}.

Quinto punto.

Su S^{d} aunque siempre ha tenido cuydado de favorezcer y mantener esta parte, le terna mayor adelante, añadiendose esta causa mas, que para el estan [2]

Siendo la parte de donde se pueda esperar principal impedimento a esta empressa Francia, particularmente si el Rey hiziesse la paz que tanto procura y dessea

[1] *honra?*

[2] *esta?*

principal; y quando el Rey Christianisimo quisiesse en qualquier manera hacer ympedimento a la empressa, su S^{d} hara quan gran demonstracion fuere necessaria.

con los herejes, conviene al buen successo della que su S^{d} tenga firme a los Principes coligados y los favorezca y anime para que en ninguna manera se puedan rendir a dar consentimiento a la paz, aunque los procure el Rey reduzir a ella con fingir aventajadas condiciones, como lo hara por desembaraçarse para acudir a ympedir lo de Ynglaterra. En el qual caso su S^{d} sera menester que assi con su autoridad como con las armas espirituales ponga el remedio necessario.

Parezciome poner este capitulo para tener materia de yr haziendo officios a favor de los Principes coligados de Francia en las ocasiones que se offrezcieren, y tambien por tener asentado con el Papa este punto por escrito como lo he hecho de palabra.

En la ultima audiencia, que fue oy, me dixo que ayer le havia hablado el Cardenal de Este de parte del Rey de Francia offrezciendole con mucha seguridad de proseguir la guerra contra los herejes y en la execucion de los edictos: pero que hazia saber a su S^{d} que por todas partes se via que V. M^{d} hazia grandissimas preparaciones, y que aunque echava voz de que era para la empressa de las yslas, se via claramente que era para la de Ynglaterra, y que suplicava a su S^{d} que en ninguna manera del mundo assistiesse a tal cosa, porque Francia no podria en ninguna manera tolerar que Spañoles entrassen pie en Ynglaterra. Su S^{d} refiere que certifico al Cardenal que no tenia ninguna liga con V. M^{d} en este negocio; que reprehendio tener el Rey por de menor inconviniente la vezindad de una Reyna hereje que la de V. M^{d}, tanto mas que quando desto se tratasse (que estava bien lexos) no seria para quedar V. M^{d} alli: pero que de lo que pesava era que no podia mover a V. M^{d} a esta empressa; que oxala pudiesse, porque no lo dexaria por lo que el le dezia, ni el Rey de Francia podia creer que no fuesse el primero que holgasse dello por el probecho que haria para la reduccion de sus herejes y por no darle a el ocasion de hazer la demostracion a que procediendo de otra manera le obligava, y muchas otras reprehensiones endereçadas al Rey y al propio Cardenal.

Tambien el Duque de Guisa por medio del Cardenal de Sanz ha assegurado a su S^{d} de que, aunque el Rey quiera hazer la paz con los herejes, no vendran en ello. Lo que se puede mas temer es que el Rey, que tanto dessea la paz y ympedir lo de Ynglaterra, dando palabra a los herejes de no poner en execucion nada contra ellos, los reduzga a hazer una paz como la pudieran dessear los catholicos y el Papa.

CXLV.

Dr William Gifford to Sir Francis Walsingham. Reims, 18 April, 1586.

From the original holograph in the Public Record Office, London. Dom. Eliz. Vol. 188, *n.* 116.

Righte Honorable Sir; Whereas youre honor upon oure frendes information hathe sente me a courteous letter and withall an ample pasporte to passe into England, thease are to give youre honor to understande thatt for my owne parte I hartilie desier nott onelie to enjoye the comforte of my countrie butt alsoe to induce all I maye to doe the like upon assurance of freedom in religion and conscience and to live in oure naturall soyle under the protection of hir Majestie. And as I muste neades confesse thatt I am a catholicke and of thatt religion which all oure aunciente Fathers and noble Princes have bene, as well in oure countrie as in other Christian common weales, manye hundred yeares togither, and in thatt and noe other I will live and die, soe I am farr from those untemperate spirites, which, importunatelie nott contente to enjoye sweetelie under her Majestie the quiett of theare conscience, doe seake unnaturallie to disturbe and chaunge the estate by joininge or consentinge to forrayners to the subversion of hir Majesties estate and the utter ruininge of all oure families, withoute any regarde of religion, makinge thatt onelie a colom of the accomplishinge of theare ambitious desires. This I have saied, spoken and written publicklie and privatelie, and yf hearein I maye serve hir Majestie I am moste readie, nott onelie for the naturall duetie and alleageance I beare unto hir Highnesse before all princes Christened, butt alsoe somewhatt the rather for the ingenuous and most bountifull actions youre honor hathe shewed diverse and sundrie wayes to me and myne, which yf I will nott be moste ungratefull I muste answer with all dutifull correspondence. I have (I assure youre honor) from tyme to tyme soughte the helpe and reliefe of some of my frendes by earneste perswasion to returne home and to joine with hir Majestie goodes, landes and life for the defence of hir sacred person and the weale of my deare countrie against all ambitious forrayne practises, and I woulde to God I mighte have shewed by the fruite theareof suche affection as I beare to hir Majesti but in truethe littell fruite I have reaped theareof otherwise than the discoverie of manye wounded hartes, whoe with teares have protested that if they mighte have assurance of theare conscience soee under hir Highnesse protection that they woulde willingelie caste them selfes, theare honors, lands and lives att hir Majesties feete, to stand unitelie and jointelie to the shedinge of theare bloud againste all wicked practises tendinge to her disquietnesse and ruine of the realme: butt alasse! saye they, how can we be assured of thatt, seing soe manye are daylie with greate rigor and uncivilitie searched and ransaked, soe manye of all estates restreyned, soe manye

indited, condemed and executed for meare matter of religion, seinge thatt the late statutes and actes of parlaymente are soe extreame rigorous almoste even againste the conceyte of Catholicke religion, and stande yett in force, and are practized in diverse partes of the realme, nott onelie in respecte of the penall statute for nott commynge to churche, butt alsoe even to the effusion of bloude in manye places? To which and other theare objections as love to hir Majesties person hathe answered somewhat, soe in reason I coulde answer littell to theare contentmente and satisfaction. Now yf itt shall please hir Highnesse and your honor to releese somewhatt of thatt rigor I have mentioned, you shall turne unto hir Majestie manye aversed harte; in the doinge whereof, yf I be thoughte woorthie to be an instrumente for the honor of God, safetie of hir Majesties person, good of my countrie, and reliefe of some my poore frendes, I humblie offer my selfe att hir Highnesse and your honors feete to deale and doe effectuallie whatever pen, tunge and harte will permitt me, yf ferste by my kinseman Gilberte Gifforde I maye understande youre particular directions. Thus acknowledginge my selfe deepelie bounde unto youre honor for my eldeste brother and diverse other my frendes, as alsoe for my owne particular, and promising all loiall correspondence, I commit you to Christe Jesus, whoe protecte you from all youre enemyes. 18^{e} Aprill, Rhemes.

Youre honors humble servaunte,

WYLLYAM GYFFORDE.[1]

Addressed.

To the Righte Honorable S^{r} [Fr]auncys Walsingham, hir Majesties principall Secretarie, thease be dd.

Endorsed.

18 Aprell, 1586, from Mr D. Gifford.

CXLVI.

Dr William Allen to Don Juan de Ydiaquez. Rome, 8 May, 1586.

From a transcript of the original in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas: Secreteria de Estado, Leg^{o} 947. Copia de carta original de Guillermo Alano á Juan de Ydiaquez, fecha en Roma postridie Ascensionis Dominicæ, 1586.

Ill^{me} domine; Hoc officium scribendi rarius et timidius facio, quia religio est mihi amplissimas occupationes tuas sine gravi causa impedire. Et mihi ipse in hoc genere et forsan meæ etiam excellenti charitati[2] sit satis, cum sine intermissione a me meisque

[1] This letter has attached a seal with armorial bearings.

[2] The sense of the passage is evident, though the text is corrupt. Perhaps the wording should be: *Et mihi ipsi in hoc genere et forsan vestræ excellenti charitati fit satis.*

pro sua Majestate Catholica, pro vobis proque liberis suis studiosissime oratur ac sacrificatur. Istius enim non possumus oblivisci quamdiu tam insigne regiæ beneficentiæ vestræque charitatis in collegium nostrum existit monumentum; sine quo divinitus nobis concesso beneficio jam pridem diffluxisset, et hoc nobis domi forisque difficillimo tempore plane cum seminario maxima ac pene unica ad rem bene pro Anglia gerendum spes periisset. Sed ista omnia et nos et nostri hic homines et in natione catholici omnes in memoria apud Deum ac homines cæterum [1] habebimus. Ego vero hoc tempore obsequii tantum causa, tam opportunum narras [2] nuntium, R. P. Michaelem Hernandem, ista scribo; reliqua autem nostra in suam Majestatem desideria, miserias, angustias, exportationes, ubi simus, quid agamus, quid, quantum pro causa communi et Rege Catholico vel facere vel pati cupiamus, idem optimus pater, cui jamdiu res nostræ in Flandria notæ et cordi fuerunt, declarabit abunde tuæ illustrissimæ Dominationi, in cujus sincerissimo zelo summas [3] his annis posuimus confidentiam. Exaudi ergo illum, pientissime domine; adjuva nos; consilito [4] vobis [5] orbique Christiano universo. Nihil tanto Regi gloriosius aut salutarius, nihil meæ [6] bonitati ad sempiternam in cœlo mercedem consequendam aptius esse potest. D. Jesus tuam illustrissimam D. cum prole charissima servet vobis [7] incolumem. Romæ, postridie Ascensionis Dominicæ, 1586.

Amplitudinis tuæ devotissimus orator,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

CXLVII.

Mary, Queen of Scots, to Dr William Allen. Chartley, 20 May, 1586.

From the copy deciphered by Phelippes in the Public Record Office, London: State Papers, Mary, Queen of Scots, Vol. 17, n. 74.

Reverend father in God; My last letters unto you were written in October, 1584; since which time I had neyther meanes to send any moe any where nor receave any from any parte, until the 20th of the last month I receaved yowrs of the 5th of February, 1585; uppon the which I am not able to take any grownde in giving advise of any affayre, being all this while (as yett I am) a mere stranger and ignorant of the course of the worlde abrode. If the Pope and the K. of Spayne reache forth theyr actions for the weale and advancement of God's cause, I trust theyr owne private and mine shall not fare the worse. I am glad that the K. of Spayne his ministers impart theyr secrett instructions to so few heades as yow write, but am sorrye they have kept that theyr supposed intention towching the general cause so long close as that yett no man at all doth see any of theyr beginning to the same. They have overslipped many good occasions, and I wish they shold not yett with all omitt this now

[1] *æternum?* [2] *nactus?* [3] *summum?* [4] *consulito?* [5] *nobis?* [6] *tuæ?* [7] *nolis?*

offred, pinching them so nere, by this Quene. If yourself had not moved unto me the preferment of Liggons, I wold not have imployed him in the charge I gave him to deale with the Prince of Parma. Although I am right sure of his fidelitye towardes any service he can do for the Churche and what concerneth me, I will never the lesse not refrayne to accept of the Princes offer, and answer the same by whome so ever he liketh best of. Untill I heare further I can say no more, but pray God for the prosperity of all those that have His cause most in recommendation and to preserve you and yours, whome I wish to pray for me. Charteley, 20th May, 1586.

Endorsed.

Letters between the Scottish Q. and D. Allen and the L. Pagett. 1585, 1586 Decifred.[1]

CXLVIII.

Summary of a letter of Philip II. in reply to a despatch from Count de Olivares, dated Rome, 24 February, 1586. [22 July, 1586.]

From a transcript of the original document in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 947. Copia de un documento que dice lo siguiente: Sumario de lo que su M^d^ replica a lo que el Conde de Olivares escrivio en 24 de Hebrero passado que havia respondido a su S^d^ por escrito y de palabra a las amonestaciones que de parte de su B^d^ se le havian hecho para que se encargasse de la reduccion del reyno de Ynglaterra.

Que se engañan los que dan a entender a su S^d^ que por los robos y atrevimientos de Yngleses se ha de mover su M^d^ a hazer la empressa de suyo, y hablan como gente que se halla lexos y no han de poner las manos en la obra.

Su M^d^ conoce el sitio de Ynglaterra, sabe quanto pesaria a muchos verla mudar estado, y que el zelo de la christiandad y de ver catholico aquel reyno no estando en Franceses ni otros muchos que estan cerca y lexos que no pesen mas con ellos otras razones para procurar estorbarlo.

Su M^d^ esta mas obligado a assegurar sus estados y la religion dellos que a tratar de procurarla en los agenos.

Por las piraterias que estos dias se han hecho a los subditos y reynos de su M^d^ basta echar tales armadas en la mar como ya se ha començado y se hara que la limpien de cossarios y amparen lo de las Yndias y asseguren la navegacion de lo de las flotas y el comercio de los subditos: lo qual se puede hazer sin mucha costa.

[1] The endorsement refers to Dr Allen's letter to Mary, Queen of Scots, Feb. 5, 1585, her reply of May 20, 1586, and a letter to her from Lord Paget, dated Madrid, May 4, 1586; all which have been deciphered by Phelippes on the same sheet of paper.

Que sin esto Yngleses mueren por concertarse con su M^d^ y lo tientan y ruegan por muchas partes y offrezcen hazer grandes emiendas.

Que siendo todo esto assi y teniendolo su M^d^ facil y a la mano y no teniendo porque dexarse llevar de ambicion de ganar reputacion, pues[1] la bondad de Dios se puede contentar de la ganada, puede su M^d^ por lo que le toca alçar mano desta empressa y excusar los gastos y difficultades della.

Que solo le ha movido acudir a esta platica el servicio de Dios y las persuasiones de su S^d^ y creer que en su tiempo havra mas calor y efectos que en el de sus passados.

Y no mudara de proposito, siendo ayudado proporcionadamente a los gastos que la grandeza y dificultades de la empressa piden y la necessidad que su M^d^ tiene en el mismo tiempo de no faltar a lo que trae entre manos en otras partes y prevenir de la necessaria opposicion a los humores que se pueden mover.

Que si bien le pesaria de no poner mas que buena voluntad en obra tan santa, le parezcen mas obligatorias y necessarias para el las demas en que esta occupado, no pudiendo acudir a todo.

Su M^d^ conozce que respecto de las pocas rentas de la Sede Apostolica y conforme a las ayudas que otros Papas han hecho para semejantes empressas lo que su S^d^ offrezce para esta es muy proporcionado a su grande y generoso animo, pero menos de lo que seria necessario para lo que pide una empressa tan grande y los preparamentos que en consequencia della son necessarios en todas partes; y que assi para poderse venir a efecto seria necessario que su S^d^ se esforçase a alargar la offerta, a abreviar las pagas y a hazer las otras gracias de que se pudiesse valer para poner el hombro a carga tan grande.

Quanto a las demas cosas su M^d^ se contenta y accepta lo que se apunto y su S^d^ respondio a 24 de Hebrero proximo al memorial de puntos que el Conde de Olivares dio a su Beatitud; y lo que se añadio cerca de que la Sede Apostolica sea reyntegrada efectualmente en la jurisdicion, contribuciones, derechos y acciones que tenia primero que el Rey Errico apostatasse parezce a su M^d^ justissimo.

CXLIX.

Count de Olivares to Philip II. Rome, 29 August, 1586.

From a transcript of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg^o^ 947. Copia de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á S. M., fecha en Roma á 29 de Agosto de 1586.

S. C. R. M^d^.

Conforme a lo que V. M^d^ me manda en carta de 22 de Julio hable a su S^d^ en las cosas de Ynglaterra procurando mostrarle que no esta V. M^d^ tan necessitado de hazer la empressa sino es bien ayudado; aunque esto es predicar en desierto en tierra a donde tienen tan arrayga[2] en el coraçon la vengança que en muchos siglos no la

[1] *por* omitted?

[2] Así dice en el original. Qu. *arraygada?*

olbidan; y soñando aca tanto y tan creeidos los descomedimientos que la Reyna de Ynglaterra usa en los estados de V. M^d, no es possible de que V. M^d [1] tenga en el coraçon esta offensa y la vengança como *ellos la tienen, y el Papa no es de los menos* [2] tocados deste humor. Lo que con el passe el primer dia, y estado en que quedo, havra entendido V. M^d por lo que escrivi a Don Juan de Ydiaquez, y en conformidad dello embie a Carrafa el sumario [3] cuya copia sera con esta, y despues no he querido solicitarle ni al Papa, porque conforme a su condicion es este el camino que conviene llevar en las cosas que sufren tiempo, como claramente [4] de todo lo que V. M^d me escrive en esta materia.

El ultimo capitulo se hizo a proposito de fortificar y confirmar lo que su S^d tiene offrezcido en el successor de la Reyna de Escocia, aunque aquello fue con el rodeo y limitaciones que podra V. M^d mandar ver en las glosas de aquel despacho, y en este capitulo puse para dorarlo la aceptacion de lo que es ynteresse del Papa, parezciendome que V. M^d no haze ni puede hazer difficultad en ello.

Al Cardenal Sanz dixe como V.M. me havia ordenado para oyr a Martel o a quien por el me huviesse de hablar por orden de los coligados de Francia y de assistirles en su pretension. Embiome al que haze aqui los negocios del Duque de Guisa, el qual me empeço a hablar en el negocio, y quedo de embiarme copia de la ystruccion que el dicho Martel llevo a V. M^d y de otros papeles tocantes a este negocio, el qual se desvanecera facilmente haviendose cumplido por parte de V. M^d con muestras de buena voluntad, como colijo sea la intencion de V. M^d.

Este criado del Duque de Guisa me repitio lo que havia passado con el Papa en esta nueva propuesta de Escocia, y la poca acogida que le havia dado en lo de la ayuda: *declaro*,[5] contra lo que yo havia entendido primero, que los Catholicos de Escocia se contentan o con la ayuda de dineros o con certeza de que sea divertida la Reyna de Ynglaterra. Todo lo entendera V. M^d mejor alla, pues tiene la persona propria que vino de Escocia. Guarde nuestro Señor, etc. De Roma, a 29 de Agosto de 1586.

CL.

Count de Olivares to Don Juan de Ydiaquez. Rome, 2 January, 1587.

From a transcript of a paragraph of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg^o 949, f^o 9. Copia de parrafo de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á Juan de Ydiaquez, fecha en Roma á 2 de Enero de 1587.

El Prior [6] de Ynglaterra que esta en Venecia continua en lo que ha empeçado de

[1] *no* understood? [2] The words italicized are underlined in the transcript. [3] See p. 265.
[4] *se vc* understood? [5] Al margen de letra del Rey dice "No se si quiere decir dixo."
[6] Sir Richard Shelley, prior of the Knights of St John in England, an exile for the faith. F. Persons writes of him that Sir Thomas Stukely, the bishop of Ross, and others at Rome "laboured

solicitar a Alano que seria bien tratar de reduzir aquella Reyna por bien a la fee. Yo le he dicho que no corte el hilo, en quanto sin empeñarse ni obligarse a nada pudiere, hasta ver si querra su M^d^ usar de este hombre, que Alano le alaba por muy propio para engañandole engañar con el a la Reyna.

CLI.

Count de Olivares to Philip II. Rome, 27 January, 1587.

From a transcript of a paragraph of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg^o^ 949, f^o^ 12. Copia de parrafo de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á S. M., fecha en Roma á 27 de Enero de 1587.

Alano y Melino[1] me han escrito el papel cuya copia embio aqui a V. M^d^. Ellos tienen yngenio y platica de las cosas de por alla; y por otra parte son ayudados de la necessidad, que es gran maestra, y assi hallan como sacar de cada cosa materia y conceptos para mostrar que en qualquier hora sea aquella la mas propia para el cumplimiento deste su desseo tanto en el negocio principal como en la promocion de Alano, que cada hora que se pierde la tienen por de grande daño: y cierto que faltando la Reyna de Escocia o estando en el estado de agora, que es lo mismo, que parezce haze mas necessario el tener un subjecto grande en que pongan todos los ojos y las esperanças y que les consuele de la aflicion en que se veen para no venir en desesperacion.

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much to bring in suspicion the said Lord Prior as a friend or honorable spie for the Queene; which they made somwhat probable, for that the said Lord Prior was wont much to defend the Queens proceedings in diverse matters and excuse her persecuting of catholics, giving great hope of her conversion; whereby he seemed to crosse much Sir Thomas Stukely's purpose of going with armes against her. Wherupon matters were so farr urged against him as once he was in danger to be laid up in the Inquisition, if F. Persons being then Penitentiary of the nation hearing of it had not given him warning presently to prevent the same; who ever held the said Lord Prior to be most innocent in that imputacion, but rather that he used such speeches to perswade the Pope to make a Cardinal of the nation, and perhaps himself, by that meanes to deale peaceably with the Queene then to send Stukely against her with armes, as was pretended by the contrary part, and fell out evill, as the sequel shewed; for that Sir Thomas Stukely never went to Ireland but to Barbary with the K. of Portugal and there was slayn and all the Popes mony lost." F. Persons adds that "the Pope [Gregory XIII.] thought best to cause the Lord Prior Shelley to retyre himself to Venice [1580] for ending of all contentions. Of which inclination of his Holynesse he being advised, he obeyed presently." A Story of domestical difficulties, &c. by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 408, 409.

[1] F. Robert Persons.

CLII.

Philip II. to Count de Olivares. Madrid, 11 February, 1587

From a transcript of a paragraph of the King's letter in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 15. Copia de parrafo de carta de S. M. al Conde de Olivares, fecha en Madrid á 11 de Febrero de 1587.

A los dichos Alano y Roberto los conservareys en fee y en buena esperança de que se ha de procurar de veros el remedio de su patria, para que assi hagan con mas voluntad y hervor los officios que conviniere con el Papa: pero sea de manera que no piensen que esta tan cerca que se alarguen a comunicarlo con otros de su nacion por darles alibio y consuelo, y assi se benga a publicar: que es el camino por donde se han perdido estos años muchas cosas bien entabladas en beneficio de aquel reyno; y assi lo yd contrapesando, y sacando provecho dellos, y en todo hazed lo que soleys con vuestra prudencia y buena maña como lo pide el negocio, y lo confio yo de vos, y avisareys lo que se hiziere.

Al margen de letra del Rey dice lo siguiente—Resuelto estoy de dar aquella abbadia que os dixe a Alano. Myrad si será bien escrivir al Conde para que le diga algo, entre tanto que va por el consejo de Italia.

CLIII.

Don Juan de Ydiaquez to Count de Olivares. Madrid, 12 February, 1587.

From a transcript of a copy in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 134. Copia de otra de carta de D. Juan de Ydiaquez al Conde de Olivares, fecha en Madrid á 12 de Febrero de 1587.

Por la satisfacion que tiene su M^d de la persona del doctor Alano y la buena relacion que V. S. ha hecho ha resuelto de hazerle merced de la abbadia que ha vacado en Napoles por muerte de Don Bernardino de Mendoça, hermano del Marques de Mondejar que oy es. V. S. sabra alla el valor y qualidad della, que diz que es muy gentil pieça; y entretanto que se embia el despacho por consejo de Italia, me ha mandado que yo avise a V. S. dello para que lo pueda dezir a Alano, poniendole buen animo como V. S. mejor sabra.

CLIV.

Memorandum presented to Pope Sixtus V. recommending Dr Allen's promotion to the Cardinalate, together with the Pope's reply. Rome, 14 March, 1587.

From a transcript of the document in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secretería de Estado, Legº 949, fº 20. Copia de un documento en cuya carpeta dice:—Memorial que se dió á su Santidad de las conveniencias que ay para hazer Cardenal al doctor Alano á 14 de Março de 1587.

Las causas por donde ymporta al servicio de Dios y causa de la religion de Ynglaterra abreviar la promocion del padre Alano.

Principalmente la prision de la Reyna de Escocia, cabeça desta causa, y a quien reconocian todos los catholicos y se endereçavan las platicas de la reduccion de aquel reyno; que ha aumentado el animo de los herejes y diminuydo el de los catholicos y cortado el hilo a las platicas internas que la Reyna tenia, perdiendose de animo muchos, y los que estan en fee si dividen por no haver persona que todos puedan reconocer con honor suyo.

Si la empressa se pudiere hazer presto, ay necessidades que precedan, algunas preparaciones que seran sospechosas hechas por otra mano, y no ternan ninguna autoridad ni fuerça siendo hombre privado: y quando fuesse forçoso diferir la empressa, es tanto mas necessario aplicar este defensivo a la llaga sin dilacion para que el rebaño afligido este en fe, viendo con efectos que su Santidad se duele y piensa en su remedio.

Ymporta tambien mucho la brevedad, para que quando vaya a la empressa tenga mas arraygada la autoridad con haver llegado a noticia de los altos y baxos de Ynglaterra su promocion.

Tambien es conviniente que aya estado algun dia en el colegio,[1] y tratado con los del, y que no ygnore las cerimonias del.

En el subjecto del padre Alano concurren todas las partes que se pueden dessear; porque no tiene faccion, tiene letras, costumbre, juizio, noticia grande de todas las cosas de aquel reyno y de las negociaciones de la reduccion, y los medios de todas han sido y son sus discipulos, entre los quales han recebido tantos el martirio que se podra dezir que la purpura de su capelo sea tinta en la sangre de los martires que ha ynstituydo.

Su Mᵈ afirma a su Santidad y toma sobre si que el hazer esta promocion sin dilatarla es necessaria para las cosas de Ynglaterra, y que de diferilla se pueden esperar daños de ymportancia assi en caso de abreviarse como de diferirse la empressa, y que la persona de Alano es la mas a proposito que puede ser. Y por estas causas suplica a

[1] The sacred college of Cardinals.

su Santidad que le haga quanto primero, y que fie esto de su M^d^, como tan ynteressado en que se acierte el negocio principal, y por la noticia que tiene de las cosas de aquel reyno por los años que reyno y residio en el y por la necessidad que despues ha tenido de conservarla con atencion y tantas vezes como se ha tratado de hazer esta empressa, que misteriosamente ha preservado N. S. para el tiempo de su Santidad.

Que su Santidad con mucha razon dize que no quiere reparar en temporas, haviendo tan grandes causas como los clamores de aquel rebaño de catholicos para darles un caudillo que supla lo mejor que es posible la sombra que les hazia la Reyna, y engrandecerle a la Ynglaterra de entre los suyos un enemigo declarado y capital, y premiar extraordinariamente en la cosa y en el modo un hombre tan benemerito de la Sede Apostolica, teniendo su Santidad pecho para mostrar al mundo que no se le pone nada delante quando se atraviessa el servicio de Dios y bien publico tan limpio de afectos humanos.

Que pierda su Santidad el cuydado de sustentarle; que la abbadia que su M^d^ le da agora basta para passar como Cardenal pobre, no conviniendo al principio mas ruydo; y que, quando convenga que este con mayor explendor, su M^d^ le proveera a medida del, sin que sea a cargo de su Beatitud mas que el promoverle, porque con esto se repartira entre ambos el merito con Dios que es el que solo les mueve a levantar este hombre.

Sua Santita risponde che sempre che sua M^ta^ sara in ordine per la impressa la S^ta^ sua sara pronto di criar Cardenal al S^r^ Alano, non parendole a proposito farlo prima, quando non sucedesse al un tempo estesso el intento che se tene, per la dichiaration che si verrebbe a far creandolo fuor di tempo contra la constitutione.[1]

ANTONIUS CARDINALIS CARRAFA, per ordine di sua S^ta^.

CLV.

Count de Olivares to Philip II. Rome, 16 March, 1587.

From a transcript of some paragraphs of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg^o^ 949, f^o^ 22. Copia de parrafos de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á S. M., fecha en Roma á 16 Marzo de 1587.

Quanto a lo del capelo de Alano le di el memorial[2] de razones que V. M^d^ vera, concluyendo de parte de V. M^d^ con lo que al fin se dize; lo qual ni la diligencia que havemos hecho Carrafa y yo, cada uno por su parte, ha bastado para hazerle hazer luego; y quando le apretavamos con que aunque no se huviesse de hazer la empressa

[1] A constitution made by Sixtus V., 3 December, 1586, according to which promotions to the Cardinalate were only to take place on the ember days of Advent. [2] See p. 270.

era necessaria esta promocion para sustentar aquella gente, dize que esta era razon para que le huviera hecho la Navidad passada, sin echar de ver que en esto se echa el la culpa; finalmente dize lo que V. M^d^ vera. Y como de parte de V. M^d^ se haga la acceptacion para este año, y se le representen los gastos que V. M^d^ tiene hechos de su parte y preparaciones, es de creer que le hara; aunque tiene en mas que no vean que rompe esta constitucion que no que se pierda la religion en Ynglaterra, no pudiendo dezir justamente en el consistorio que le hiziere es para la empressa, aunque se le representaran los inconvenientes que ay en dezirlo; y sera muy a proposito que la respuesta desta venga con brevedad, porque no se passen el dia de su creacion y de su coronacion que facilitaran algun tanto.

Este padre Roberto,[1] entendiendo dende que passo la promocion que esta lexos lo del capelo de Alano, me mata porque el Papa le criase Arçobispo de Canturbere, con que dize que se supliria en parte la falta del capelo, y encarece mucho la importancia de aquella dignidad y quan conviniente seria juntamente con el capello. Yo no le[2] hecho rostro a esto, porque por el mismo caso se divertiria el Papa de lo del capello. V. M^d^ me mandara lo que sera servido que haga en este articulo en caso de haverse o diferirse el capelo.

El tiempo en que aya de empeçar a escrivir Alano algunas cosas que se estampen, y el de su yda, y modo y pretexto della, y el dezir en consistorio la empressa, y lo que havra de hazer el Nuncio de Francia aguardare la orden de V. M^d^; advirtiendo, como otras vezes he dicho, que la hora que su Santidad de las cedulas para lo del dinero no haga V. M^d^ quenta de secreto, aunque le prometa con juramento, y lo peor es que no es mas en su mano, y este fuera en tiempo de otro Papa por conjecturas, pero agora de su boca sale todo, y lo peor es que no puede mas. Y assi no pudiendose negar lo que dize, siendo tan verisimil y tal el autor, el lenguaje que traygo es responder que yo escrivo a V. M^d^ todo lo que me dize sin meterme en mas, y con el poco credito que tiene de hombre de palabra y lo que hizo en lo de Polonia y otras cosas les parezce que todo es ayre.

Al margen de este ultimo parrafo de letra del Rey dice lo siguiente—A esto parezce que falta de responderle sino se haze en la 2ª carta.

CLVI.

Dr William Allen to Philip II. Rome, 19 March, 1587.

From a transcript of the original in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg^o^ 949, f^o^ 23. Copia de carta descifrada del Dr Alano á S. M., fecha en Roma á 19 de Marzo de 1587.

S. C. R. M^ta^.[3]

Moderatissimum ac invictissimum Majestatis vestræ in nos Anglos prius imperium

[1] F. Robert Persons. [2] *he* understood? [3] *M^tas^?*

et in religione[m] ac justitia[m] restituendam sincerissimum studium atque cum antiquissimis Regibus nostris summa sanguinis conjunctio effecit ut optimi quique non solum præsentem amarent ac colerent, sed multo magis (ut fit) republica postea infelicis feminæ et incestæ impotenti dominatu perdita ut absentem desiderarent. Quod bonorum fere omnium desiderium ita tam succedentes deinde domi forisque inexplicabiles catholicorum calamitates rerumque communium ac privatarum desperationes, quam clementiæ vestræ in omnes communium ordinum afflictos homines continuæ commiserationes anteferunt, ut paucissimos esse existimem pietatis ac patriæ amantes qui iterum vestræ[1] suavissimis subesse sceptris ex animo non cupiant. Nos vero qui pro officio sacerdotii ac loci nostri animarum ac patriæ perditione præ cæteris commovemur (quippe jamdiu plane sentimus neminem Regum aut hominum mortalium præter Majestatem vestram posse his nostris et ecclesiæ deploratis rebus succurrere) quibus lachrimis ac gemitibus talem tantumque liberatorem postulaverimus Deus cui quotidie pro sacra persona, prole et imperio vestro sacrificamus novit; nec ignorat amplissimus Majestatis vestræ hac in Urbe orator, cui in hac re intimum animi nostri sensum aperuimus, quique vicissim et antea sæpe et hoc maxime tempore clementiæ vestræ in rem nostram communem summam propensionem atque in meam etiam humilitatem tantam munificentiam contestatus est ut amplo ac honorifico beneficio ab ipsa donatum me esse significaverit De quo devotissime exosculor sacras Majestatis vestræ manus, ipsique omnia sacerdotii, vitæ et mortis meæ obsequia coram Christo offero. Atque homini exuli variis suis ac suorum necessitatibus implicato tanti Principis tam singularis gratia non potuit non esse gratissima, sicut certe est, sed non alia ratione tamen quod[2] quod hinc plane inducor ut sperem Majestatem vestram illud gloriosissimum ac tanto solo-monarcha dignum opus pro Anglia restituenda tandem suscepturam. Nam si illa perpetuo pereat, nulla[3] mihi nec dignitates nec divitiæ placebunt, sed cuncta mortalia erunt acerba nec vita ipsa vitalis existet. Sed qui divinitus inclinavit cor Majestatis vestræ ut de rebus nostris serio cogitaret dabit (uti confidimus) voluntatem, vires ac potentiam ad tam augustum ac sanctum facinus perficiendum, quo solo perpetuo feliciter omnia vicina regna ecclesiæ ac reipublicæ ab his laboribus requiescent.

Quoad illud de successionis Majestatis vestræ in regnum Angliæ jure, quod dignatus est communicare nobis sapientissimus orator, censuimus omnino ac suavissimus[4] istud apud Pontificem ac alios adhuc plane tacendum propter eas rationes quas suæ Amplitudini in scriptis dedimus, cum nec iste (licet justissimus) belli prætextus quidquam causam promovere posse videatur, et verisimile sit quod ex hostium, æmulatorum, competitorum atque ipsorum etiam alioquin amicorum mala interpretatione aliquid inde impedimenti provenire queat. Hujus belli, si ullius unquam alterius, duæ sunt causæ justissimæ, divinis ac humanis legibus approbatæ et Sedis Apostolicæ publicis literis declarandæ, religionis violatæ vindicatio et in inograrum[5] actio; quarum

[1] Either *vestræ* should be *vestris*, or *M^tis* must be supplied. [2] *quam?* [3] *nullæ?*
[4] *suasimus?* [5] *injuriarum?*

prior erit omnibus catholicis probatissima, altera nec ipsis hæreticis videbitur improbabilis. Ubi vero causæ belli sunt legitimæ, ibi justum est bellum: quidquid autem justo bello adquiritur legitime possidetur, neque minus juste occupantur regna legitimis armis quam naturæ et sanguinis propinquitate parta, licet justorum armorum et propinquitatis titulus simul concurrens plurimum valet. Atque propterea post partam a Deo victoriam Majestatis vestræ cum regia Lancastrensis familiæ prosapia conjunctio juste ac tempestive allegari potest in conventu statuum (quod parlamentum vocant) ubi archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, qui est legatus natus et primum habet totius regni suffragium, quem sequentur omnes episcopi et proceres quoque catholici, qui extinctis vel exauctoratis prius hæreticis soli in illo concilio vota habebunt, potest facillime rem conficere; et ad id perficiendum (si vixerimus) omnem operam sancte conferemus, qui non inprimis[1] ita rem nostram per Majestatem vestram restitui ut ab ipsa postea deseratur, sicut in priori regni reconciliatione factum meminimus (cujus gravissimæ negligentiæ suæ ii qui tum reipublicæ præerant justissimas pœnas dederunt) sed desideramus omnia fieri quæ ad religionis et status futuram securitatem pertinebunt. Quod et serenissimam Reginam Scotiæ commissuram omnibusque votis expetituram non dubitamus; quæ cæteros quocunque prætextu competentes non-catholicos nec proprium filium hæreticum Catholicæ Majestatis[2] vestræ sit prælatura. Tum vero etiam Pontifex tot modis acquisitum jus ultra[3] et libenter approbabit, et in summa omnia tum potentiæ ac justitiæ Majestatis vestræ ex tempore per Dei gratiam cedent.

Aggredere modo ergo, optime maxime Rex, istud opus quod Christus auctor, conservator et amplificator imperii tui videtur ad complementum gloriosissimorum gestorum omnium tibi reservasse. Per misericordiam Christi non differat Majestas vestra ulterius hanc sanctissimam totique orbi salutarem expeditionem, sed exaudiat humillimum servum suum ad sacros pedes suos provolutum pro infelici patria sua deprecantem; exaudiat gemitus tot catholicorum ac sacerdotum e carceribus et compedibus ad se clamantium; exaudiat sanctam per orbem terrarum ecclesiam quæ omnium filiorum suorum flebilibus vocibus hoc pie efflagitat. Magna sunt (ut scis) sapientissime Rex in mora pericula; innumeræ animæ interea pereunt; amici misere extinguuntur; inimici corroborantur; multa nobis impedimenta intervenire possunt et fere solent, cum rei bene gerendæ occasiones tempestive non arripiuntur. Non ægre ferat clementissimus dominus meus si confidentius servus suus fidelissimus in causa quæ est ipsi sua vita carior scribat. Hoc videtur esse tempus acceptabile quando Deus dedit Majestati vestræ requiem ab omnibus hostibus et æmulis imperii vestri; quando dedit Pontificem magis ad hanc rem commodum quam unquam forsan simus habituri; quando denique res Anglicanæ sunt plenissimæ perturbationis, diffidentiæ ac miseriæ.

Non moveant Majestatem vestram (nisi ad providentiam et cautelam) varii de hujus expeditionis sive terra sive mari sive in portibus periculis ac difficultatibus sparsi

[1] Perhaps *quærimus* or *optamus* should be substituted for *imprimis*. [2] *Majestati?* [3] *ultro?*

sermones. Illo Domini et Gedeonis gladio, illis semper victricibus armis, quibus potentissimum Christi hostem Turcam fregistis, quibus in omni bello ac pene in omni prælio de rebellibus aut hostibus vestris semper triumphastis, his auspiciis aut[1] totius ecclesiæ precibus nostros hæreticos et istam Deo et hominibus odibilem feminam castigabitis, ac nobilissimam olim gentem Majestati vestræ semper deditissimam in antiquam gloriam ac libertatem vindicabitis. Si vero porro Serenitas vestra velit nos aliquam vel scribendo vel agendo viam expeditioni præparare, quidquid per illustrissimum dominum oratorem nobis in hoc genere mandaverit quam secretissime expeditissimeque pro virili faciemus.

Dominus Jesus suam sacram Majestatem nobis, regnis suis totique orbi Christiano diutissime incolumem servet. Romæ, 19 Martii, 1587.

Majestatis vestræ fidelissimus servus et subditus,

GULIELMUS ALANUS.

CLVII.

Count de Olivares to Philip II. Rome, 23 March, 1587.

From a transcript of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 28. Copia de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á S. M., fecha en Roma á 23 de Marzo de 1587.

Señor.

Luego que partio el correo con las cartas, cuyo duplicado sera con esta, quise para empeçar lo de la succesion reconozcer lo que tenia en[2] Alano y Melino,[3] por no les haver nunca hablado de proposito en este articulo, aunque diversas vezes me lo han apuntado con bonissima voluntad. Entreles con que para mover a V. M^d^ mas de veras a hazer esta empressa seria punto muy essencial que pudiessemos hazer al Papa capaz de la succesion de V. M^d^ en aquella corona, como algunas vezes me havian apuntado: los quales confessando lo que otras vezes, me pusieron muchos ynconvenientes en mover agora esta platiça con el Papa, como V. M^d^ podra mandar ver *por un papel que me dieron*[4] a 18 deste; y aunque en sustancia sabia V. M^d^ todos los principales, y aun en parte los previene en esta carta de XI. de Hebrero, y el del secreto, en que estriban los mas, tengo en diversas ocasiones representado a V. M^d^ que no se puede esperar del Papa sino por milagro y quiça en cosas que no ymportaria no tenerle,—

Pero lo que me ha hecho no dar passo en adelante sin nueva orden de V. M^d^ es haverme tocado en la platica Milino que alguno (como tambien lo apunta en el dicho escrito) havia dicho que por uso de Ynglaterra yendo la succession hasta que se acaban los de la primera linea que conforme a esto tocaria aquella corona a los hijos del Duque de Parma; aunque rebolvio con dezir que haviendose juntado el derecho con la corona de Portugal havia de seguir su naturaleza, y que assi lo havia respondido uno en su

[1] *ac?* [2] *sentian?* [3] F. Robert Persons. [4] The words in italics are underlined in the transcript.

presencia a Pajet, el que estuvo en essos reynos, que lo havia dicho viendo un arbol estampado, que estava en el colegio Anglico, que llegava hasta los hijos del Duque; y tambien dixo que no havia visto ningun pensamiento desto en el Duque y en Farnes[1]; y en Ynglaterra todos tenian que se havia yncorporado con Portugal, que solo a Paget havia oydo aquel motivo: y Alano se conforma en esta union con la corona de Portugal: y yo se lo hize assi bueno y passe lo de Paget por cosa de poco fundamento y no bolvio a tocar mas en ello, aunque estuvo despues dos vezes comigo el Melino: y el Cardenal Deça, con quien solo lo he comunicado, dize que sino ay particular en Ynglaterra que disponga este caso que por el derecho comun V. M^d precede a los hijos del Duque:——

Todavia por lo que parezce que esto tiene de la succession de los mayorazgos dessos reynos, en que no basta juntarse dos para que cada uno no aya de guardar su naturaleza del llamamiento en quanto no es contra las leyes del reyno, no me he acabado de quietar, pues quando por esta otra via viniesse qualquier duda en la succession, seria grande ynconveniente haverse fundado V. M^d en ella, y no tomar por mas principal fundamento el de la conquista; no asegurandome nada el mostrarse Melino satisfecho y Alano mas, ni el dezirme que no ha tenido ningun motivo del Duque ni de su tio, porque lo que no es oy podra ser mañana, y mas a tiempo el descubrillo despues de hecha la conquista, demas de los otros respetos que ay en caer esto en la persona del Duque de Parma mas que en otra; y assi no he ossado mover esto de la succession con el Papa ni con nadie sin nuevo orden de V. M^d, parezciendome tambien por lo que dire adelante que no sea dañosa la dilacion.

Y siendo para qualquier camino que V. M^d quiera tomar de mucha sustancia tener prendado en favor de V. M^d a Alano, le he endereçado a que escriva a V. M^d con ocasion de darle gracias de la abbadia,[2] diziendole las causas por donde no era conviniente ni necessario tratar agora con el Papa este articulo de la succession, de manera que V. M^d se persuadiesse y juntamente se asegurasse de que a su tiempo el saldria a aquesto con la autoridad que por mano de V. M^d ha de tener; y que por el secreto me diesse la carta abierta, y que guardando yo el original en mi poder *la embiaria puesta en cifra*[3] a V. M^d, y assi me la ha dado, y en ella se alarga harto como V. M^d vera. Pero lo que mas me asegura del es su bondad y fervor en la religion y conocer tambien como ello es verdad que no se puede mantener segura la hora que aquello salga de mano de V. M^d o de cosa suya, y que los suyos han sido siempre de la faccion de Alencastre,[4] y que ha de quedar obligado con los beneficios que de V. M^d havra recebido en su persona y de la causa, y que con el ymperio de V. M^d o de alguno suyo, a que mas ynclinarian por la presencia, se ha de conservar el suyo, y que sintiendo el lo primero en consciencia, seria loco si a las armas y autoridad de V. M^d no assegundasse, aunque no le estuviera tan bien como digo.

[1] Cardinal Farnese. [2] p. 272. [3] The words italicised are underlined in the transcript. [4] Lancaster.

Quanto al tiempo de tratar deste punto de la succession, aunque por una parte parezce muy conviniente el atarlo con la gana que el Papa muestra desta reduccion, no le acabo de entender, porque quando mas vivo parezce esta en la empressa me sale con si seria mejor otra, y ultimamente el sabado con la de Hierusalem, y no terna poco en que obrar esta gana en tragar lo del desembolso de las cedulas del dinero, que tengo opinion que no lo cree hasta agora, y en lo que ha de concederse sobre el clero, y en hazer contra su bulla Cardenal a Alano fuera de Deziembre, y juntandose el estremo del poco secreto o casi certeza, y la sospecha de que el Papa no se ha de resolver sin consejo, y que el Cardenal Carrafa tambien ynclinara a esto haziendosele de mal tomar a cuestas que con solo el suyo parezca hecha cosa tan grande, y que metiendolo en congregacion havra muchos que no acudan tambien al negocio y que cierren los ojos al derecho de V. M^{d} y a la conversion de aquel reyno y a las conveniencias que de tal ymperio se les siguiria por los malos con que veen la grandeza de V. M^{d}; a los quales quanto mas adelante, se les dara menos tiempo de contradezir y a los enemigos de ympedir la jornada: y assi aunque con la yncertidumbre y variedad de la condicion del Papa no ay regla, tendria por lo mas acertado dexar para bien adelante el tratar con el este punto de la succession, y mas teniendo algun cimiento en lo contenido en el cap^{o} 3^{o} y glosa del papel de 24 de Hebrero del año passado,[1] con que no se puede dezir que es cosa a lo menos lo de nombrar successor de la Reyna de Escocia nueva: y quanto mas adelante viere el Papa las cosas de la empressa, menos se atrevera a mostrar diferente yntencion, y parezciendole que no le ha de aprobechar no se atrevera a retirar, y mas facilmente hara virtud con el temor de la fuerça la hora que aya desembarcado el exercito; y para que no le reprueben lo que en el otro capitulo offrezcio, se pondra el mismo a la defensa del sin publicarle, y mas haviendo en lo demas de la empressa metido tantas prendas no lo ha de querer perder: y quando V. M^{d} se contentasse llanamente de lo de la señora Ynfanta Doña Ysabel, tengo opinion que correria lisamente tratandose entonces.

Tambien podra V. M^{d} mandar considerar si conviene afirmar mas sobre lo de la conquista que sobre el derecho, o a lo menos a la par; que aunque no tenga sustancia la opinion de Paget, no podra dexar de hazer sombra si acierta a publicarse en las estampas grandes que estan los hijos del Duque: y yo tengo la que digo esta en el colegio Anglico.

Esto presupuesto propondre a V. M^{d} tres formas de acabar de tratar este articulo, para que V. M^{d} mande ver la que dellas o otra terna por mejor y el tiempo de tratallo. A Alano le parezce que con declarar el Papa la guerra justa baste hazer V. M^{d} suyo lo que se tomare; pues aun sin hazer los Papas en otras guerras que proceden de disgustos entre Reyes christianos hazen suyas las tierras que conquistan, tanto mas esta en que concurren tantas otras calidades; y que para hazer esta guerra justa aun bastasse que entre las otras facultades, que se le han de dar como legado, se le diesse

[1] p. 254.

esta de poder declarar la guerra justa, y dexarle proceder en la forma que el dize en su parezcer; que seria un poco aventurado negocio y floxo titulo, y no se si clausulas generales bastarian, y especiales dudaria el Papa de hazello.

O haviendose respondido con acceptar la empressa pedir el cumplimiento de todo lo offrezcido, y cogidas las cedulas y lo demas quando fuesse tiempo en virtud del cap° 3 de 24 de Hebrero pedir facultad para declarar V. M^d^ por successor a quien le parezcera que mas convenga al servicio de Dios y bien de aquel reyno: que aunque no falta paño para hazer ynstancia en ello, difficilmente lo concedera el Papa a carga cerrada aunque fuesse con exceptacion de la persona de V. M^d^.

Quando V. M^d^ quisiesse al tiempo apuntado que se hablasse mas claro, y contentarse que fuesse en persona de la Señora Ynfanta Doña Ysabel y su marido, se podria tomar un medio que sin enflaquezcer lo de la succession se podria asir lo de la conquista en modo que mas facilmente acudiesse el Papa a ello; y quando no lo hiziesse, quedaria V. M^d^ mas cavallero, diziendole que quando su Santidad a los dichos 24 de Hebrero tuvo por bien de offrezcer a V. M^d^, por mas moverle y por quitar los tropieços que en esta empressa se le representavan a V. M^d^, que haria de su parte lo que fuesse necessario para que no succediesse en la corona el Rey de Escocia, y que en quanto al que lo havia de ser despues de los dias de la Reyna su madre se conformaria con lo que a V. M^d^ parezciesse; que ynformado V. M^d^ de como en Ynglaterra no havia persona de quien echar mano sino es con mucha sospecha y temor de bolver a los inconvenientes passados, havia V. M^d^ tenido yntencion de poner alli a la Señora Ynfanta D^a^ Ysabel y al que con ella casasse, por las razones que ay para esto, y que despues desto con la carta y testamento de la Reyna de Escocia V. M^d^ havia querido entender el misterio en que estribasse, que recorriendo historias y arboles de genealogia havia hallado que perteneçia a V. M^d^ llanamente el derecho de aquella corona no solo despues pero aun antes de la Reyna de Escocia; mas que considerando V. M^d^ de quanta ymportancia sea para aquel reyno tener presentes sus reyes y tales, V. M^d^ quiere posponer su ynteresse proprio y el augmento que a su ymperio hiziera aquesto y la comodidad que dello se le podria seguir por la union con los estados de Flandes, y se contentava de continuar por el mayor servicio de Dios en el primer proposito, y para despues de los dias de la Reyna de Escocia, a quien V. M^d^ no pretende perturbar, no embargante que pudiera con su derecho, que si bien en virtud de V. M^d^ pudiera dar esto a su hija, para que el Principe N. S. y sus successores no tengan ocasion de ynquietar a la Señora Ynfanta y los suyos, quiere que la Señora Ynfanta y su marido entre por via y titulo de conquista y no por via de la sangre, y que para esto es necessario que este derecho de la conquista preceda, porque si se difiriesse hasta despues della parezce que siendo hecha por V. M^d^ sin este pacto seria mas duro pribar de su derecho al Principe N. S^r^, y que por el ynconveniente de publicarse ninguna destas pretensiones su Santidad mandasse despachar esto por Breve con el secreto que el negocio requiere; y quando lo dificultasse, estando las cosas adelante, se le podria dezir que en esto V. M^d^ da y no

recibe, y que falta de lo prometido, y que con V. M^d^ no se çufre y mas haviendo V. M^d^ hecho sobre este fundamento tanto gasto, y que no le ha de servir sino de mostrar mala voluntad y desobligarse a V. M^d^, y otras cosas que le pongan miedo, al punto que no se pueda descabullir ni tenga tiempo de anteponer a todo las leyes de falso estado ni de hazer muchas consultas, como queda apuntado; y por accessorio se le podra dezir lo que ymporta la religion y otras mil conveniencias: y aun con ser esto tan liso y tan justificado y aya la prenda que ay del Papa, tendre por mas seguro el tratar dello quando el exercito este en Ynglaterra o cerca.

Tambien convendra que V. M^d^ me mande avisar (porque el Papa facilmente tocara en prevenir que no se pueda en ningun caso juntar con los demas estados de V. M^d^[1]) lo que en este caso se havra de hazer y en los demas que pueden succeder en cosas semejantes, pues no havra tiempo de consultar.

Hazeme fiar poco que el Papa aya de hazer poco lo que se dessea en este punto de la succession por virtud ni por las muchas razones y conveniencias que en ello ay, demas de lo que cada dia veo de su condicion en ocasiones de menor ymportancia, el grande arrepentimiento que se le conozce de la pribacion de Bandoma[2] y la diligencia con que ha procurado retratarla, en que ha tenido consejeros Cardenales algunos de los que son tenidos en buena opinion, y que nunca cesso en este desseo hasta que yo le hable con resolucion de parte de V. M^d^, y aun no se si huviera bastado si huviera hecho de su parte Bandoma lo que el Papa queria. Tambien passados los primeros dias de su pontificado no ha hecho buen rostro a los coligados de Francia hasta que yo le dixe que V. M^d^ no los abandonaria, y aunque con esto les da mejores palabras no me asseguro lo que seria quando no los tuviesse por los mas poderosos, y todavia dize mal de Sanz y de Como porque fueron con Papa Gregorio autores destos motivos. En lo de Polonia vera V. M^d^ la sospecha que tenemos; que si fuesse cierto, no puede tener otro fin que temer la grandeza de V. M^d^ contra toda conveniencia y con riesgo de la religion y del Turco: y agora ultimamente he descubierto que ha hecho grandes diligencias por medio del Rey de Francia para que se convirtiesse la Reyna de Ynglaterra a la religion con grandissimas offertas, aunque ella le ha respondido que no quiere, y en esto se ha dado algunos passos despues que trae con V. M^d^ la platica de la empressa, en que (perdonelo Dios) no creo sea el accessorio fin el nombre que del quedara en el mundo: lo qual me confirma mas en el diferir la platica de la succession a tiempo que se le pueda hablar claro, y que el mismo negocio le muestre que no podra salir con otra cosa; y juntamente da esto causa a V. M^d^, siendo possible, a no diferir lo de la empressa antes que se venga a contentar con alguna fingida conversion de aquella Reyna, y quedarse con el millon. Con todo el rumor que aqui ha hecho el testamento[3] de la de

[1] Al margen de letra del Rey dice:—"Esto no seria justo para adelante." (Note of the transcriber.) [2] Henry of Navarre.

[3] See an autograph letter of Mary, Queen of Scots, to Pope Sixtus V. from Fotheringay, 23 November, 1586, in which she says of Philip II.:—"si Dieu pour mes pesches permet qu'il [mon fils]

Escocia, que no puede dexar de haver llegado a su noticia muchas vezes, y con la facilidad que el dize todo lo que tiene no puede dexar de ser con gran cuydado y misterio el no haverme dicho nada.

A todo ha de preceder el Cardenalato de Alano; y quando V. M^d^ no quisiese afirmar al Papa el hazer la empressa ogaño por sin duda por el secreto como para sacar las cedulas, sera forçoso podria V. M^d^ para lo de Alano tomar un medio de dezir que tiene yntencion de hazer la empressa este año, y para ella tiene hechos tales embargos y preparaciones y en ellos grandes gastos, que assi, como de parte de V. M^d^ se ha hecho todo esto, y ha sido necesario hazer anticipada esta preparacion, lo es para las platicas que se han de mover en Ynglaterra que no sufren dilacion que su Santidad de su parte no difiera mas esta promocion, porque seria de notable detrimento, y que tambien lo seria (si aprobechare) que su Santidad dixesse le haze para la empressa, pues ay tanta materia en lo de amparar aquella desamparada gente, y despues se vera el efecto.

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soit obstiné, ne saschant nul prince chrestien en ce temps qui tant travaille pour la foy, ni en a tant de moyens d'ayder à la réduction de ceste isle que le Roy chatolique, à qui je suis beaucoup redevable et obligée, estant celuy seul qui m'a aydée de son argent et conseill en mes nécessités, soubz vostre bon playsir, je [lui] laysse tout ce que je puis avoir de droist ou intérest au gouvernement de ce royaulme, mon filz estant obstiné hors de l'Esglise." Labanoff, Vol. VI. p. 453. The original of this letter is in the Vatican archives, but there is a transcript of it with a copy of the authentication of the document by Dr. Owen Lewis, bishop of Cassano, in the archives of the see of Westminster (Vol. IV., p. 45) from which it would seem that the letter did not reach the Pope before March, 1588. The authentication is as follows :—"Ego Audoenus Ludovicus, Anglus, Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia episcopus Cassanensis, utriusque signaturæ Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ referendarius, notum testatumque bona fide facio epistolam hanc superius exaratam idiomate gallico die 23 Novembris 1586 scriptam esse manu propria claræ memoriæ Mariæ Stuart nuper Scotiæ Reginæ, idque pro comperto omnino habeo ex similibus literis quas vidi et sine ulla dubitatione ex testibus fide dignissimis didici scriptas fuisse propria ejusdem Reginæ manu. Præcipue vero R^mus^ D. Jacobus Bettoy [Beaton] archiepiscopus Clasconen. [Glasguen.] Scotus, orator Scotiæ ad Regem Christianissimum, per suas ad me literas 28 die Februarii hujus præsentis anni 1588 datas Parisiis, affirmat hanc ipsam epistolam, quam in illis suis literis inclusam Sanctissimo Domino nostro Sixto Papæ Quinto tradendam ad me misit, esse totam scriptam propria ipsiusmet Reginæ manu. Ad cujus rei fidem et probationem hæc propria mea manu scripsi et meo sigillo signavi. Romæ, die 25 mensis Martii, 1588. L. S. Audoenus, Episcopus Cassanensis." The Queen of Scots in a letter of the same date to Don Bernardino Mendoza says :—"Je meurs en bonne querelle et étant en aise d'avoir quitté mon droit au Roi votre maître. J'ai dit que, mon fils ne retournant au giron de l'Eglise, j'avouais que je le connaissais le plus digne prince et plus profitable pour la protection de cette île. J'en écris autant à sa Sainteté, et je vous prie lui certifier que je meurs en cette même volonté que je vous ai écrit et à celui que savez, lequel est son proche et son ancien ami, et un quatrième, lesquels, sur tous autres, je laisse en la protection du Roi, et au nom de Dieu le requiers ne les abandonner ; et je leur prie qu'ils le servent en mon lieu. Je ne leur peux écrire, saluez-les de ma part, et priez tous Dieu pour mon âme." Labanoff, Vol. VI., p. 459. According to the endorsement "Recivió se en Paris a 15 Octubre, 1587" this letter did not come into Don Bernardino de Mendoza's hands before the date just mentioned.

Sera necessario, como he escrito a V. M^d, que se embie luego la presentacion de la abbadia de Alano y el resto de pension sobre alguna de las yglesias vacas; que Rosticuche[1] me dixo le havia dicho el Papa, hablandole en lo que yo le havia apretado en la promocion de Alano, que el otro dia dezian que le davan 2000 ducados y agora que una abbadia, y que no sabia el efecto de lo uno ni lo otro. La rayz deste humor creo que sea parezcerle que se tarda el despacho de los 4000 ducados de Miguel;[2] y lo que en hazer emprestidos y dar dineros adelantados le tiene recatado creo que sea los 50,000 ducados de Sega;[3] en que no me ha hablado palabra, creo sea de miedo de no haverlos y aventurar la reputacion de ponerse en ello.

Embio tambien á V. M^d *otro papel que me dio*[4] Milino por si y por Alano de algunas cosas tocantes a la empressa, glosado por mi, con algo que respondio a repreguntas que le hize para mi mejor ynteligencia. Yo muestro tomarlos de buena gana, diziendoles que para quando sea tiempo de considerarlo; sin meterlos en esperança de brevedad; y con esta misma lectura les he dicho que no se pierde nada yr haziendo borradores de los tratados que les parezciere que conviene, pues quando sea tiempo seran mas faciles de mudar y ajustar que de hazer de nuevo.

En la postrera audiencia truxe a la memoria al Papa lo que le havia embiado a dezir con el Cardenal Rosticuche, de que devia de ser fingida esta question del Rey de Francia con la Reyna de Ynglaterra, y aunque le quadra la sospecha, le parezce que meten muchas prendas para ficcion. Guarde N. S^r, &c. De Roma, a 23 de Março, 1587.

CLVIII.

Memorandum drawn up by Dr. William Allen and F. Robert Persons concerning the succession to the English crown and the expedition against England. Rome [March] 1587.

From a transcript of the memorandum in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 40. Copia de un parecer descifrado del doctor Alano y Roberto Possonio sobre la sucesion y empresa de Ynglaterra: sin fecha, entre papeles del año 1587.

Quello che noi Guillelmo Alano et Roberto Personio havemo potuto torvare[5] de la descendentia di la casa de Lencastria con el studio che havemo fatto qui in Roma intorno a quel negotio dopo la ultima nuova de la morte de la Regina de Escocia.

Primieramente per non haver huuto[6] qui l'historie et croniche Ynglese insieme

[1] Cardinal Rusticucci. [2] Michael Peretti, great nephew of Sixtus V. [3] This must refer to the sum of 50,000 ducats (nummi aurei) destined by Gregory XIII. for the proposed expedition against England under Don Juan of Austria, governor of the Low Countries, and advanced to him in his urgent necessities by M^gr (afterwards Cardinal) Sega, who had been sent to Don Juan as Apostolic Nuncio in 1577. Strada, De bello Belgico, lib. ix., p. 440. [4] Words underlined in the transcript. [5] *trovare?* No corrections have been suggested where obvious grammatical mistakes in the transcript in no way affect the sense of the passages in which they occur.

[6] Asi dice (note of transcriber). The word *havuto* was probably intended.

con quella varieta de genealogia che in Parigi et altrove haveriamo havuto, non e stato possibile far quella essata calculatione et exame delle cose ch' altrimente se harebbe potuto: nondimeno quello che seguita bastera per la sustancia del negocio.[1]

Sarebbe stata cosa desideratissima de noi per il servicio de Dio e bene de la patria nostra che la successione de S. M^ta^ e de la sua serenissima casa per la linea de Lencastria a la corona de Ynghilterra fusse tanto chiara, expedita, fresca et vicina che non vi potesse nascer dubio, contradittione o dificulta alcuna. E quando pur cosi fosse, S. M^ta^ non deve pensare che, stando le cose de Ynghilterra come stanno, cioe possuduto de heritici, e le gelosie d'altri Principi vicini come ogi di si vedono, anco in quel caso ottenerebbe il suo drito senza arme; con le quali ancora adesso facilmente per la gratia di Dio le ottenera, essendo che noi non havemo trovato dificolta alguna che si habbia fatto scrupulo di conscienza o che la debia far a S. M^ta^, per esser noltre[2] altre considerationi giustissime che nel fine diremo, le quali compensano yn abundantia ogni dificolta o diretto[3] che nella descendencia si trovasse de la casa de Lencastria; la qual descendentia essendo derivata da piu che 200 anni in qua non e maraviglia se tiene aleun dubio, obscurita e incertezza. Quel pur che li pare certo e quello che seguita.

Nel primo loco dove per avanti sempre sono state representate tre linee diverse pretendenti a la successione de la corona de Ynghilterra (come se vede nel albero de la genealogie stampata questi anni passati dal vescovo di Rosse, Scozzesse; cioe, una descendente solamente da la casa da Lencastria come e quella de Castilla e Portugalia; la altra descendente solamente da la casa de Yorca, come e quella del Conde de Huntinton in Ynghilterra; e da la unione de tutte due famiglie, come sono quelle tre linee che restono hogi di in Ynghilterra et Scotia, uscite da Henrrico septimo) noi troviamo che in verita non sono sinon due linee in tuto, cioe quella da Lencastria e quella di Yorca; perche quella chiamata mista o composta da tutti due linee non fu veramente tale, perche Henrico septimo non fu da la casa reale da Lencastria, essendo discesso solamente da Giovani di Gant, Duca di Lencastria, e de la terza sua moglie chiamata Catherina Sfinfordia,[4] la qual haveva niente di far con la heredita de la casa da Lencastria, la qual heredita vene al detto Giovanni per il matrimonio de la prima moglie chiamata Blanca, li cui figliuoli furono tre solamente, cioe Henrrico fatto poi Re e chiamato Henrrico IV., ma primo Re da la casa de Lencastria, e Philippa e Catherina, maritate alli Re di Portugalo e de Castiglia, dalle quale[5] descende S. M^ta^ Catholica; de manera che in tutta Ynghilterra et Scozia non e linea alcuna che puo giustamente

[1] "Fa. Parsons found in France or Spain an Englishman called Mr. Robert Heighnison [Heighinton or Higheton] who had been in rebellion with the northern earls and was fled for that cause. This gentleman was very skilful in the Histories of England, and had (as it is said) compiled a chronicle, out of which and by daily conference Fa. Parsons drew the pedigree of all the competitors to the crown of England." Notebook of John Southcote, DD., who died in May, 1637, second son of Sir John Southcote of Merstham, Surrey. MS. belonging to the Bishop of Southwark.

[2] *molte?* [3] *difetto?* [4] Catherine Swynford. [5] *quali?*

pretender per la casa de Lencastria; et questo apare[1] [ed][2] e cosa chiara e verificata da tutte le historie, de modo che e grande errore nella detta albero del Vescovo di Rosse quando assigna una moglie solamente, cioe Blanca, a Govan de Gant, Duca da Lencastria, et consequentemente presupone che tutti suoi figlioli siano discessi da questa. Polidoro Virgilio nel libro 29 de la Historia de Ynghilterra nella vita de Eduardo III., pagina 394, fa mentione de la seconda moglie detta Costanza, figliola di Don Pietro, chiamato crudele, Re di Castiglia, la qual piglio il anno 1369; et le croniche Ynglesi fanno mentione di la terza moglie chiamata Catherina Esfinfordia, come di sopra e detto.

Quanto poi a quello che escrive il detto Vescovo de Rose nel libro suo del Drito de la Regina de Scozia a la corona de Ynghilterra, al foglio 6, intorno a li dui figlioli del Re Henrico III. chiamati Edoardo [et Edmundo],[3] dicendo che Etmundo in verita fu il primogenito, ma per esser gobbo fu posposto al suo fratello e fatto Conte da Lencastria, oltre che e cosa contrarissima a tutto quello che lui pretende de stabilire in quel libro, perche si quello fosse vero non sarebbe dubio che tutta la successione vera restarebbe solamente nella linea di Portugalia, ci pare che non habbia fundamento alcuno; primo perche non trovamo alcun auttore d' antiquita o credito che le aferma; di poi perche troviamo dui auttori gravi che lo negono. Il primo e Matheus Vesmonesteriensis, Ynglese, nella sua Historia chiamata *Flores Historiarum* nella vita di Re Henrrico e de Leonora sua moglie,[4] e fu baptizato alli 21 dal Cardenal Otone legato per il Papa, e poi escrive que l'anno 1245 a li 17 di Genaro nache[5] Etmondo secondogenito; di maniera che sei anni intervenero fra la nativita di questi dui, il che questo auttore ben poteva sapere per esser a quel tempo et poteva conoscere el uno e altro Principe. El altro auttore overo scrittore di credito in questa materia e Polidoro Virgilio, Italiano; el qual vivendo in Ynghilterra et scrivendo la sua Historia sotto Henrrico VII., il quale se fece coronare come da la casa da Lancastria, e dede instruttione a Polidoro per scriver la sua Historia, e da presumir che non voleva dir cosa en pregiuditio de la casa da Lencastria che non fosse molto chiara e vera: costui adunque nella vita de Henrrico III. in dui luoghi, cioe pagina 303 et 320, chiaramente afirma che Edouardo fu il primogenito e non Etmondo; e nel principio de la vita de Henrrico IV., primo Re de la casa de Lencastria, pagina 429, dice che alcuni volevano che lui se ne fusse servito di questa faccione[6] (cosi la chiama) per giustificare il suo drito a la corona, ma se gionge che la maior parte delli sui amici non aproborono la cosa, e cosi fu lasciata. L'istesso tene pagina 320, nel fine della vita de Henrrico III. Il medessimo auttore nel sudetto luogo de la vita de Henrrico IV. afirma chiaramente che il detto

[1] *appare?* [2] *ed* supplied. [3] *et Edmundo* must be supplied.

[4] Some words have evidently been omitted after *moglie*. The passage referred to in Matthew of Westminster is as follows:—"1239. Item eodem anno natus est Eadwardus dictus Longshankes, domino regi Henrico et Alienoræ reginæ filius primogenitus, apud Westmonaster., xv. Kalendas Julii in nocte sequenti, scilicet, in vigilia sanctorum Marci et Marcelliani, et est Eadwardus vocatus. . . . . Qui quarto die post, domino Othone tunc legato in conventuali ecclesia ipsum baptizante," etc., p. 151.

[5] *nacque?* [6] Perhaps the true reading is *finzione*; the word used by Vergil being *commentum*

Henrrico IV., primo Re de la casa de Lencastria, hebbe il regno ingiustamente e per forza: e di piu in un altro luogo, cioe nella vita di Ricardo II., pag. 412, tiene che Edouardo IV., primo Re da la faccione de Yorca, giustamente ricupero il regno de[1] Henrrico VI. nepote de Henrrico IV. Il che pur pare[2] altrimente a Philippo Comineo, consigliero et historico prudentissimo di Carlo, Duca di Burgundia, e de Ludovico XI., Re di Francia. Il quali[3] Comineo, vivendo a quel tempo e conoscendo tanto el uno come al altro di questi dui Re, scrive nel libro 10, pag. 354, delli suoi Comentarii queste parole da Henrrico VI. diposto da Edouardo IV.—*Henricum profligavit Edourdus, qui jam longo tempore potitus erat rerum, et mea quidem sententia jure.* El medesimo Philippo Comineo nel libro nono, pag. 336, parlando di Henrrico VII., bene a lui conosciuto et a quel medesimo tempo Re d' Ynghilterra, dice:—*Imperium Anglicanum nullo jure sibi poterat arrogare:* il qual pur Henrrico Polidoro scrive esser discesso da la casa da Lencastria come herede di quella; di maniera che il drito de quelle due case era assai dubioso a li piu prudenti che vivevano a quel tempo.

Havemo visto ancora un albero de genealogia scritta a mano in Italiano da 20 anni in qua (come pare) nella quale se dice che le due figliuole di Giovan di Gant, sorele di Henrrico Re IV., le quale furono maritate in Portugallo e Castilla, non furono figliole de la prima moglie di Giovan di Gant, cioe di Blanca heredera da la casa da Lencastria, ma d'altra moglie posteriora; il che e manifestamente falso come si vede da tutte le Historie e particolarmente da Polidoro nel libro 20, nella vita di Ricardo II., pag. 415.

Nel albero del Vescovo de Rose se vede, e nella Historia parimente di Polidoro nella vita di Henrrico IV., pag. 438, che questo Re hebbe, oltra 4 figlioli sui maschi da li quali nissun descendente resta, due femine chiamate Blanca e Philippa,[4] de le quale la prima fu maritata con il Duca di Baviera e la seconda [con il Re][5] de Denmarke; de le quale due femine non sapiamo se questo Duca di Baviera o questo Re de Denmarke, che adesso siano, discesse; ma, comunche sia, pensiamo che la cosa sia incognita et non pensata da lore,[6] come dessideriamo che resti sempre; et per questo effetto sarebbe expediente che il negotio di questi successioni sia tenuto secretissimo fin tanto che la impressa sia fatta e la successione da S. M^ta^ senza contradicion stabilita in Ynghilterra.

Et si come questi descendenti delle figliuole de Henrrico IV., si alcuni tali restono, potrebbono pretendere successione avanti li descendenti delle sorelle del detto Henrrico maritate in Portugallo et Castiglia, cosi ancora nella istesa linea e descendentia de

[1] *da?* [2] The sense seems to require a *non* before *pare.* [3] *quale?*

[4] "Blanch eldest daughter was married at Cöllen to William Duke of Bavaria, sonne and heire of Lewis of Bavaria. After she married the King of Arragon, and thirdly shee married the Duke of Barre, but had no issue by any of them. Philip, second daughter of King Henry the fourth, was married to John King of Denmarke and Norway and died without issue." Catalogue of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles and Viscounts of the realme of England since the Norman Conquest to this present yeere 1622, by Raphe Brooke, p. 28.

[5] *con il Re* supplied. [6] *loro.*

Portugallo quelle che sono discessi da Don Eduardo III. figliouolo del Re Don Emanuele regularmente secondo la lege municipali de Ynghilterra potrebbono pretendere avanti li descendenti della Emperatrice Ysabella figliola del detto Re; benche a questo del altro canto si potrebbe dire che essendo gia la successione di quella corona di Portugallo legitimamente incorporata secondo la lege comune e de Portugallo nella persona et sangue di S. M^ta^ Catholica, tutti li driti che per quella via vengano consequentemente sono ancora uniti a quella casa. Ma basta che da queste cose se puo intendere che quando il negotio de la successione per via solamente de la descendencia de la casa de Lencastria se metesse in disputa o boca delli huomini avanti che l'impressa sia fatta, se ne trovarebbono molte oppositioni de varii Principi; i quali tutti si tagliariano con l'empressa istessa e con el stabilimento de la successione legitima di S. M^ta^, che da quella senza alcuna dificolta ne seguitarebbe particolarmente per questi ragioni et driti che sogiungeno.

Primo, perche in tutta Ynghilterra et Scozia non vi e alcune[1] che giustamente puo pretendere per la casa da Lencastria, come s'e mostrato. Secondo, perche quelli che ibi pretendono per la casa di Yorca sono tutti inhabili per heresie et altri defetti. Terzo, perche non si sa che di fuora alcuni pretendono per la casa de Lencastria se non la linea di S. M^ta^ Catholica. Quarto, perche quando altri volessero ancora per la medesima via pretendere non hanno modo de ricuperare il loro drito e de discaliar[2] la usurpatrice che tene il regno, ne sarebbono accettati da li medesimi Ynglesi catholici. Quinto, che per[3] la Regina di Scozia ha ordinato per testamento et letre[4] che S. M^ta^ sia sua herede e successore; il che ancora si sa che la Regina Maria di bona memoria desiderava grandemente a tempo suo che si[5] M^ta^ Catholica le succedesse. Sesto, S. M^ta^ Catholica, oltra la causa della religione catholica et de suoi ingiurie recevute da Ynghilterra, ha giustissima ragione et necessaria causa di farle guerra per vindicar il sangue de la Regina di Scozia ricomendatola da lei istessa, e consequentemente pigliando il regno in una guerra cosi giusta e lodevole le ragioni[6] del conquisto sara legitima. Septimo, le danni fatti a S. M^ta^ Catholica da le heretici di Ynghilterra in tempo di questa Regina e le spesse[7] fatte in questa guerra e altri[8] in Fiandra et altrove[9] causa, che da loro sara tanto grande che quando si havesse il regno in paga et compensatione di esse non sarebbe causa ingiusta. Octavo, il decreto del concilio Lateranense[10] da a tutti Principi catholici i regni e terre che de heretici possono pigliar, quando herede

[1] *alcuno?* [2] *discacciare?* [3] *perchè?* [4] *lettere?* [5] *sua?* [6] *la ragione?* [7] *spese?* [8] *altre?* [9] *sono* omitted? [10] Fourth Council of Lateran (1215) cap. 3, *de hæreticis*. "Si dominus temporalis requisitus et monitus ab ecclesia terram suam purgare neglexerit ab hac hæretica fœditate, per metropolitanum et cæteros comprovinciales episcopos excommunicationis vinculo innodetur. Et, si satisfacere contemserit infra annum, significetur hoc Summo Pontifici: ut extunc ipse vasallos ab ejus fidelitate denunciet absolutos et terram exponat catholicis occupandam, qui eam exterminatis hæreticis sine ulla contradictione possideant et in fidei puritate conservent: salvo jure domini principalis, dummodo super hoc ipse nullum præstet obstaculum nec aliquod impedimentum opponat: eadem nihilominus lege servata circa eos qui non habent dominos principales."

catholico non resta; il che in questo particulare sara confirmato da la bulla et excomunione de diversi Pontifici. Et ultimamente se agiungera per cumpimento et confirmatione di tutto la electioni et admissione voluntaria del stato de catholici in Ynghilterra, il[1] quali per rispetto di tutta questa causa e considerationi, e principalmente per il beneficio recebuto da la fede catholica restitutta con sumo consentimento et alegrezza abraciariano la successione di S. M[ta]; e di questo non faciamo dubio alcuno: onde resta solamente per il felice compimento di tutto questo negotio che S. M[ta] expedisca quanto prima con la empressa tutte l'altre dificolta, per che da la brevita del tempo dipende il tutto.

GUILLELMO ALANO.
ROBERTO POSSONIO.

CLIX.

Dr William Allen to Don Juan de Ydiaquez. [Rome] 24 March, 1587.

From a transcript of the original holograph in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 29. Copia de carta ológrafa del Dr Guillermo Alano á Juan de Ydiaquez, fecha á 24 de Marzo de 1587.

Ill[me] domine patrone; Quoniam eo loco es apud mortalium Regum optimum et maximum ut innumerabilium bonorum sanctorumque per ipsum indies sanctorum[2] operum sis participes,[3] atque eorum, quum[4] in me nationemque meam confert, peculiaris author vel summus certe adjutor, volui, post supplices gratias suæ Ma[ti] actas, etiam tuæ Amplitudini his paucis verbis quantas possum agere maximas; ita tamen ut animo non conquiescam, nec mihi ullo erga S. M[tem] obsequio satisfaciam, donec aliquod gratum servitutis officium tam pro prioribus in nos meritis quam pro hoc nuper peramplo ad vitæ meæ sustentationem benignissime tollo[5] beneficio præstitero. In quo genere autem id facere velim ac etiam queam, vestra imprimis sapientia novit, atque ut hujus desideratissimi voti mei sim tandem aliquando compos, præ cæteris mortalibus per Deum adjutor esse potest. Tam[6] ergo rem ac mei[7] præfatum totum[8] commendo vestro pientissimo patrocinio. Vale, 24 Martii, 1587.

Ill. D. V. devotissimus orator,
GULIELMUS ALANUS.

CLX.

Dr William Allen to Philip II. Rome, 30 March, 1587.

From a transcript of the original document in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 37. Copia de carta descifrada del Dr Alano á S. M., fecha en Roma á 30 de Marzo de 1587.

S. C. R. M[tas].

Hæc tristitia[9] de miserabili serenissimæ Reginæ Scotiæ cæde nova faciunt ut priores supplices voces nostras apud Majestatem vestram ingeminemus, et ut majori

[1] *i?* [2] *factorum?* [3] *particeps?* [4] *quæ?* [5] *collato?* [6] *totum?* [7] *meum?* [8] *votum?* [9] *tristissima?*

indies ipsi pro salute patriæ ac imperii sui amplificatione Majestati vestræ serviendi desiderio flagremus. Iste enim casus licet sit bonis omnibus luctuosus tamen Majestati vestræ præbet maximas ac justissimas accelerandæ expeditionis causas, eamque (ut speramus) faciliorem reddet.

Jam enim præter desertæ religionis et illatæ injuriæ justissimam punitionem se offert Majestati vestræ gloriosissima innocentis sanguinis et a Deo unctæ et coronatæ Reginæ contra jus gentium perpetratæ cædis vindicandi occasio; cujus sceleris ac sanguinis vindicata[1] magis ad Majestatem vestram quam ad ullum alium mortalem pertinet, quod pia Princeps et antea semper seipsam et nuper sua omnia vestræ regali fidei et protectioni testamento[2] commiserit ac legaverit.

Ejus præterea morte Serenitas vestra facta et[3] sanguine propinquior, ipsiusque in regnum jus hæreditarium[4] est redditum, cum jam reliqui ex illa stirpe omnes præter[5] hæresim incapaces habeantur. In qua etiam re plurimum valebit apud omnes nostrates orthodoxos quod serenissimæ Reginæ Scotiæ donatione jam etiam istius regni dispositio vestræ clementiæ obvenerit. Catholici vero permulti, qui prius spem omnem in Regina Scotiæ posuerant, et propter ipsius (quem continuo expectabant) principatum externa arma non adeo expectaverant sed timuerant potius, nunc non habent quo confugiant nisi ad Majestatem vestram non solum a Deo sed ab ipsa Regina defuncta Regem et liberatorem nostrum constitutum.

Tam isti quam reliqui catholici omnes in tam extremo nunc sunt pereundi periculo positi ut quemvis a Deo vindicem, multo magis vestram clementissimam Majestatem, vel de suo augustissimo sanguine aliquem, avidissime desiderant. Protestantes quoque mitiores ac neutrales, superbissimi Elizabetæ dominatus jamdiu pertæsi, et jam propter cædem Reginæ (cui multum dediti erant) magis aversi, ac cujuscunque (ut fit) innovationis cupidi, non multum videntur impedituri. Cæterorum autem hæreticorum atque hostium nostrorum tam sunt inter se divisæ factiones, tam timidæ cogitationes, tamque incerta de futuro hærede et eventu rerum consilia, atque demum ex hujusmodi sceleratis factis tam horrendi conscientiæ scrupuli, ut quo se vertant non habeant.

Denique cum hac unitæ adeo[6] Reginæ scelerata trucidatione impii videantur mensuram iniquitatis tandem complevisse, speramus tot ante presbyterorum ac aliorum catholicorum, hujusque nostræ [Reginæ][7] demum sacrum recentem[8] fusum sanguinem impetraturum Majestati vestræ auxilium et potentiam a Domino ad liberandos captivos Christi, ac infensissimos nominis sui ac imperii vestri hostes debellandos.

Quando vivebat pia Regina, non poterat commode propter injuste usurpantis iniquitatem regnum occupanti Apostolica sententia concedi. Jam vero et Pontifex id rite facere potest, et decreto magni illius Lateranensis concilii hæreticum[9] terræ catholicis invadentibus plane ibuntur possidenda.[10]

[1] *vindicatio?* [2] See p. 279, note 2. [3] *est?* [4] A word like *evidentius* seems to be needed for the sense. [5] *propter?* [6] *unctæ a Deo?* [7] *Reginæ* omitted. [8] *recenter?* [9] *hæreticorum?* [10] *possidendæ?*

Supplices igitur manus ad clementiam Majestatis vestræ hoc tempore extendimus, per Christum Jesum obtestantes ut hanc tam pulchram a Deo rei bene gerendæ concessam occasionem ulterius non differat, sed hoc gloriosum orbique universo salutare opus quanta queat celeritate potenter perficiat. Dominus Jesus Majestatem vestram[1] sacram personam, augustissimam prolem, omniaque regna sua in perpetuum protegat ac benedicat. Romæ, 30 Martii, 1587.

CLXI.

Dr William Allen to Pope Sixtus V. Rome, March or April, 1587.

From a transcript of the memorial in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 38. Copia de un memorial descifrado que el doctor Alano dió á su Santidad: sin fecha, entre papeles del año 1587.

Beatissime Pater.

Etsi in hac suprema orbis Christiani specula omniumque ecclesiarum solicitudine et ovium Dominicarum amore vere apostolico nostram inter cæteros tibi commissos populos infelicem Angliam continuo consideres, cures et ames, majorique zelo ac commiseratione quam nos ipsi ejus salutem et restitutionem prosequaris; tamen ne vel officio nostro in Sanctitate vestra,[2] in ecclesiam ac adamatam patriam deesse, vel recenti ex indignissimæ[3] serenissimæ Reginæ trucidatione dolori meo non videar satisfecisse, audacius pauca ista apud sanctissimos pedes tuos depono.

Res Anglicanæ, Pater ac domine sanctissime, nunc sunt ex hac morte varie in eum statum redactæ ut, nisi quam primum eis succurratur, in perpetuum ecclesiæ videantur perituræ. Hæretici, hoc unico impedimento sublato, sine mora confirmabunt in futurum imperium suum; adversam partem omni celeritate extinguere conabuntur. Catholici, ea spe quam ex Reginæ Scotiæ futura fortuna habebant sublata, furorem inimicorum diu sustinere non valent. Omnia denique erunt in extrema desperatione; ut primo quoque tempore et hoc ipso (si fieri potest) anno his intolerabilibus malis remedium sit afferendum, dum innocentis Reginæ recens effusus sanguis validius ad Deum in cœlum clamat, dum omnium Regum Christianorum corda tantum in sui ordinis Principem contra jus ac fas perpetratum scelus abominantur, dum nostri homines cujuscunque status, ante eorum[4] oculos hæc strages facta est, ex recenti facinoris memoria ita sunt permoti ut quidvis pro tam atrocis rei vindicta facere aut perpeti[5] videantur.

Quo autem animo sint catholici Angli, quantumque et desiderant et cooperaturi sint ad sui ab isto crudeli hæreticorum jugo et extremo periculo liberationem atque sacri regalis sanguinis vindicationem nos optime scimus; et strenuissimus ille belli dux, Guillelmus Stanleus, qui nuper cum plus minus mille fortissimis sociis ac militibus ab

[1] *Majestatis vestræ?* [2] *Sanctitatem vestram?* [3] *indignissimæ?* [4] *quorum?* [5] Supply *parati?*

hæreticis venit ad castra ex^mi Ducis Parmensis, et suæ M^tis servitur,[1] urbe Davetriensi ac aliis opportunissimis commissis sive[2] locis redditis, ultro concessit, argumento esse potest. Horum enim exemplum non est dubium quin plurimi in Anglia sint sequuturi, si semel res auspice Deo ac vestra Sanctitate pro fide catholica suscipiatur. Proinde per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri et per illam sanctam et excelsam dignitatem cum apostolica charitate conjunctam supplex vestram Beatitudinem deprecor ut de nostris miseriis mature sublevandis non solum ipsa (quod sine intermissione facit) cogitet, sed ut cæteros omnes Principes Christianos ac præcipue Regem Catholicum, qui ad hoc perficiendum et potentia sua et voluntate et causæ justitia et majori cum Sanctitate vestra præ cæteris conjunctione videatur esse aptissimus, Apostolica auctoritate ad tam insigne facinus aggrediendum excitet. Si inter cætera sanctissima et memoria æterna dignissima facta hoc etiam gloriosissimo opere felicissimum pontificem[3] tuum, Pater Beatissime, ornaveris, Sixte Quinte, vere felici[4] apud Deum et homines ad cumulum sempiternæ laudis accedat.[5] Deus Optimus Maximus, etc.

CLXII.

Instructions given to Dr Allen for his audience with Pope Sixtus V. 31 March, 1587.

From a transcript of the document in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg^o 949, f° 41. Copia de un documento en cuya carpeta dice:—Ynstruccion que se dio al doctor Alano de lo que hablando a su Santidad havia de responder a lo que le preguntasse.

Puntos en que el Padre Alano estara prevenido para con el Papa quando le hablare, dados a ultimo de Março, 1587.

1. Quitar a su Santidad la sospecha que ha tomado por malas relaciones de que la Reyna de Escocia no aya muerto muy catholicamente, por haverle dicho que la Reyna recomendo con calor a su hijo la amistad y dependencia de la Reyna de Ynglaterra: pues esta dicha relacion es de razon falsa, y ay tantas causas por donde presumir que murio bien y no solo catholica sino sanctamente.

2. Tomar ocasion buena para darle a entender como comunmente se entiende con mucha causa que el officio hecho por el Rey de Francia para que no muriesse la Reyna de Escocia fue fingido o muy frio, y que la Reyna de Ynglaterra se ha entendido con el Rey de Francia.

3. Que la Reyna de Escocia conocio bien la obstinacion de su hijo en la heregia y la poca esperança que se tenia de su conversion, de la qual parezce que agora se tenga[6] esperança que jamas por muchos argumentos y yndicios que se podran dezir.

[1] *servitio?* [2] *sibi?* [3] *pontificatum?* [4] *felix?* There is an allusion to the name of Felix which Sixtus V. bore before he became Pope. [5] *accedes?* [6] *menor* seems to be required for the sense.

4. Si tocare que en la empressa, quando se hiziesse, podria esperar ayuda o a lo menos no ympedimento del Rey de Francia, le dira que no puede ni deve su Sanctidad hazer fundamento de Franceses in fiarse dellos por la yntelligencia manifiesta que tienen con la Reyna de Ynglaterra, de que se han visto tantas señas y ultimamente esta muerte de la Reyna, y por la emulacion con su Sanctidad y sospecha que tendrian los mismos catholicos de Ynglaterra, demas de la aversion natural y antigua de las naciones.

5. Si su Sanctidad entrare en el punto de la succession, dira que este pensamiento ha venido muchas vezes entre los catholicos en caso que la Reyna de Escocia muriesse, despues que con experiencia se vio que no havia esperança en la conversion de su hijo; mas que no se han querido meter en disputar este articulo, reposandose en la providencia de Dios y cuydado paternal de su Sanctidad y buena voluntad que su M^{d} les ha mostrado siempre, que poniendo tanto en la reduccion de aquel reyno despues de hecha la empressa no se descuydaran de dar la orden que convenga para assegurar el peligro de caer en manos de hereges, que es el fin principal de los catholicos.

6. Quando su S^{d} le necesitasse a venir a mas particularidad, [dira][1] como la opinion ordinaria de los catholicos de mucho tiempo a esta parte esta en que toque a su M^{d} la succession por la linea de Portugal y por la de Castilla, aunque hasta agora no han descubierto que su M^{d} aya mostrado pensamiento de tal; aunque los catholicos han tenido siempre esta opinion y mira en caso que la Reyna de Escocia faltase, pero que tambien han tenido por buen acuerdo el callar, porque siendo por una parte esto a proposito para mover a su M^{d} y animarle a la empressa, por otra despertaria la contradicion de sus emulos, que se juntarian para estorbarlo con los hereges que tienen los ojos en el Rey de Escocia y Conde de Huntincton y Rey de Dinarmarca, que son tan poderosos que si previenen se levantaran con la corona y seran mas dificiles de quitar que la precedente Reyna.

7. Que conviene en toda manera que no se hable en este punto hasta tanto que con el ayuda de Dios la empressa sea hecha, y entonces tienen mucha seguridad que su S^{d} y M^{d} se entenderan facilmente.

8. Si su S^{d} tocasse en cosa de Escocia, le dira que tambien seria expediente para el bien de la Christiandad, siendo (como es) aquel Rey heretico, que su S^{d} y su M^{d} tomen alguna buena resolucion para la reformacion de aquel reyno quando se tuviere de hazer la empressa de Ynglaterra o tras ella.

9. Si le preguntare de la abbadia de S^{t} Lorenço de Capua, dira que ha embiado poder a tomar la possession, y que sabe bien quanta parte ha sido su S^{d} para que su M^{d} le aya hecho esta merced.

[1] *dira* must be supplied or understood.

CLXIII.

Leonardo Magnaro to F. William Holt, S.J. Turin, 2 June, 1587.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. IV., 47.

Molto reverendo in Christo padre.

Pax Christi. Ricevei l'ultima sua, scritta alli 25 di Aprile, alli 15 di M[a]ggio passato. Ringratio moltissimo V. R. della memoria et amore che mi porta, et gli ne resto obliga[to],[1] et sò quanto di cuore ella mi sofferisce, et quando io la potessi servire in alcuna cosa, mi offerirei molto di cuore, et mi saria cosa gratissima che mi venisse occasione per darne segni chiari.

Il P. Henrico si porta bene, ma temo non potra durare per esser il signor Nontio molto rigoroso et stretto nel governo di sua famiglia: ma tuttavia à lui gli è molto utile et à gli altri.

Quanto à quello che dice haver scritto il P. Eighentono[2] al signor Alano et à V.R. del suo scrivere poco intelligibile, resti certa et sicura chegli la fatto da se senza mio ordine, [et][1] mai gli dimostrai in questa matteria altro salvo che una volta facendomi da lui dichiarare alcune parole della sua dissi cossi burlando—Oime [mi][1] bisogna perder molto tempo in legger questa lettera: siche non mi tenghi [al][1] meno cossi imprudente in questo che fusse per mio ordine, ò dicessi cosse che havesse occasione di scriver al signor Alano chio mi lamentava che lui mi scrivesse cossi scuramente, poiche non dubito che lui havra difficulta colle mie mal scritte. Con questo padre dovendo partire per Francia non gli volsi dir altro, accio partisse senza ombre.

Il loco che teneva P. Eighentono, si per beneficio del loco, si perche dessidero che il collegio Inglese habbia qui in questa citta sugetti per poter giovare in molte cose, etc.; et questa piazza cossi honrata non vadi fori delli mii figlioli Inglesi, habbiamo tratenuto il P. [D][1]aniele[3], et forse saria bene che questi figliolii quando penseran di partire avisino in tempo, che parendo al signor [D.][1] Alano si possi mettere un altro alunno delli piu atti, ma convien tenghi lingua Italiana. La ringratio molto delle bone nove scrittemi. Omnes saluto, massimamente P. Personio delqual ho ricevuto una sua, ma senza sottoscritto. Vale mi pater et ora pro me. Di Turino, alli 2 di Jugno, 1587.

Di V. R. servo in Christo,

LEONARDO MAGNARO.

Addressed.

Al molto reverendo in Christo padre, il P. Guiglielmo Olto, Rettore del collegio Inglese, della Compagnia di Jesu, in Roma.

[1] MS. worn away. [2] Heighinton. [3] "Daniel Halsworthus, sacerdos Anglus, ... Roma discedens ad aliquot annos in aula Ducis Sabaudiæ vixit." Pitseus, De illustribus Angliæ scriptoribus. p. 794. He is called Holesworth in Dodd, vol. II., p. 90.

CLXIV.

Count de Olivares to Don Juan de Ydiaquez. Rome, 15 June, 1587.

From a transcript of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 61. Copia de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á Juan de Ydiaquez, fecha en Roma á 15 de Junio de 1587.

Olbidoseme de dezir que Melino[1] y Alano, de ver el tiempo tan adelante y de haver tenido una carta de Don Bernardino de Mendoça en que pinta por gran falta para la empressa la de la Reyna de Escocia, se persuaden que su M^d^ se aya entibiado della, y se esfuerçan de persuadirme que no solo no ha hecho falta, pero con su muerte faltan muchas dificultades, que fuera menester trabajo para salvallas en la propria empressa y mucho mas despues que N. Señor huviesse dado buen successo a ella. Dios guarde a V. M. De Roma, a 15 de Junio, 1587.

CLXV.

Philip II. to Count de Olivares. Madrid, 24 June, 1587.

From a transcript of some paragraphs of the letter in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 65. Copia de parrafos de carta de S.M. al Conde de Olivares, fecha en Madrid á 24 Junio, 1587.

Lo del capelo de Alano le pedid de mi parte que haga luego a titulo que haviendo faltado la Reyna de Escocia, que era la esperança de los catholicos Yngleses y de aquellas provincias, podra ser que desmayen todos sino ven alguna persona de quien puedan esperar que les ha de procurar remedio de sus trabajos, y que esto se evitara viendo en esta dignidad y cabe su Sanctidad un hombre de su nacion, y de quien tanta confiança y experiencia tienen todos ellos, y este sera buen color para poderlo publicar. Mas fuera desto direys a su S^d^ para si solo que para las ynteligencias que conviene tener con algunos de Ynglaterra para la empressa es ya tiempo (y antes tarde que temprano) que salga con esta provision, y apoyarlo eys con las demas razones que teneys entendidas, excusando siempre el dar sospecha de que se haze con fin de la empressa.

A las cartas de Alano se responde brevemente, como *vereys por la copia.*[2] Vos le direys lo que os parezciere segun el tiempo, y procurareys por su medio enderezçar lo que conviene, y lo mismo por el de Melino, a quien dareys de mi parte las gracias de lo bien que anda; y de todo lo que se offrezciere en el negocio avisareys. De Madrid, a 24 de Junio, 1587.

[1] F. Robert Persons.

[2] The words in italics are underlined in the MS.

CLXVI.

Philip II. to Dr William Allen. Madrid, 24 June, 1587.

From a transcript of the minute in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 164. Copia de minuta de carta de S.M. al Dr Alano, fecha en Madrid á 24 de Junio de 1587.

Don Phelippe, etc.

Vuestras cartas de 19 y 30 de Março he recibido, y por ellas y lo que el Conde de Olivares, mi embaxador, me ha escrito he entendido lo que desseays mi servicio: y aunque esto no mi ha sido nuevo, todavia os lo agradezco, y al Conde me remito en lo que deseo y procuro el acrescentamiento de vuestra persona, de quien lo entendereys, y podeys estar muy cierto que he de tener con ella y las cosas que os tocaren la quenta que es razon, y espero que me merezereys.

CLXVII.

Summary of a message from Philip II. to Pope Sixtus V. contained in a letter to Count de Olivares. [Madrid] 24 June, 1587.

From a transcript of some paragraphs of the original in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 82. Copia de parrafos de un sumario de lo que S.M. en carta de 24 de Junio mandó decir á su Santidad en la materia de Ynglaterra (1587).

Mandame su M^d^ dezir que la necessidad de no dilatar la promocion de Alano es tan grande que no se puede diferir mas sin cortar el hilo a todo, y assi supplica a su S^d^ le haga luego, y aun que le despache correo con diligencia con el aviso, y que afirme a su Beatitud que, aunque le haga al mismo punto, para las cosas que se han de disponer con su autoridad sera antes tarde que nada temprano; y que, quando N. Señor quisiesse misteriosamente ympedir el effecto de esta empressa, su M^d^ havria perdido ya entonces mas de quatro o cinco millones, y su S^d^ ninguna cosa, sino ganado para el colegio un subjecto muy digno y benemerito para el colegio.

Que si bien esta promocion es para los efectos dichos, desearia mucho su M^d^ que la voz por agora fuesse para animar los catholicos con ver que tienen a las orejas de su S^d^ un padrino y tal, y para atajar las dissensiones que empieçan entre los catholicos de aquel reyno por no tener cabeça despues de la muerte de la Reyna de Escocia, queriendo su B^d^ levantarle en su lugar, porque con esto ya pensara la gente que en esto aya desfogado lo que se havra de hazer en favor de aquel reyno, y en todo lo demas dessea su M^d^ se use de toda la dissimulacion y secreto possible.

CLXVIII.

Count de Olivares to Don Juan de Ydiaquez. Rome, 10 July, 1587.

From a transcript of a paragraph of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Legº 949, fº 71. Copia de parrafo de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á Don Juan de Ydiaquez, fecha en Roma á 10 de Julio de 1587.

Haviendo Alano y Melino[1] hallado en este Guillermo Cliton,[2] Escoces, el humor que corre en lós de su nacion que estan en Paris de que sea conversible el Rey de Escocia, y conviniente que la reduction que su Sd huviere de hazer de Ynglaterra sea para que succeda el Rey de Escocia, no le ha parezcido que convenia por ahora desengañarlos de esta imaginacion, para que no imaginen turbaciones, y van contemporizando con ellos: y a la par, como quien conosce quanto mejor les esta el imperio de su Md a los Yngleses y los inconvenientes del de Escoceses, aunque no tuviera el peligro de la religion, van de suyo formando libros que echar en Ynglaterra para dar a entender aquesto, quando Dios truxere la hora, que presuponen, despues que les ha dicho este Cliton el socorro de Escocia, que no se puede diferir mucho toda la empressa: y haviendo pedido a Melino un sumario de las razones que piensan poner en el libro, me ha dado el que sera con esta, aunque las principales vienen a parar en lo que yo dixe a su Sd en el mes de Hebrero del año de 86, que esta en la glosa del capitulo tercero, con que saque la respuesta que su Sd me dio entonces a ella.

CLXIX.

Dr William Allen to Philip II. Rome, 25 July, 1587.

From a transcript of the original in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Legº 949, fº 85. Copia de carta descifrada del doctor Alano á S.M., fecha en Roma el dia de Santiago Apostol de 1587.

S. C. R. M.

Clementiæ vestræ literæ quas ad meam humilitatem scribere dignata est, simul cum iis quæ amplissimus dominus orator tam de Majestatis vestræ in me benignissima voluntate quam de nova nuper ad vitæ et personæ meæ incrementa ac ornamenta collata gratia refert, me totum ita accendit[3] ut nisi aliquod tandem pro ter[4] regalibus beneficiis obsequium præstandi spes esset, reliquam vitam et has ipsas quæ in me conferuntur gratias mihi acerbas et ingratas existimarem. Etsi enim ista vitæ et exilii mei amplissima subsidia per se grata esse debent, multumque ad animum meum acceptabilior[5] quod a

[1] F. Robert Persons, S.J. [2] F. William Creighton, S.J. [3] *accenderunt?* [4] *tot?* [5] *acceptabiliora?*

vestra sacra Majestate procedant; tamen optabilior erit mihi ille dies in quo queam servitium, quod tantopere expecto et quod a Deo tot annorum gemitibus et sacrificiis postulavi, Serenitati vestræ præstare qua[1] omni[2] demum divinis[3] affluere. Sed hoc meum desiderium et incrementissimum[4] in Majestatem vestram studium melius cognoscit[5] per excellentissimum dominum oratorem. Interea continuis precibus et oblationibus apud divinam misericordiam intercedam pro Majestatis vestræ persona ac regali prole, ut ipsa longum, felix ac gloriosum imperium concedat. Romæ, in ipso die Sancti Jacobi Apostoli, 1587.

S. C. R. M. humillimus et obedientissimus servus et subditus,
GUILLELMUS ALANUS.

CLXX.

Count de Olivares to Philip II. Rome, 30 July, 1587.

From a transcript of a paragraph of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 87. Copia de parrafo de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á S. M., fecha en Roma á 30 de Julio de 1587.

El capelo de Alano no se ha podido apretar como conviniera por no embaraçar lo demas. Su S^d^ muestra disposicion de hazerle, pero repara en no haversele dicho cosa cierta en quanto al tiempo de la empressa, ni mandarme V. M^d^ que trate de que vaya ni haga otra cosa. Viniendome orden de V. M^d^ o del Duque de Parma que el tuviesse de hazer alguna cosa, con aquella tomaria ocasion de apretar á su S^d^, y en defetto dello voy pensando algun otro medio para hazerle abreviar.

Di a Alano la carta de V. M^d^. Della y de la nueva merced que V. M^d^ le ha hecho, y procura que su S^d^ le haga, esta obligadissimo, y el y Melino de bonissima disposicion para su servicio. Responde a la carta de V. M^d^ Alano la que va con esta; y porque al principio se hizo con yntento que fuesse en claro va breve, y por mayor seguridad la embio agora en cifra. Dios guarde a V. M^d^. De Roma, 30 de Julio, 1587.

CLXXI.

Count de Olivares to Philip II. Rome, 7 August, 1587.

From a transcript of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 950, f° 151. Copia de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á S.M., fecha en Roma á 7 de Agosto de 1587.

Señor.

Viendo que V. M^d^ por la carta de 6 de Julio se contenta que yo haga a su S^d^ significacion de la brevedad en la empressa de Ynglaterra en quanto fuere necessaria para la conclusion de lo que por el despacho de 24 de Junio me manda, faltando la promocion

[1] *quam?* [2] *omnibus?* [3] *divitis?* [4] *increscentissimum?* [5] *cognoscet?*

de Alano, que en dicho despacho V. M^{d} muestra que no convenga dilatar, fingi la orden de V. M^{d} contenida en el papel que sera con esta, mostrando que V. M^{d} presuponia que estuviesse hecho Cardenal sin prendarme a tiempo fixo; lo qual ha sido de tanta fuerça, juntamente con haverle hecho leer Carrafa lo que en esta parte le di por escrito de parte de V. M^{d} en el papel de 18 de Julio, que le ha hecho Cardenal en el consistorio de oy, mostrando ser en suplemento de la falta de la Reyna de Escocia sin mencion de Ynglaterra ni de V. M^{d}, y pidiendo su parezcer y voluntad al colegio, el qual se conformo con el mayor aplauso y contentamiento que jamas se ha visto hazer Cardenal.

Y aunque no era necessario para este negocio, no dexare de dezir a V. M^{d} dos cosas considerables para conocimiento de la condicion de su S^{d}: la primera, que se contento y alegro con Carrafa con grande encarezcimiento de la causa que se tomava para esta promocion suplir la falta de la Reyna de Escocia, y mostro estrañar mucho que nunca se la huviessen dicho Carrafa ny yo, haviendolo hecho 100 V. vezes y dadoselo por escrito dos como V. M^{d} havra visto por las copias que le he embiado: la otra, que encarezciendose tanto la importancia del secreto y dissimulacion queria que el Alano viniesse a aguardar la nueva a mi casa y que le llevassen della. Con todo esto hasta agora esta el negocio principal secretissimo, y el Papa contra su costumbre calla, y para mi es milagro que hasta aqui no este pregonado y publicado: pero temo que con esto no ha de bastar negarlo todos, quanto mas que el Papa dificilmente perseverara en hazerlo. Dios guarde, etc. De Roma a 7 de Agosto, 1587.

Esta carta me embia el nuevo Cardenal para V. M^{d}. El original queda todavia en mi poder. Embiame a dezir que seria por muchos respetos de importancia que se hiziesse la prevencion que yo escrivi en el papel que di a su S^{d} que va aqui.

CLXXII.

Note presented by Count de Olivares to Pope Sixtus V. August, 1587.

From a transcript of the memorandum in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg^{o} 950, f^{o} 153. Copia de un descifrado de un papel que dió el Conde de Olivares á su Santidad sobre el capelo de Alano: sin fecha, entre papeles del año 1587.

Lo que el Rey mi señor ultimamente me manda que haga, presuponiendo que su S^{d} havra sido servido de promover al Cardenalato a Alano por la instancia que poco ha me mando le hiziesse por la necessidad que ay que empiece a disponer la buena execucion de la empressa de Ynglaterra.

Mandame pues agora su M^{d} que yo haga que el dicho elija tres personas de su nacion de cuya fidelidad este satisfecho, y que sean personas diestras, y que tengan opinion entre los catholicos de aquel reyno, y que las de cartas para los catholicos principales de Ynglaterra divididas entre las dichas tres personas, y que en dichas cartas

les de quenta de la promocion que su S^{d} ha hecho de su persona para consuelo y servicio de los catholicos de aquel reyno, rematando con dar creencia a lo demas que de su parte el tal les tratara, y que con este despacho los haga ir a donde estuviere el Duque de Parma, el qual les dara recaudo para yr a Ynglaterra y la forma y orden con que tienen de tratar con cada uno y participarle lo que convendra que sepan y hagan para bien de la empressa, encargandoles mucho que en aquella conformidad la procuren executar con toda diligencia, y sobre todo el secreto. La carta en que su M^{d} da esta orden al Conde de Olivares es hecha a 6 de Julio. El Conde lo represento a su S^{d} a primero de Agosto, y por su mandado la entrego al Ill^{mo} Cardenal Carrafa.

CLXXIII.

Acts of the consistory in which Dr William Allen was created Cardinal. Rome, 7 August, 1587.

From the Roman Transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (MSS. Ottoboni, 595, fol. 219b).

Ex actis sacri consistorii sub diversis summis Pontificibus.

A. D. 1587, die 7 Augusti, feria sexta.[1]

. . . . . Sanctitas sua proposuit promotionem Guliehmi Alani, Angli, in Cardinalem; et hoc quia cum Maria, Regina Scotiæ (in qua Angli et catholici omnes illarum partium spes suas posuerunt, expectantes illius successionem in regno Angliæ et finem tandem imponi tot calamitatibus, persecutionibus et miseriis) defuncta sit, ne regnante impiissima Jezabele catholici et fideles omnino desperent; et cogitavit illum in Cardinalium cœtum aggregare; et quod hoc non adversaretur Bullæ seu Constitutioni suæ ut non creentur Cardinales nisi in Adventu Domini (cum eam Constitutionem velit perpetuo et nunc etiam valere) nam hoc faciat ex necessitate, quæ non est subjecta legi, quod confirmavit variis exemplis. Proinde ne Anglis catholicis deesset per obitum bonæ memoriæ Reginæ Scotiæ præsentaneum præsidium, cogitavit ipsum Alanum assumere in Cardinalem; "sed non absque vestro consensu," inquit. De ejus etiam qualitatibus nonnulla peroravit, et subjecit quod angelos Anglos vocare consuevit Sanctus Gregorius, et visus est fiere.

Tum domini Cardinales consilium et propositum Sanctitatis suæ commendaverunt, et laudaverunt etiam prædictum Alanum.

Dum autem hæc dicerentur de virtutibus et meritis prædicti domini Alani, commota sunt viscera Sanctitatis suæ, et lachrymatus est; et tandem Sanctitas

[1] There is a somewhat fuller account of this consistory in Maziere Brady's Episcopal Succession, Vol. II., pp. 339 *sq.*

sua omnibus approbantibus assumpsit illum in presbyterum Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ.

Deinde accersitus comparuit indutus rochetto et manteletta, et accessit ad oscula pedum Sanctitatis suæ, et Sanctitas sua dedit illi birettum rubrum cum formula verborum a se concepta.

Die XI. Augusti, feria 3ª.

In Quirinali fuit consistorium publicum de more pro galero dando Rev^mo Cardinali Alano nuper creato.

Die 17 Augusti, feria 2.

In Quirinali fuit consistorium secretum in quo Sanctitas sua clausit os domino Cardinali Alano.

Die 31 Augusti, feria 2.

. . . . . In Quirinali fuit consistorium secretum in quo Sanctissimus Dominus noster . . . . aperuit os Cardinali Alano.

CLXXIV.

Pope Sixtus V. to Philip II. Rome, 7 August, 1587.

Printed from the original autograph in the archives of Simancas, (S. de E., Roma, Leg. 950) by Baron de Hübner in his Sixte-Quint. Tom. III., p. 236.

Sixtus P.P. V. etc., Questa mattina ho tenuto consistorio, e si è fatto l'Alano Cardinale per dar soddisfazione a V. M., e ancor che io nel proposto l'abbia tenuto pretesto molto lontano da ogni sospetto, non di meno mi si dice que per Roma subito fu comminciato a dire:—ora mettonsi in ordine per la guerra d'Inghilterra; e questa supposizione correva per tutto. Però V. M. non metta tempo, acciò non faccia maggior danno a quei poveri cristiani, perchè tardandosi quello che lei ha giudicato bene tornarebbe in male. Intorno all' ajuto per l'impresa, io ho fatto essequire subito tutto quello che il Cte Olivares ha dimandato, e credo che ne mandi il tutto a V. M.

CLXXV.

Cardinal Allen to Philip II. Rome, 7 August, 1587.

From a transcript of the original in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg^o 950, f^o 152. Copia de carta descifrada del Cardenal Alano á S. M., fecha en Roma á 7 de Agosto de 1587.

Nova ista in nostram humilitatem a Sanctissimo Domino nostro hodie collata dignitas, quam non aliunde post Deum quam a vestra Majestate profectam agnosco, merito veniret ut eidem clementissimæ Majestati primo quoque tempore et ante cæteros mortales gratias agerem. Ago autem, provolutus etiam ad pedes suos, quanto

possum animo concipere maximas, non tam propter tantum personæ meæ ornamentum (quod, testis est mihi Deus, nunquam desideravi nisi in ordine ad Ecclesiæ, Majestatis vestræ ac patriæ meæ bonum) quam quod cupiam et sperem ex hujus sacra[1] dignitatis accessione me habiturum majorem occasionem et facultatem serviendi Majestati vestræ et justa desideria nostra[2] erga infelicem patriam complendo,[3] quæ si pereat nichil minus[4] erit unquam in hac dignitate nec in vita ipsa suave. Sed cætera per amplissimum et sapientissimum dominum oratorem cognoscet: hoc solum sciat clementia vestra me sine exceptione omnia vitæ ac mortis meæ officia vestræ sacræ Majestati dicasse. Tuam Deus, etc. Romæ, 7 Augusti, 1587.

Deditissimus servus,
GUILLELMUS CARDINALIS ALANUS.

CLXXVI.

Cardinal Allen to Mr Thomas Bayly, Vice-president of the English college at Reims. [Rome, August, 1587.]

Printed in Morus, Historia Provinciæ Anglicanæ Societatis Jesu. Lib. IV., *n.* 5.

Læta vobis est et jucunda mea promotio, sed ex hac quantamcunque lætitiæ causam habetis, eo magis vos omnes quibus ego tam charus sum novo vinculo tenemini amoris et gratitudinis erga Societatem universam, nominatim vero erga antiquum nostrum et singulariter bonum patrem et præcipuum cooperatorem; proxime enim sub cœlo pater Personius fecit me Cardinalem.[5]

CLXXVII.

A Jesuit in England to F. Robert Persons, S.J. London, 23 October, 1587.

From a transcript by F. Grene, S.J., in the archives of Stonyhurst College. P. 329.

The copye of a letter written by one of the Society of Jesus in England to F. Persons touching a little book printed under the name of D^or^ Allen.[6*]

R. F. As the rule of obedience in our Company bindeth us, I sent you not long since the annual occurrents of this kingdome: since which time there is chanced an extraordinary cause to move me thus much to wryte unto you, a thing likely to

[1] *sacræ?* [2] *vestra?* [3] *complendi?* [4] *nobis?* [5] It does not appear whether these are Cardinal Allen's own words or only a translation of them.

[6] The book referred to is entitled as follows:—"The copie of a letter written by M. Doctor Allen concerning the yeelding up of the citie of Daventrie unto his Catholike Majestie by Sir William Stanley, knight; wherin is shewed both howe lawful, honorable and necessarie that action was; and also that al others, especiallie those of the English nation, that detayne anie townes or other places in the lowe countries from the King Catholike are bound upon paine of damnation to do the like. Before which is also prefixed a gentlemans letter that gave occasion of this discourse. Matt. 22. *Reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari*: Render therfore the things that are Cæsars to Cæsar. Im-

breede great division among catholick gentlemen. The matter is that of late being at M. O. house there came to see me dyverse gentlemen, who incontinent after dinner fell into disputation whether a catholick man might lawfully serve against the Spaniards in the present warrs of Flanders. And after great discussing too and fro they all concluded unanimly that the warrs of the Low Countries was thought necessary by her Majesty and the Councell in the behalf of our country and comfort of our neighbours, and that a good subject ought to look no farther into the matter, and that they fought against Spaniards as being enemies to England and not as catholicks. Which when we had all concluded, one of the company drew forth a little book intituled :—*A copy of a letter written by an English gentleman out of the camp unto Dr Allen touching the act of rendring the towne of Daventry and other places unto the Catholick King, and his answer and resolution unto the same.* In which book Mr Allen, or some other in his name, commendeth the rendring-upp of Daventry and exhorteth others unto the same. Whereupon we fell among ourselves into great altercation; but in fine most of us resolved that Mr Allen would never have overshott himself so fowly in these times contrary to his former wrytings and protestations, and that it was not unlike some malitious man to make our cause odious to the world to have published this book under the name of Mr Allen, thinking thereby to demonstrate us all traytors to our Prince and country. And therfore they requested me to advertise you therof, desiring of you therin to be resolved wholy. Moreover, etc.

Therfore good father in behalfe of the greatest part of English catholicks I beseech you that if any simple man (perhaps of zeale) hath set forth this book under the name of Dr Allen, that speedy order be taken for the mitigating of his undiscreet assertions. In the mean time the chiefest of our catholicks have by common consent sett forth an answer to the pretended letter of Dr Allens, declaring to the whole world they utterly defye the seditious doctrine of his resolution. Which book of the Catholicks herewithal I send you, beseeching Almighty God to blesse you with desyred felicity. London, 23 Octob., 1587.

R. V. in Christo servus,
S. T.

The answer of diverse catholick English gentlemen to a certaine seditious book veyled with the name of D. Allen.

We have tryed by experience, etc.[1] But now more plainly to discover the humour of this author, lett us descende more particularly unto his disordred discourse. His

printed at Antuarpe by Joachim Trognæsius, Anno 1587." This very rare book has been reprinted by the Chetham Society under the title of "Cardinal Allen's defence of Sir William Stanley's surrender of Deventer, January 29, 1586-7. Edited by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A. 1851."

[1] *Note on the margin of the MS. in the same hand.* Tractatus hic impleret 3 vel 4 folia: ideo omittitur maxima ex parte.

first assertion is, pag. , that the rendring of such townes of the Low Countries which be in any English custody is not lawfull, but necessary to be done under paine of mortal sinne and damnation. The cause is for that every thing wrongfully obteined and unjustly deteyned from the true owners ought to be restored to them to whome they duely appertaine. The whole discourse of this author is briefly conteined in this forme of argument: whatsoever is wrongfully obteined ought to be restored; but such townes as the English possesse in the Low Countries are unjustly obteined; therfore subject to restitution. The major proposition of this discourse our author leaveth as evident; and we confesse the same in it self to be most true, when circumstances necessary faile not, as in our case they doe: for albeit we supposed that the detaining of the Low Countries on her Majesty's part were unjust, doth it follow that Sir William Stanly is bound to restitution? etc. Secondly you are not ignorant that noe law either divine or human bindeth to restitution when the same cannot be done without detriment of our honour, danger of our life, hazard of friends, etc. Thirdly her Majesty maketh noe tytle or chalenge to these provinces, but only for defence of our neighbours and safety of our country deteyneth them. Yea, albeit she had taken these provinces into her dominion, neither her Highnesse (much lesse any of her private subjects) in these times is bound to restore them.

CLXXVIII.

Brief of Pope Sixtus V. to Cardinal Allen. Rome, 29 October, 1587.

From a contemporary copy in the archives of the see of Westminster. IV., 51: *also printed in Dodd. Vol.* II., *p.* 219.

Copia Brevis Sixti V. ad Ill^{um} Cardinalem Alanum de gubernatione collegii Anglicani Rhem., etc.

Dilecte fili noster; Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum Nobis nuper renuntiatum fuerit complures Anglos nobiles, juvenes et adultos, et alias etiam religiosas personas, sævitiam et impietatem Elisabeth prætensæ Anglorum Reginæ veritos, ex regno Angliæ ad illud insigne collegium seu seminarium Anglorum nuncupatum, quod magno tuo studio gravibusque expensis a viginti fere annis primum in universitate Duacensi et postea in civitate Remensi institui curasti, confugere et inibi bonarum artium et præsertim divinarum literarum studiis operam dantes magnos in eis progressus ad Dei laudem et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ exaltationem facere: Nos hanc dicti collegii institutionem promovere et ut in eo nihil fiat quod divinam possit offendere Majestatem providere cupientes, motu proprio et ex certa nostra scientia ac de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, tibi, quem paulo ante ob ingentia virtutum merita quibus personam tuam illarum Largitor altissimus multipliciter insignivit, de fratrum

nostrorum sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ Cardinalium consilio et assensu, in ejusdem Romanæ ecclesiæ presbyterum Cardinalem ad assistendum Nobis in regimine ejusdem universalis ecclesiæ duximus assumendum atque adeo cooptandum, ut Apostolica auctoritate dictum collegium seu seminarium ac omnes et singulas personas cujuscumque gradus et dignitatis existentes reformare, ac illa quæ tam quoad mores quam quoad reliqua eorum instituta reformatione indigere cognoveris arbitrio tuo per te vel per alium seu alios abs te deputatos seu deputandos reformare, corrigere, ac eos quos magis idoneos esse judicaveris in ejusdem collegii rectores, lectores, administratores ad tempus tibi benevisum deputare et (si necesse fuerit) illos amovere et illorum loco alios sufficere et surrogare, omniaque alia quæ ad dicti collegii manutensionem spectabunt gerere et exercere, et quæ circa præmissa juxta Circumspectionis tuæ prudentiam reformanda et corrigenda mandaveris exequi, necnon contradictores quoslibet et rebelles et præmissis non parentes per sententias, censuras et pœnas ecclesiasticas aliaque opportuna juris et facti remedia appellatione postposita compescere, ac brachium sæculare (si opus fuerit) invocare per te ut præfertur vel alium seu alios a te ad id deputatos seu deputandos, plenam, liberam et omnimodam potestatem et facultatem vigore praesentium concedimus et impartimur: non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis dictique collegii juramento, confirmatione Apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, statutis et consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis et literis Apostolicis illi quomodolibet concessis et confirmatis cæterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum sub annulo piscatoris, die XXIX. Octobris, MDLXXXVII. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Tertio.

THO. THEM. GUALTERUTIUS.

CLXXIX.

Philip II. to Cardinal Allen. Madrid, 11 December, 1587.

From a transcript of the original minute in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 949, f° 198. Copia de minuta de carta de S.M. al Cardenal Alano, fecha en Madrid á 11 de Diciembre de 1587.

Vos podeys juzgar lo que holgue con la carta que me escrivistes avisandome la promoçion que su S^d^ hizo de vuestra persona a la dignidad en que estays, pues sabeys lo que lo dessee y procure. La qual confio que ha de ser para mucho servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y dessa S^ta^ Sede, y que os emplearеys en el nuestro con la voluntad que dezis; y aunque no me es nuevo el entender esto, todavia os lo agradezco mucho, y podeys estar çierto que con vuestra persona y cosas tendre siempre la quenta y memoria que haveys visto por lo passado, como os lo dira tambien el Conde de Olivares, mi embaxador, a quien me remito.

CLXXX.

Memorandum drawn up by Count de Olivares and Cardinal Allen regarding future appointments to offices in England. [Rome] 1588.

From a transcript of the memorandum in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 950, f° 22. Copia de un documento en cuya carpeta dice:—Lo que ocurre al Conde de Olivares y al Cardenal Alano sobre la provision de las yglesias y officios del Rey y reyno de Ynglaterra. (Sin fecha entre papeles del año 1588.)

Lo que ocurre cerca de la provision de yglesias y officios del Rey y reyno de Ynglaterra, dando Dios el successo que por su misericordia se espera.

En el reyno de Ynglaterra ay 24 obispados y dos arçobispados.

Dando Dios buen successo en las cosas, pretenderia el Cardenal Alano el arçobispado de Canturveri, y su M^d^ tiene dado orden que publicandose la empressa se pida a su S^d^ que se le provea.

Tambien dize el Cardenal que havria necesidad de proveer luego como se fuessen reduziendo las demas yglesias, particularmente porque se pueda hazer parlamento; y va haziendo memoria de los subjectos que se le offrezcen, y se procurara al tiempo de su despacho que lleve alguna forma de facultad por la primera vez de poderlos proveer en personas gratas y acceptas a su M^d^, assegurandose que no saldra de la voluntad del Duque de Parma o de la persona que su M^d^ señalare.

Adoeno Ludovico,[1] obispo de Casano, y algunos sus aficionados han procurado hazer officio, quando han esperado buen successo en estas cosas, para que huviesse el arçobispado de Yorca, que es la otra metropoli de Ynglaterra. La qual juzga Alano que estaria mejor empleada en un Thomas Metamo sacerdote, el qual esta agora presso en Ynglaterra, y lo ha estado muchas vezes y a gran peligro de la vida por la religion, o otro Juan Bilolsolo[2] tambien sacerdote, que anda escondido en Ynglaterra haziendo el officio que los que han sido martirizados.

Bien juzga conveniente por la condicion del dicho obispo de Cassano y por la opposicion que pretende hazerle y favor que tiene de muchos Cardenales no dexarle en Italia, porque no se venga a Roma a contraminar y traer nuevas tramas, como lo ha empeçado a hazer, y para esto, siendo el Gualo, darle el mejor obispado que alli ay,

[1] Dr Owen Lewis, bishop of Cassano, 3 Feb., 1588. [2] Wilson? Thomas Wilson, a priest, came to Douay in 1569 to live in the college at his own expense. First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 4. At FF. Persons and Campion's entrance into England in 1580, a "very grave and ancient priest, named Mr Wilson, not so much in his own name as of others by whome he was sent, proposed the matter to F. Persons," viz., that the fathers should leave England again until a calmer time. A story of domestical difficulties, &c., by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 410.

que se llamassen David[1] o el de Herfort[2] o Barsenter,[3] que son al confin de Guala, con alguna occupacion que tenerle entretenido desviado de Roma y de Londres tambien.

Y lo mismo juzga que convenga hazer con Grifidio[4] Roberto, que tambien es Gualo, que al presente reside en el estado de Milan, por los mismos respectos.

Tambien dize conviene proveer los decanatos de las dichas yglesias, que son dignidades principales y grandes, y de mano en mano lo demas con presteza que se hallaran subjectos, porque no este nada vaco y todos ayuden.

De officios del reyno el primero es el de Gran Canciller, que presside en el consejo de estado, y en el supremo de justicia, y tiene provision de muchos officios y beneficios menudos, y la consulta de los gruessos y de los obispados.

Este officio parezce que ynclina el Cardenal a tenerle a los principios, quando a su M[d] agradasse, mientras se hallasse persona a proposito; porque para assentar la primera vez las cosas y con el servicio de Dios el de su M[d] no se vee persona mas ynformada y obligada de su M[d].

El otro es el Thesorero que tiene el sello secreto.

El otro es Gran Marischalco que tiene a cargo las carceles del reyno y proveer alcaydes dellas. Este officio tenia el Duque de Norfort quando le justiciaron. Esta su hijo en prision: que si fuesse vivo y con las calidades que bastassen, parezce que ternia derecho a el.

El otro es Guardian de los pupilos,[5] que demas de tener a su cargo la renta que pertenezce a la Corona hasta que tienen 21 años, llevan dellos ciertos derechos, y no se pueden casar sin licencia suya sopena de perdimiento de la hazienda o del dote; y assi en el tiempo que tienen la hazienda la tratan mal y venden los casamientos y usan mal deste cargo. Dizenme que le tuvo Ynglefild[6] en tiempo de su M[d].

Esto deve valer a los Reyes una minima parte de lo que pierden los subditos, y seria una gloriozissima entrada de Principe quitar tan mal derecho, aunque fuesse con comutacion, y disponer la forma de criarse los pupilos y de beneficiar sus haziendas y de dexarlos casar a sus parientes y tutores, haziendo sobre esto las leyes que conviniessen conforme a lo que se platica en otros reynos bien ordenados, reservando, si parezciesse, quanto a la licencia las cosas que tuviessen de tanto arriba, y que esta no tuviesse fiscal sino el Rey, y en forma mas suave, como de estilo se haze en España o en otra manera que parezciesse.

El Grande Almiralle tiene todo lo militar de la mar y los baxeles, y le pertenezcen los naufragios en toda Ynglaterra, y tiene officiales en todos los puertos, y gran sueldo, demas de lo que se vale muy de ordinario de tener menos gente de la que se paga en los baxeles.

De la casa, el officio de Gran Mayordomo[7] dizen que es muy grande, porque demas de la superioridad en el govierno de la casa tiene gran jurisdicion, particular-

[1] St. Davids. [2] Hereford. [3] Worcester? [4] Griffith. [5] Master of the Court of Wards. [6] Sir Francis Englefield. [7] Lord High Steward.

mente la criminal sobre los titulados y otras tantas preheminencias que dizen nunca se provee de ordinario sino por tiempo limitado, como se ha hecho en tiempo desta Reyna una vez por tres o 4 meses, por no dar a nadie tan gran mano y autoridad.

Officio de Gran Camarero,[1] demas del servicio personal del Rey y superintendencia en los officios de la camara, la tiene assi mismo en los de la casa, siempre que esta vaco el officio de Mayordomo mayor. Tiene demas desto jurisdicion y a su cargo la guarda de los bozques y selvas, parques, lagos, caça y pesca, con mucha juridicion y derechos.

El de Gran Maestre de Estala[2] tiene a cargo solamente las cosas de la cavallerîza y castas.

CLXXXI.

Louis Cardinal of Guise, archbishop of Reims, to Cardinal Allen. Reims, 3 April, 1588.

From the original, with autograph signature, in the British Museum. Harleian MSS. 7015, 204.

Ill^mo^ et R^mo^ Sig^re^ mio oss^mo^; Per le mani del signore Decano di Langres,[3] nominato dal Rè Christianissimo al vescovato di Noyon, havera V. S^ria^ Ill^ma^ et R^ma^ la presente per supplicarla, come fo iò con tutto il cuore, di volere favorire detto signore Decano appresso Nostro Signore nella speditione delle Bulle di provisione d'esso vescovato, a ciò che ne possa ottenere la gratia intiera, per infiniti rispetti et considerationi, delli quali sarà da esso piu minutamente informato. Sopra di che non mi estenderò d'avantagio: solo li dirò che quando non vi fosse altro che li meriti et la sufficienza sua et i lunghi et segnalati servitii da lui fatti al clero di Francia in qualità di promotore, scindico et agente, si come viene da esso clero scritto et significato a sua Santità con supplicarla per la favorevole et gratuita speditione sua, mi pareria bastante. Tuttavia a quelli suoi universali meriti voglio ben'aggiungere anche questo particolare, che havendolo sempre conosciuto affettionato alla religione cattolica, a me et a tutta casa nostra, desiderarei che vostra Sig^ria^ Ill^ma^ anche per questo rispetto, come molto padrone et amico mio, si contentasse di agiutare et favorirlo in questo negotio. Et oltra il merito della persona la tassa escessiva d'esso vescovato,[4] già da molti anni ruinato et ancora al presente esposto alle incursioni delli huomini di guerra che passano et soggiornano ordinariamente nella Piccardia, è di molta consideratione. Non terrò minore questo favore che se fosse fatto a me stesso, et servirò in ogni altra occurrenza a vostra Sig^ria^ Ill^ma^ et R^ma^; a cui basciando humilmente le mani le pregho da Dio ogni prosperità et contento. Di Reims, a di III d'Aprile, 1588.

Di vostra S^ria^ Ill^ma^ et R^ma^ humillissimo servitore,

LOUYS CARD^LE^ DI GUISE.[5]

Addressed.

All' Ill^mo^ et R^mo^ Sig^re^ mio oss^mo^, il Sig^re^ Cardinale d'Ingliterra. Roma.

[1] Lord Chamberlain. [2] Master of the Horse. [3] Gabriel de Blaigni. [4] The bishops of Noyon were Counts and Peers of France. [5] The signature is in part worn away and the ink faded.

CLXXXII.

Count de Olivares to Philip II. Rome, 3 October, 1588.

From a transcript of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg. 950, f° 224. Copia de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á S.M., fecha en Roma á 3 de Octubre de 1588.

Señor.

El Cardenal Alano ha continuado en el desseo de acercarse a Ynglaterra,[1] a 20 del passado escrivi a Don Juan de Ydiaquez, movido de desseo de servir mejor a la causa y a V. M^{d}; y parezciendome que aqui para este negocio es de ningun effeto, porque (como entonces escrivi) el ni nadie puede con el Papa, donde de la otra parte ay ynterese y gusto suyo y que ya no se puede encubrir la empressa, que era la causa principal de averse diferido su yda, que si nuestro Señor ha favorecido la causa con que la armada aya podido dar algun principio por la via de Escocia o por otra parte, estara mejor donde pueda calentar las platicas en Ynglaterra y mover las que la ocasion representare; y lo mismo quando siendo buelta la armada en España conviniesse yr por via de tratados, por lo que mas se fiarian del los de la tierra, y el Duque de Parma se podria hazer mejor de su parecer en el quilate las propuestas de tratados y ynteligencias que le viniessen movidas de dentro del reyno, consolara y animara mucho los catholicos del y los entreterna con parecerles que V. M^{d} no tiene bueltas las espaldas al negocio. Tambien quitara mucho la sospecha que han tomado los buenos del proceder del Papa y materia que los malos han tenido de esparzir que no va de buen pie en esta empressa, y los unos y los otros la ternan por una declaracion suya; y aunque diga que no le embia, como facilmente lo hara con Françeses y con otros, no se lo creera ninguno por la poca fee que le dan. Tambien sera util para dar a V. M^{d} razon y luz de muchas cosas con fidelidad, como verdaderamente me la prometo de su bondad y de lo que a V. M^{d} deve esta nacion y el en particular.

Demas de ver que se va entrando el invierno y la neçessidad que ay de acudir presto a los effetos que arriva digo, me ha hecho estar mas facil en no aguardar nueva orden de V. M^{d}, no siendo contra la que antes tengo; y siendo esto tan en favor de todos los intentos, los menores zelos que yendo desta manera podra causar en el Duque de Parma que si fuera siendo consultado a V. M^{d}, escrivole lo que V. M^{d} vera por la copia.

Hele dado 3000 escudos, que es lo que medidamente le bastara para el viaje y cosas que ha menester para el, porque no tiene ninguna, ni haviendola hecho ni ningun desorden y vivido con mucha pobreza despues que es Cardenal, se halla con 2500 escudos de deuda, juntandose para esto la carestia de aqui lo que se diminuye el dinero con el cambio, y que nadie le ha dado, porque no tiene ministerio de los con que otros se valen, ni busca los

[1] Perhaps *como* should be supplied.

medios de que se valen los que no tienen sus respetos; de manera que no podia yr atras ni adelante, y para que no se cayera de hambre, me fuera forçoso socorrelle del dinero de V. M^{d}. Dexa consignada la paga de sus deudas en lo corrido y que correra de aqui a San Juan que viene de la pinsion y abbadia que V. M^{d} le dio, la qual le vale mucho menos de lo que se presupuso, y assi no podra vivir llegado a Flandes sin que V. M^{d} mande que sea ayudado. Si V. M^{d} no tuviesse proveyda la yglesia de san Tomer,[1] se le podria dar, y estaria muy bien proveyda, y V. M^{d} libre deste peso, y quando a V. M^{d} pareciesse que puede desto causarse mala satisfacion a los de la tierra, que no lo creo por ser el alli tan conocido y amado, para atajar esto se le podra dar por un Breve del Papa en encomienda libremente o por algun tiempo limitado que se podria yr prorrogando, y aquel seria buen puesto para todo. Nuestro Señor, etc. De Roma, a 3 de Octubre, 1588.

CLXXXIII.

Count de Olivares to the Duke of Parma. Rome, 3 October, 1588.

From a transcript of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secretaria de Estado, Leg^{o} 950, f^{o} 225. Copia de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares al Duque de Parma, fecha en Roma á 3 de Octubre de 1588.

Desde que la armada salio de Lisboa me ha dado orden su M^{d} hiziesse officio con su B^{d} para que mandasse partir al Cardenal Alano la buelta de essos estados para conforme a la orden de V. Ex^{a} y al tiempo que le parezciesse pasasse legado en la empressa. Su S^{d} ha estado dificil en esto, a lo que se ha podido juzgar, claramente por defender el fosso al dinero. Despues que en esto se ha declarado tan resoluta y aun ostinadamente, como de las mias avra visto V. Ex^{a}, confiriendo con el Cardenal Carrafa que ha tenido la mano en esta materia, no solo se ha dispuesto a que vayan [2] pero provocadola, alabandola por cosa acertadissima, pareciendole que si la armada buelve o haze algun progreso que se hallara mas cerca, y que en este caso se le podra embiar con un correo el despacho y facultades de la legacia, y que quando nuestros pecados permitiessen que no le pudiesse haver hecho nada este año, seria necessaria su persona para de mas cerca tener en animo y en esperança a los catholicos de la Ysla. Por estas mismas causas, y estando en pie la orden de su M^{d} de procurar su yda, y no sirviendo su estada aqui nada para ayudar con su Santidad en materia de dinero ni para cubrir los pensamientos ya intentados, he hallado buena la yda sin diferir a nueva consulta de su M^{d}, porque no entre el invierno, y assi se quedan haziendo sus despachos con que partira.

Yo le proveere del dinero que baste para llegar hasta essos estados, donde no le bastara lo que tiene, tanto mas quedando por un pedaço de tiempo consignado para

[1] St. Omer.

pagar lo que devia, como particularmente lo escrivo a su M^d, proponiendole que para librarse desto peso, siendo tan a proposito el assiento de San Tome,[1] y teniendo (a lo que creo) presidio de Españoles, que le seria de mayor seguridad, se le podria dar para su sustento aquella yglesia, sino estuviesse proveyda; que no creo que seria de mala satisfacion para los de la tierra aviendose casi criado en la provincia, y aun para salvar esto se le podria dar por Breve en encomienda por un tiempo limitado que en caso de neçessidad se podria prorrogar. V. Ex^a vera lo que en todo mas convendra. En Milan tomara lengua del camino que con mas seguridad podra llevar. V. Ex^a le podra mandar embiar, antes que llegue, orden de la parte de essos estados a donde juzgara conveniente que vaya a parar, y lo demas que para el servicio de nuestro Señor y de su M^d juzgare que convenga.

CLXXXIV.

Count de Olivares to Philip II. Rome, 9 October, 1588.

From a transcript of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 950, f° 209. Copia de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á S.M., fecha en Roma á 9 de Octubre de 1588.

Señor.

Con los avisos que han venido de que el Duque de Parma se aya movido del puerto en que estava, teniendo por cierto que el Duque de Medina aya tomado el viaje de España, ha mostrado su S^d los mismos semblantes y animo que en la de 26 Septiembre[2] escrivi a V. M^d; y aunque he tornado de nuevo a hazerle instancia en el ayudar a V. M^d, no saco del mas virtud que la que antes, ni las personas de quien me he valido ninguna, y assi tengo miedo que tampoco se ha de sacar, aunque venga la carta que propuse a V. M^d, y no se puede ymaginar lo que se ha descubierto su S^d en esta occasion en materia de ynteresse y mal pecho.

Hame mostrado Alano el capitulo de una carta que le escrive de Brujas en cifra uno de los dos Jesuytas[3] que embio de aqui, que le alaba de muy prudente, que le dize che se ha sacado de la yda de la armada y[4] conoscimiento de cosas que en otra manera no se pudiera, y que se han hallado para la empressa medios en gran manera faciles y seguros, y que el Duque estava satisfecho desto, y que en teniendo nueva de la armada y respuesta de V. M^d se empeçaria a executar; lo qual demas de que me ha consolado infinito me ha confirmado en que sea mas acertada la yda de Alano, y assi voy solicitando su despacho sin dar ninguna intencion desto al Papa.

Yra con Alano el padre Ruberto Posonio Jesuita, que lo que yo le he tractado aqui he hallado en el mucha traça con muy buen asiento; y el Cardenal tiene mucho juizio,

[1] St. Omer. [2] The despatch referred to has been printed by Hübner in his *Sixte-Quint.* Tome III., p. 257. [3] Qu. F. Edward Oldcorne and F. John Gerard. See the Life of F. John Gerard, S. J., by F. John Morris, S. J., p. 27. Third edition. 1881. [4] *un?*

aunque se aplicava mal a las trampas y mentiras de aqui por yr por muy contrario camino.

Yo le tengo muy en la memoria lo que deve a V. M^{d}, y el muestra conoscerlo bien. Hele dicho estos dias en buen proposito que la principal pena que tengo de que no aya salido bien esta empressa es porque no sea publico en el mundo que no movia a V. M^{d} cobdicia de mas reynos (como los ambiciosos y terrestres se dan a entender) sino solo la gloria de Dios, como se vera quando Dios quiera que se effectue, que los pondra V. M^{d} de manera que no les quede que dessear. Hagalo nuestro Señor, y guarde la catholica persona de V. M^{d} como desseo. Roma, 9 de Octubre, 1588.

CLXXXV.

Count de Olivares to Philip II. Rome, 17 October, 1588.

From a transcript of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg^{o} 950, f^{o} 204. Copia de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á S. M^{d}, fecha en Roma á 17 de Octubre, 1588.

Señor.

Despues de estar apuntado (conforme a lo que tengo escrito a V. M^{d}) la yda de Alano con muestras de mucho gusto de su S^{d}, yendole el pobre hombre a hablar en algunas cosas tocantes al viaje, le trato como a un negro sobre la yda, mostrando pesarle dello y tenerla por mal y no ser con su voluntad, mientras no se supiesse del effecto y se le asegurasse la comodidad con que havia de estar alla, usando malissimos terminos con el hazia todas partes; y despues otro dia con Carrafa, sin dezirle el nada del negocio, entro en la platica y poco menos mal; y assi paresciendome que despues de ydo Alano diria a todos y aun en la mesa lo mismo o peor, que se deauthorizaria la persona y la jornada, y me parescio, no teniendo orden de V. M^{d} en el caso presente, que no conveniva apretar mas el negocio ni passar adelante, y assi en la ultima audiencia, que fue a los 15 deste, dixe al Papa que juzgando su S^{d} differentemente de aquesta yda, y reparando en los ynconvenientes que digo para ser contra su gusto, que yo no queria que fuesse, pues yendo en desgracia y aun disgusto suyo se haria contrario effecto que se pretendia; que yo le escriviria a V. M^{d}: y el torno a replicar que el sentia de aquella manera, pero que se remittiria si yo le hiziesse instancia con lenguaje mas templado que el que havia hablado a los Cardenales, y mandandome que yo dixesse, le represente por conveniencia de la yda todas las que escrivi a V. M^{d} ultimamente que me movian a ynclinar a la yda, y los[1] que huvo para su promocion que me parescio que tenian ynconveniente que se publicassen, sin ynsistir en la yda. El quedo en esto, y otro dia por la mañana llamo a Alano y le dixo que yo y Carrafa le ymportunavamos tanto sobre su yda y le davamos tantas razones para ello que ya no

[1] *las?*

podia resistir y que assi estava ya resoluto en que fuesse, que me lo viniesse luego a dezir, y le diesse una memoria de los despachos que havia menester suyos, y se pusiessen en orden para partir; y con el Cardenal Deça, a quien yo pedi yendo a palacio que le diesse quenta del aviso que tenia por via de Yrun de aver tornado la armada a España, le detuvo segun me dize una hora, aunque se le enfriava la comida, dandole quenta de lo que havia passado en esto estos dias con las añadeduras que el acostumbra y con hazer grandes encarescimientos de la mala jornada que era y quan contra su voluntad, pero que ya le havia mandado que se pusiessen en orden, y que pues yo queria le embiaria, y que assi me lo dixesse luego, como lo hizo ayer que passo toda esta historia.

Yo respondi a su S^d esta mañana por medio del mismo Cardenal que yva a consistorio que, si su S^d se havia persuadido a tener por buena la yda de las razones que yo le havia dado, que fuesse con la bendicion de Dios, pero que si se movia por tenerse por ymportunado de mi o por otro respecto semejante, y le embiava contra su voluntad, que en ninguna manera fuesse. Respondiome que ya el avia dicho lo que le occurria quanto a esta yda y que no tenia que dezir mas, que yo escogiesse; y assi[1] no ay novedad, se entreterna esto hasta que V. M^d me responda a esta, o de lo que me respondiere a las primeras que sobre esta materia he escripto pueda juzgar lo que V. M^d tenga por mas conviniente, no osando sin alguna nueva luz yr contra la corriente y a riesgo de los desconciertos y mal termino de su S^d.

En caso que se differa la yda de Alano, yra Roberto[2] por lo que Alano lo dessea por la mayor authoridad y mejor maña que tiene que los demas que estan alla, como he dicho a V. M^d que la tiene, y por via de mar embio a Don Juan de Ydiaquez copia de la cifra que ternan comigo, para que con ella le escrivan, y concertare el modo de embiar las cartas.

Al Duque de Parma escrivire la detenida de Alano, buscando para ello tal color que si V. M^d mandare que vaya se pueda encubrir y parezca que es continuacion del primer motivo, y a V. M^d embiare copia de lo que escriviere al Duque sobre este articulo. Dios guarde la catholica persona de V. M^d. De Roma, 17 de Octubre, 1588.

CLXXXVI.

Appointment by Cardinal Allen of Dr Richard Barret to be President of the English college at Reims. Rome, 31 October, 1588.

From the original instrument, with autograph signature and seal, in the archives of the see of Westminster. IV., 61. *Also printed in Dodd, Vol.* II., *p.* 222.

Gulielmus miseratione divina S.R.E. presbyter Cardinalis Alanus, vulgariter de Anglia nuncupatus, dilectis nobis in Christo collegii Anglicani Rhemensis administratoribus, doctoribus, lectoribus, scholaribus ac alumnis omnibus et singulis salutem in

[1] Qu. *si* omitted. [2] F. Robert Persons.

Domino. Inter cæteras pro charissima et communi patria nostra his annis susceptas curas illius adamati nobis seminarii summa et pene prima sollicitudo extitit, utpote in cujus recta administratione ac felici in literis et pietate progressu ad perditæ ecclesiæ ac reipublicæ nostræ restitutionem non leve momentum positum esse existimavimus. In quam cogitationem eo animo incubuimus magis quo corpore longius et diutius ab illius gubernatione et vestra omnium gratissima præsentia ex hac nova vitæ nostræ sorte abesse coacti sumus. Ubi non modo nos amor (ut fit) atque experientia infirmitatis humanæ eorumque morborum quibus hujusmodi communitates et collegia laborare solent, sed variæ quoque de subortis inter vos scandalis et contra disciplinam collegialem defectibus tam a nostris quam externis nuper huc delatæ querelæ nos sollicitiores reddiderunt. Unde et coacti sumus jam tandem cum de novis decretis ac constitutionibus faciendis, tum de certo creando ac vobis præficiendo Rectore, qui nostra et sua auctoritate collapsam disciplinam sedulo restituat, cogitare. Nos igitur ea qua ex indulto Apostolico, cujus authenticum transumptum vobis mittimus et publice una cum his legi decernimus, auctoritate in hac parte pollemus, nominamus, creamus ac constituimus per præsentes in Præsidentem seu Rectorem collegii vestri dilectum nobis in Christo doctorem Richardum Barettum, almæ ecclesiæ metropolitanæ Rhemensis canonicum; illi, propter summam quam de ejus pietate, doctrina ac prudentia fiduciam in Domino habemus, ejusdem collegii tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus plenariam administrationem committentes; omnibus et singulis ejusdem collegii membris, suppositis seu alumnis in virtute obedientiæ mandantes, ut illi in omnibus obediant, ac in disciplinæ morumque reformatione assistant, neve quisquam quovis prætextu huic nostræ ordinationi aut ejusdem in hoc officium assumptioni resistat, verbisque aut factis publice vel privatim opponat sub pœnis rebellionis et in aliis in jure contentis. In quorum fidem, etc. Dat. Romæ die ultima mensis Octobris, anni MDLXXXVIII., Pontificatus Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Sisti PP. Quinti anno IV.

GULIELMUS CARD^{LIS} ANGLIÆ.

L.S.

CLXXXVII.

Madame Caterine de Cleves, Duchess of Guise, to Cardinal Allen. Paris, 17 February, 1589.

From the original, with autograph signature, in the British Museum. Harleian MSS. 7015, 208.

Monsieur; Je scay que feu Monsieur de Guise, mon mary, que Dieu absolve, faisoit beaucoup d'estat de l'amitié et affection dont vous luy avez tousjours faict démonstration et par lettres et par effects quand l'occasion s'en est présentée, comme Monsieur le doyen Frizon et l'abbé d'Orbais nous ont faict entendre. J'espère que vous ferez ceste faveur à sa vefve et à ses enfans de luy continuer ceste mesmes bonne volonté, dont je vous supplie bien humblement mesmement en l'affaire qui se présente et pour lequel

j'envois pardelà Monsieur Coqueley, conseiller en la court de parlement, comme il vous fera entendre. Je vous supplie, Monsieur, le vouloir escouter, et adjoupter foy à tout ce qu'il vous dira de ma part tout ainsy que vous feriez a moimesmes. Sa principale charge est de demander à sa Sainteté justice du massacre commis en la personne de feu Monsieur mon mary et de feu Monsieur le Cardinal de Guise son frère aussy injustement comme inhumainement, et de la détention contre toute raison de mon filz aisné. Il vous en fera entendre toutes les particularités, encores que je croy que pires vous en aurez esté adverty dailleurs. Je supplye aussy très humblement sa Sainteté pour les bénéfices de feu Monsieur le Cardinal, qu'il luy plaise d'en vouloir gratiffier lung de mes filz, nepveu du deffunct, auquel il avoit donné son nom sur les saincts fonts de baptesme, et l'ayant aussy dessigné son succeseur, nous l'avons faict nourrir et . . . en ceste profession et dévotion pour faire ung jour quelque bon a . . .[1] à l'eglise. J'espère que en vue[2] si urgente occasion sa Sainteté ne fera difficulté de la dispense sur la minorité de son aage, ayant eggard au grand nombre d'enfans tous jeunes et des grandes debtes que m'a laissées le deffunct, comme vous pourra plus particulièrement dire ce porteur. Sur la suffisance duquel me remectant je ne vous feray plus longue lettre, sinon pour vous asseurer que de la faveur et bons offices qu'il vous plaira nous faire en cet endroit nous demourerons à jamais obligéz à vous faire service. D'aussy bon caeur comme très humblement je me recommande à voz bonnes graces, supplyant le Créateur vous donner en bonne santé, Monsieur, tres longue et très heureuse vie. De Paris[3] ce XVII^te^ Febvrier, 1589.

Vostre très humble et très affectionnée à vous faire service,

CATERINE DE CLEVES.

Addressed.

Monsieur Monsieur le Cardinal Alanus. Rome.

CLXXXVIII.

The Duke of Mayenne to Cardinal Allen. Paris, 8 April, 1589.

From the original, with autograph signature, in the British Museum: Harleian MSS. 7015, 206. Printed also in Michaud et Poujoulat, Nouvelle Collection de Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, 2me Série, Tome I., p. 342.

Monsieur; Je vous ay une infinie obligacion des bons offices que je reçois de vous en la cause de feuz Messieurs mes frères,[4] desquels ayant cogneu l'intégrité et le zelle qu'ilz avoient à l'exaltation de la gloire de Dieu, sans aultre passion ny intérest, vous

[1] The MS. is injured at this point: a word beginning with *a* has perished. [2] *de* omitted? [3] The word *Reims* seems to have been first written, and then another word written over it, which it appears from an endorsement is *Paris*. [4] Henry Duke of Guise and Louis Cardinal of Guise, archbishop of Reims.

en pouvez rendre certain tesmoinage à Nostre Saint-Père et à Messieurs vos confrères. Ceste grande compagnye, qui est la première de la Chrestienté, scaura bien mettre en considéracion l'indignité et inhumanité des actes qui ne touchent poinct plus au particulier de ma maison que au général de tous les Princes et des catholiques; comme aussy ceulx qui ont mis les mains sanglantes sur eulx ont estimé par leur mort avancer la ruyne de nostre sainte relligion. Nous espérons que Sa Sainteté et le Saint-Siège pourvoiront à telz désordres par ung si sainct jugement et décret que nous nous en puissions promettre l'establissement et seureté de l'église de Dieu; en laquelle nous protestons de vouloir vivre et mourir, n'ayant rien devant les yeux ny en l'âme que ce pur zelle, selon que noz actions et deportemens le feront tousjours paroistre, dont nous nous remettrons sur les preuves du passé et sur ce que Monsieur le doyen Frizon vous en fera entendre. Vous baisant en cest endroict bien humblement les mains, et priant Dieu vous donner, Monsieur, en parfaicte santé très longue et heureuse vye, de Paris ce viii. Apvril, 1589,

Vostre plus humble and très affectionné serviteur,

CHARLES DE LORRAINE, DUC DE MAYENNE.

Addressed.

A Monsieur Monsieur le R^me^ Cardinal Allanus.

CLXXXIX.

F. John Hay to Cardinal Allen. Cologne, 26 June, 1589.

From the original among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum. 96, 15.

Illustrissime domine, post oscula manuum omnem reverentiam obsequiique nostri promptitudinem.

Cum illustrissimus dominus Octavius episcopus Calatinus, suæ Sanctitatis Nuntius, quem Coloniæ præsentem habemus, mihi in brevi amice dixisset vestram Celsitudinem (ut fertur Roma) promovendum aut promotum ad archiepiscopatum Mechliniensem, summo sum perfusus gaudio. Singulari enim Dei providentia hoc factum existimo ut gens illa Belgica, olim ab erroribus gentilismi per Britones et Scotos episcopos ad lu[men][1] fidei conversa, denuo per similes SS. Rumoldi et Bonifacii in vita et doctrina successores lumen fidei nonnihil in gente illa Belgica obtenebratum resplendeat. In te enim uno (absit verbi jactantia) vitam S. Rumoldi, primi archiepiscopi Mechliniensis, labores Bonifacii tanquam in speculo contemplor. Ille sanguine suo ecclesiam Mechliniensem sine macula et ruga acquisivit; hic totius Germaniæ fundavit rexitque ecclesias: quas jam cum speremus ex hoc rumore sparso vestræ fidei et diligentiæ committendas, Deum Opt. Max. precabimur ut incertus rumor in certam scientiam conversus vestram Celsitudinem nobis talem tribuat in cujus vita fervor martyrum S. Rumoldi

[1] The MS. is worn away at this point.

resplendeat et cujus labores Sancti Bonifacii meritis respondeant. Harum vero latorem, Robertum Bellamy, Anglum, Londiniensem (ut asserit) ut vestræ Celsitudini commendem non opus esse existimo; cujus virtus et fidei constantia tum in Anglia tum in Scotia multis argumentis emicuit, ut latius vestræ Celsitudini declarabit; in cujus causa et duorum aliorum, Thomæ Heythe et Georgii Stoker,[1] Scotiæ Rex, etsi hæreticus, ad illustr. Parmensem scripsit. De adversa fortuna Scotis comitibus contra Regem congregatis illata ipsorum ignavia idem lator oculatus testis vestræ Celsitudini latius explicabit; quam Deus Opt. Max. ad ecclesiæ Albionis restitutionem diu servet incolumem. Datum Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 26 Junii, 1589.

V. Cels. servus,

Fr. Joan. Hay, Scotus,
provinciæ Coloniæ fratrum S. Francisci de observantia minister.

Addressed.

Illustrissimo et rev^mo domino, D. Guilielmo Alano, Cardinali, domino suo colendissimo. Romæ, in sacro palatio.

CXC

Testimonial from Cardinal Allen to Mr Clement Throgmorton. Rome, 1 Nov., 1589.

From the original, with autograph signature and seal, in the Public Record Office, London. Dom. Eliz. Vol. 227, n. 33.

Gulielmus miseratione divina S. R. E. tituli S^ti Martini in Montibus presbyter Cardinalis Alanus, vulgariter de Anglia nuncupatus, universis et singulis præsentes literas inspecturis, lecturis vel legi audituris salutem in Domino. Ad universitatis

[1] In the archives of the see of Westminster (III. 7) there is the following letter concerning Mr George Stoker from FF. William Creytton and Edmund Hay, S. J., to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S. J., rector of the English College at Rome, 16 January, 1582. "Siamo stiati inchiesti da huomini molto da bene et Inglesi et Scossezi di scrivere la presente in raccommandazione del presente portitore Signor Georgio Stoker Inglese, gli quagli ci hanno fatto fede ch' é huomo catholico et da bene et ch' habbia servito circa venti anni il Signor Conte di Northumberlanda, il quale patì la morte in Ingliterra per la fede catholica, et costui se salvò con grand pericolo et dipoi ha servito la Signora Contessa vedoa del detto Signor Conte, et adesso trovvandosi in grandissima necessità et non odendo ritornar al paese ni potendo ricevere cosa alcuna da i suoi parenti et amici per le rig[or]ose legi che lo vetano desidera haver qualche soccorso da sua Santità per mezzo della R. V. Noi preghiamola voler favorirli secondo la sua carità, perche puo esser membro molto utile per molte cose, perche sa benissimo le cose sulli confini d' Ingliterra et Scotia, il che puo lui servir molto, et non lo dichiamo senza buon fondamento. Il dolce Giesu sia sempre colla R. V., et alla santa sua devotione molto da cuore ci raccommandiamo. Da Pariygi, a di 16 di Genaio, 1582. Della V. R. servi in Christo, Gugliel^o Creytton Edmundo Hayo." The signatures appear to be autographs and the letter in F. Creytton's hand.

vestræ et cujuslibet vestrum notitiam deducimus ac deduci volumus per præsentes nobilem virum dominum Clementem Throgmortonum, Anglum, præsentium latorem, nedum catholicum sed ob catholicæ fidei professionem afflictum et exulem, ad hanc almam Urbem devotionis et pietatis causa superioribus diebus accessisse, modoque ad alia catholicorum loca pii negotii causa se conferre decrevisse. Quocirca vobis omnibus et singulis supradictis illum in Domino summopere commendamus; rogantes vos quatenus eundem ad loca vestra venire, stare indeque recedere ac transire una cum suis bonis libere, secure et tuto permittatis, ac in omnibus rebus honestis ei faveatis; certiorantes vos rem piam et gratam nobis facturos, deque ea gratias maximas vobis acturos, ac Deo largiente vobis uberrime relaturos. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem ac testimonium præsentes de mandato nostro confectas literas subscripsimus easque sigilli nostri jussimus et fecimus impressione communiri. Romæ, in palatio Apostolico, die primo mensis Novembris, anni MDLXXXIX; sedente D. N. Sixto V. Pontifice Maximo.

GULIELMUS CARD^{LIS} ALANUS.

L S.

CXCI.

Lævinus Torrentius, bishop of Antwerp, to Cardinal Allen. 25 January, 1590.

Printed in the Bulletins de la commission royale d'histoire à Bruxelles. Deuxième Série; Tome 7, p. 327.[1]

Cum amicorum ex Hispania literis intellexissem te esse archiepiscopum Mechliniensem, valde quidem gavisus fui tum illius tum nostræ quoque Antverpiensis, quæ illi subest, ecclesiæ causa; sed multo magis cum Romæ a Tornacensi episcopo[2] nunciatum fuit te provinciam hanc jam suscepisse; unde nec dubitandum quin brevi tua hic præsentia fruamur. Et provinciam quidem nactus es duram et difficilem, sed in qua ob id ipsum singularis tua doctrina atque prudentia magis effulgeat.

CXCII.

Cardinal Allen to Lord Paget. [Rome] 30 January, 1590.

From the original holograph[3] *in the Public Record Office, London. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 230, n. 17.*

My good Lord; Yours of the XIVth came to me X dayes sith, being right sory for that foule fact your L. writeth of, and that irremidiable disunion amongst our

[1] For an account of Cardinal Allen's nomination to the See of Malines see the Historical Introduction to the First and Second Douay Diaries, pp. lxxxvi.-lxxxix.

[2] Dr John Vendeville.

[3] There is a copy of this document in a later hand immediately following the original in the same Volume, n. 18.

banished men, which is a plage of God farre more heavye then our banishment it selfe; and wo upon them that are thoccasion thereof, who so ever they be. I have ever with much tolleration sought to reconcile all such breaches, and so I will do still, and will as much as in me lyeth, and as authority and jurisdiction shall be given unto me, seeke by force of law to redresse the same and correct all disorders without partialitye, as farre as God shall give me his grace and assistance. I trust it is a thing that concerneth that young mans folly onely, trusting verily that no man of compt or honestye wold ether counsel or encourage him to any such fact. Nether can it sinke into my heade as yet that such men as your L. seemeth somwhat to suspect (whereof doctor Griffeth here over and above your letter gave me insinuation) should be any wise acquainted with any such foule matters. God forbid they should; and me think I might be so bold to warrant your L. there of. All my ciphers at the time of my daungerous sicknes, when I departed from Reims and looked for no other but death,[1] I made awaye, and I had cleane forgotten to tell your L. before that therefore I could not discipher those few words you wrot in your former in Mr Charles[2] his alphabet. Your L. must pardon that my negligens. We shall cum, I suppose, er it be long nerer together, that we shall not neede to use ether letter or ciphers; for I think your L. hath hearde that his M.[3] hath nominated me for Machlins, the revenewes wherof, as the times now be, are so little that but in respect of servise and that his M. will otherwise provide I durst not adventure to coom thether, where I am like to find nothing but misery and discontentment of our coontrymen, and no lesse want and calamity in myne owne province and bisshopricke, having not welthe nor meanes to healpe as my heart desireth nether thone nor thother. But how and when so ever I coom, all parts shall prove so great a good will and desire to serve the common and particular, that I verily suppose all will be glad and contented, though not all satisfyed, or soch men as is desired or required. Fare you well, my good Lord Paget, with my commendacions to all others,

Your L. assuredly,

THE CARDNALL.

Jan. 30, 1590.

Addressed.

All Ill^mo Sig^r il Sig^r Barone Pagetto come fratello oss^mo. Bruselles.

Endorsed.

Cardinall Allen to the L. Paget. 30 Jan., 1590.

[1] 3 August, 1585. [2] Charles Paget, brother of Lord Paget. [3] Philip II. of Spain.

CXCIII.

Cardinal Allen to the cathedral Chapter of S. Rombaut at Malines. Rome, 1 Feb., 1590.

Printed in Paquot, Histoire littéraire des Pays-Bas. Tome III., p. 667.

Venerabiles et nobis in Christo multum chari confratres.

Etsi literis et sermone multorum ante aliquot menses intelleximus Majestatem suam ad ecclesiæ vestræ administrationem nostram humilitatem designasse, Pontificemque optimi Regis in ea re judicium summopere comprobare, nosque vehementer desideravimus primo quoque tempore nonnihil et literarum et spiritualis benedictionis vobis ac futuræ sponsæ nostræ impartiri; tamen quia res non erat nec adhuc est perfecta vel legitime cognita, neque regias nominationis literas, nedum consecrationis solemnem ritum, accepimus, scribendum hactenus non censuimus. Sed hoc nostrum tacendi propositum fregit charitatis vestræ ad nos amantissima epistola, 20 Decembris data: quo gratissimo officio nos a vobis vel excitatos vel præventos esse non mediocriter lætati sumus. Hanc ex iis quæ scripsistis mox magnam concepimus spem fore ut ecclesiæ sponsam nostri amantissimam haberemus, et vos omnes nobis in difficillima administratione unanimes in Domino coadjutores semper experiremur. De nostra autem erga vos vicissim vestramque ecclesiam et remp. universam sincera dilectione non ex his verbis sed futuris factis nostris vos judicare volumus. Id solum interea liceat dicere, nos nec emolumentis, quæ istic hoc tempore minutissima esse scimus, illectos; nec dignitatis incremento, qua majorem licet nobis immerito concessam esse scitis quam ut adeo honorifico titulo augeatur, inductos; nec ulla alia humana affectione, sed sola divinæ Providentiæ sorte et diuturno desiderio ecclesiæ Dei et suæ Majestati ac Belgicæ inprimis vestræ jam diu indignissime afflictæ inserviendi, ad hoc alioquin formidabile pastorale officium acceptandum impulsos esse. Tantum enim abest ut nostra vel commoda vel honores vel otia hic quæramus, ut facile præsagiat animus nos a vicinis contribulibus hæreticis et falsis fratribus gravia potius et perpetua pericula subituros. Sed non faciem animam pretiosorem quam me; fortis enim ut mors dilectio. Atque forsitan paucorum dierum qui nobis restant cursum, quem in infelici patria cupiebamus consummare apud vos Dei voluntate ad corpus S^ti^ Rumoldi, ex nostris locis oriundi, complebimus. Illic in adamatum nobis vicinum Lovanium primum pro fide projecti sumus in exilium ibique in theologica disciplina sub excellentissimis magistris sumus instituti. Machliniæ omnes ordines ipsumque sacrum presbyteratum accepimus; ubi et aliquamdiu habitavimus. Duaci postea longo et gratissimo hospitio accepti, variisque honoribus scholasticis affecti, ac cæteris illius reip. singularibus favoribus continuo adjuti in civem jam plane Belgicæ vestræ asciti videmur; ut proinde non nunc hominem externum aut ignotum, sed beneficiis vestris vernaculum factum, vestræque ac com-

munis salutis magis quam vitæ suæ studiosum sitis habituri. Ista vobis de me polliceor: idem ut pro nobis reliquo in illa diœcesi clero ac præsertim præcipuarum urbium collegiatis ecclesiis ac capitulis totique populo nobis dilectissimo spondeatis obnixe postulamus; nunquam enim per Dei gratiam vos fallemus. Plura in posterum cum confirmati et consecrati fuerimus scribemus, et a vobis de statu illius ecclesiæ tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus magis particulatim omnia requiremus. Interea si illi qui ista administrant de his rebus nos informaverint, erit gratum. Quoad cætera nos nullum officium neque apud Pontificem neque apud Regem prætermittemus, quod ad ecclesiæ illius restitutionem aut amplificationem pertinere posse videatur: nam quidquid in rebus temporalibus auxilii speratur non a nostris opibus, quæ nullæ sunt, sed ab istis patronis expectari debet. Interim nostrum ad vos iter, quod in vere futurum spero, piis precibus Deo Optimo Maximo illiusque ecclesiæ patronis assidue (quæso) commendate. Valete. Romæ, Cal. Febru., A° Christi 1590.

VV. DD. RR. uti frater charissimus,

GULIEL. CARDINALIS ALANUS,
electus Machliniensis.

Addressed.

Venerabilibus viris ac mihi in Christo charissimis confratribus, [Decano] et capitulo metropolitanæ ecclesiæ Mechlinien. Mechliniam.

CXCIV.

Charles Cardinal of Lorraine[1] to Cardinal Allen. Nancy, 30 March, 1590.

From the original, with autograph signature, in the British Museum. Harleian MSS. 7015, 210.

Monsieur; Je ne puis laisser aller le secretaire Tysenone, présent porteur, que Monsieur le Duc mon père envoye en court de Rome, sans vous adresser ceste lettre pour vous baiser très humblement les mains; comme je lui ay encores donné charge de faire de ma part, et de vous tesmoigner le désir que j'ay de vous pouvoir faire quelque service agréable. Faictes moy donc ce bien de l'escouter et croire sur ce subjet. Il vous pourra aussy rendre compte suffisament de toutes nos nouvelles, s'il vous plaist les entendre, et où il aura besoin de voz faveurs pour les affaires de son Altesse ou les miennes particulières, je vous supplye, Monsieur, l'en vouloir secourir et me commander pardeçà ou vous estimerez que je vous pourray faire service. Je m'y emploieray tousjours avec l'humble dévotion, de laquelle je supplye icy Nostre Seigneur vous

[1] Charles, son of Charles III. Duke of Lorraine and Claude daughter of Henry II. King of France, was born 1 July, 1567, made Bishop of Metz 18 July, 1578, Cardinal 14 December, 1589, and Bishop of Strasburg 9 June, 1592. He died 24 November, 1607.

donner, Monsieur, en parfaite santé très longue et très heureuse vie. De Nancy, ce trentiesme jour de Mars, 1590.

Vostre tres humble serviteur,

CHARLES CARD^AL DE LORRAINE.

Addressed.

Monsieur Monsieur le Cardinal Alano.

CXCV.

Cardinal Allen to Mr Charles Paget. Rome, 4 January, 1591.

Printed in the "Briefe Apologie, &c.," by F. Robert Persons, S. J., p. 36. verso.

Whereof [viz. our common cause] yow must needs give me leave to be the leader, because so it hath pleased God, his Holiness and his Majestie to accompt me, and not for my owne private but for the advauncement of that service have put me in this roome. Wherby it followeth that all those that seditiously conspire my disgrace do band themselves directly and traiterously against the good of their countrey and against the service of the highest Princes in Christendome, by whome only we expect succour and releefe for our so unfortunate state; and when I name preists and religious yow must not straight wayes inferre (as yow seeme to do in your letter) that the priests band themselves against the nobility, as though all the nobility in banishment or at home were of Morgans faction, or that preists were not divers of them of as good nobility as most of those few that be addicted to Morgan.

And as for servants and followers in England, which yow say he shal fynd more by following another course rather then this I do, God send us come to the trial and happily arrive there, and then shal yow see by the effect what lacke of frends I shal there have; where I thinke verily to have yow my frend also, which shalbe best for yow and very grateful unto me, howsoever unadvisedly yow have here entangled your selfe in my adversaryes broken matters.[1]

[1] "And as for the conceipt which the sayd Cardinall [Allen] had of me, you shall heare out of his letter written with his owne hande not longe before his death, dated the 16 of July 1594, as foloweth. *Good Master Paget, Doctor Gifforde and Master Mushe tolde you no lye, when they advertised you of my affection, and desire of your frendship: for so it is in deede, and so have I ever thought of your callinge, discrete and honorable comportement that you are worthye to be employed, and to joyne with me or anye other in the service of our countrye. I never had other opinion of you in my life, etc.*" An answere made by me Charles Paget Esquier to certayne untruthes and falsityes toching my selfe, contayned in a booke, intitled a briefe Apologie or defence of the Catholicke Hierarchie and subordination in Englande, etc. This answer is printed in Dr Humphrey Ely's Certaine Briefe Notes, etc. p. 19. Paris. F. Robert Persons was the author of the anonymous work entitled a Briefe Apologie etc. There is a (perhaps unique) copy of Dr Ely's Certaine Briefe Notes, etc. in the Grenville Library of the British Museum.

CXCVI.

Cardinal Allen to Mr Thomas Throgmorton. Rome, 4 January, 1591.

From a contemporary transcript in the archives of Stonyhurst College. Anglia, Vol. I., *p.* 101.[1]

Good Mr. Throgmorton; I receaved a letter from yowe by the hands of one of my Lord of Cassanos chaplens, which came latter to my handes, as I answer yt latter, by reason of the longe conclaive and sum other particular affayres incydent to the newe elevation and coronation of his Holynes[2]; which nowe beynge paste I coulde not forgeate to give yowe this my breefe answer to your said letter, which was both longe and lovinge, but yett of suche matter as I thought good to inform you better of. Therfore touchinge Thomas Morgan[3] I cannot accuse yowe that yowe love constantlie youre ould frende, muche lesse that yowe joyne not (as yow say sum would have yow) in his condemnation, specyallie beinge persuaded hym to be innocent of all thinges wherwith he was charged, and for which he was first imprisoned. Nether will I dispute with you howe farr he was guiltye of suche matter as they lay to his charge, beinge not acquainted in truthe with ther dealings[4] or his actions in that behalfe: indeede not thinkinge that he ever of purpose betraid the Queene of Scotts or the common cause, thoughe I well knewe that he passed not in his pretended service that way ether wiselie or sincerely, and that by many cunninge shiftes, doublinge and partiall dealinge he gave great suspition that he dealt not for God and accordinge to conscience but for hys owne advaunsment and sum his particular folowers; which was

[1] F. Persons has printed one or two extracts from this letter in his "Briefe Apologie," p. 35, verso. [2] Gregory XIV. was elected Pope 5 December, 1590.

[3] "Which Charles [Paget] this very yeare [1581] went out of England to live att Paris, and there joyned with one Thomas Morgan a Welshman that had served some yeares before, [as] secretary, Young, called Archbishop of York, and after his death [26 June, 1568] putting himself into service of the Earl of Shrewsbury, where the Q. of Scotts was prisoner, fell in favour and credit with her, and afterward going into France and joyning with Mr Charles Paget in Paris made themselves both her men, and entring further into league and streight frendship with two other secretaries, that lived with the Q. (Nawe and Curle, the first a Frenchman, the other a Scott) and ruled all about her, they four governed from thenceforth all the Queens affaires at their pleasure, until she being made away in England the sayd two secretaries were pardoned and lett goe. And first of all the sayd two in Paris opposing themselves secretly against the Archbishop of Glasco, embassador for the sayd Q. in Paris, they broke his credit much with the sayd Q., and wrong from him in time the administration of the Q. dowry in France, which was some 30,000 crownes a yeare; by which they were able to pleasure much their friends and hinder their adversaries: and then joyning themselves with Dr Lewes in Rome and falling out with Dr Allen and F. Persons they were the cause of much division among catholicks, which hitherto hath endured." "Story of domesticall difficulties," &c.," by F. Robert Persons, Stonyhurst MSS. P. 413. [4] The word *dealings* has a row of dots under it, and *doings* is written between the lines.

ever like unfortunately to fall out both to him selfe, his frendes and folowers and spetiallie to the disadvauntage of the common cause and distruction of the poore Queene, whose service he spetiallie pretended. Upon whiche presumptions yf any theare of zeale accused him further then they could *per allegata et probata* condemne hym, lett them looke how wiselie and how well they did. Yowe see many men be accused and restrained of suspition as well in England as elswhear, and many that have bene apprehended and indited for one thinge, whereof they have proved themselves guiltlesse, and yett by further ripinge in to matters and to their lyfe and actyons have ben discovered of other greater matters, and so have ben condemned and executed justelie for the same. Whearby commonly the Providence of God is rather wondred att then the firste informers (thoughe they erred in their action) blamed; whose zeale is rather commendable then reprovable in any commonwealthe, att least yf they do it not of passyon or partiality but of conscience and sinceritie; as we may well beleave of many of Morgans accusers, who havinge no juste cause of particular inimite for any thing that I can know of, and divers of them beinge religious, and in a manner all the cleargie, and sundrie also of the gentrie, cannot be thought to have dealte unjustlie in the matter. And thoughe thear is a cunninge pretense thear amongste yow that the cleargy in his case opposeth it selfe against the nobilitie, yett that appeareth but to be a seditious cover of sum men's iniquitie, as thoughe ther were none of the gentry that followed not Morgans faction, but onelie priestes to be against hym. Nether will I putt my selfe or yow to the payne to reakon all the noble men that have ben since oure banishment or yett be alive ether in Spaine, France, Italie or Flaunders, muche lesse that nowe be in England, whether (I say) more stand for Morgan or against him, not for his condemnation to any greavous punishment but for defence of his actions. Whiche I rather speake unto yowe, bycause sum tell me by ther letters from thence that I shall gaine fewe frendes and servaunts by takinge part or defence of Morgans accusers,[1] of whose service I shall finde no lacke nether heare nor in England; not requiring any of ther offices that stand heare againste me for any my advauncement or increase of creadite or honor; though I shall accepte all waies willinglie their sayd service and frendshipp for to do them selves good. Nether am I of the Englishe ceremony to looke awrie att all suche as stand in deffence of my adversaries, muche lesse to use my authoritie to revenge or represse ther unfrendlie deportments towards me that way: and that is my nature, beinge nether cruell (I thanke God) insolent nor inhumane, but muche countinge of everie honest mans love and spetiallie of gentlemen as yow be, whom I have ever loved and honored no lesse before my exaltation to this degree then after: in which affection contrary to Thomas Morgans false suggestions (who maketh me a cruell man and of Wolsies inclination) I trust you shall fynde me alwaies to continue spetially towards your selfe, yf yow thinke my love towards yow may be as available as that of my adversaries. Wherin yett I have to warne yow of

[1] *accusers* substituted for *actions* in the MS.

one error frindlie and sincerelie; that you interpret my doings herein to sounde rather to my particuler and personall revenge then to the defence of the common cause, and that Morgans accusation beinge for the common should not be adjoyned now in the end nor be intermedled with my particuler; this I say is your error, that yow suppose thinges spoken, attempted and done by Morgan and his faction against me be not done against the common cause, the service of God, [and oure] [1] the churche and our cuntrie; as yow might well think yf I were a private person and not a publicke, not onely in respecte of the place whear I am, but in respect of all Christendom and all persons that counte them selves subject to the Sea Apostolike. And I thinke your selfe would not deny that contumelious, disordered and seditious speaches against the Counsell or any of the Counsell of England were punishable as defects don against the publike. And to say more plainlie: the things that have ben don by that faction were never don against me for any particuler or personall respect (my selfe nether before my promotion nor after never gyvinge them any occasion in the world of offence) but to the offence and spetiall hurt of the common cause. As to gyve you example; to drawe from me my schollers when I was in lesse degree, and to imploie them in the common service whom I knew to be discontented and disloiall to me, then ther master; as Gifford [1] and dyvers other priests, whom the world hath now discovered and were sett on worke to their own destruction and the ruine of the common cause. To seek to put a pyke by cunninge dealinge betwixte me and the cleargie on thoneside and the nobility and lay on thother. Also cunninge fiction to make the worlde beleave ther were sum dissention betwixte the Byshop of Cassano and me, and to draw the good man into sum emulation of my dignitie and to make him as it were a heade of a faction opposite to my frends and my procedinge; whear in deede we ever have lyved both togyther and asunder, he ever deferringe the honour he knew dewe to my degree and I the mutuall love that I knew requisyte to his ould love and respecte of me; which we shall still continue notwithstandinge the folishe jelousie or artificiall practise of certaine ill persons do[n] to the contrary: which howe muche it perteineth to the common cause his good, and that yt is a thinge not of particuler personalitie but a matter parteininge to the publike, your wysdom cannot but see. When it pleased God by his Providence to induce the Pope and King to put me in this place, for Morgan and his faction to be so boulde to address a spetiall messanger (the poore unfortunate prior [3] of the Carthusians) under pretense of

[1] *and oure* superfluous. [2] Gilbert Gifford.

[3] "Father Arnold, the prior of the Englishe Carthusians in Flanders, began soone after to shewe him selfe of this faction also, and that as is thought throughe his intrinsecall frendshipp whiche he had with Thomas Morgan his countriman: and so loasinge his spirit of religious modestye came to bee so outragious as hee was accused by the letters as well of his owne brethren as of the Cardinals Allen and Caietane the Protector unto his General at Granopole [Grenoble] where having beene and shifted of the matter he wandred into Spaine, leavinge his charge desolate the year 1590, there to revenge him selfe by cryinge out against the said Cardinals, but especiallye Cardinal Allaine,

another busines of his order and house to deale openlie with hys Majestie against me, and under pretense of my other insufficiencie or ill dealinge in the common affaires to make supplica that the bushop of Cassano might be opposed against me and my doinges and followers, was not this a matter of cumlie qualetie or can it be otherwise counted then a plaine treason against the common cause? A meanes in deede to bringe the Kinge in doubtfullnes of us all and to thinke that under pretense of religion we did nothing els but seeke to supplant one another, and so might have just cause to surcease all doinges for us and to averte his holie intentions from the generall succourse of our country; all which the said priors treachery, as well by his owne letters and hand as by Morgans writinges and other meanes, ys evident to all the worlde. That, since, sum discontented persons, since the deathe of the said prior and Morgans imprisonment, have sought to perswade some about his Majestie that this pretended or fayned division of our banished countrymen rose upon the difference of the Englishe and Welshe province, and that the remedie therof was to have a Cardinall also of that parte to ballance the matter; as thoughe it was alwaies necessary in England that ther should be one Englishe and another Welshe Cardinall or else none at all, or as though this matter of Morgan were a matter of cuntries; wheras sum beguiled Englishmen may followe hys seditious humour so many good Welshmen do detest thiese false and dishonorable suggestions.[1]

Whoe all know and the whole worlde (but God especially and my owne consciens) that I never put difference betwixte Englishe and Welshe nor any one province of our countrye and another, being readye to serve the whole and everye part and parcell therof with all the faculties of minde and bodye and with my life also when occasion shall be offered, as yo all maye acknowllege bye my continewall trade and travell of life since I was a childe. Now as for my Lord of Cassano, the faction coulde not have don him a greater displeasure or disgrace in the world, under pretence

and to put a red hatt upon doctor Lewis his head, as by his owne letters to Morgan he affirmeth: who havinge committed that scandale in the courte of Spaine and retourning whomward with intent to triumph therof dyed uppon the soddaine at his first entrance into Italye, beeinge younge and lustie and resolute to prosecute the sayd faction more then ever, but that God would not have it." An observation of certayne aparent judgments of Almightye God against suche as have beene seditious in the Englishe Catholique cause for these nine or ten yeares past: written the first of December, 1598. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 485. F. John Arnold was at Douay college before he became a Carthusian. See First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 98. Compare F. Persons, "Briefe Apologie," p. 32.

[1] Here ends the first part of the letter written in a contemporary hand on the first two pages of a quarto sheet of letter paper, the third and fourth pages remaining blank. At the bottom of the first page F. Grene, S.J., has noted "C. Alanus, 1591, 4 Januar." There is another endorsement on the fourth page in a much older hand: "The Cardinall to Mr Thomas Throgmorton." The second part of the letter is written in a contemporary but different hand from the former part on the first two pages of another sheet of letter paper and is endorsed on the back "The Card. to Mr Tho. Frogmorton, 1591."

to extoll him, to make him great of purpose to contradicte me, and to drawe him into such dishonorable action both againste his knolleg and will: whose exaltation might otherwise be comfortable unto me; which otherwise atcheved or procured by faction and partiality shold nether be profitable unto himself nor wellykinge unto his Majestie and others who have more feeling in such matters and smell the bottom of such traffick then the poore prior or his complices did thinke. Well, my good frend Mr Throgmorton, the things descofered of Morgan yow tooke only to be personall, and conser[1] les, and mak the les of the matters wherwith he is charged; which I impute to your constancye in his love and frendshippe, wherin I pray keepe som part alsoe for me your old frende, whose affection may be in time as proffitable and honorable unto yowe and with as litle burthen of your conscience as his or any of his complices may be; trusting that yo shall alwaies prove my actions as well in common as your private to be without all fraud, treachery or simulation. It shall be ever good for you to follow in that kind the maine streame and the principall of your nation with soe many of the best and greateste of the nobilitye, clergye and relligious, and not to cast your self into the creekes of a fewe and verye fewe discontented persons, which are not soe many nor of such creditt ether at home or with Princes abroade to countervaile the numbers of those that mislike those left-handed men, nether enow to give the name unto a faction, as thoughe the Englishe were devided amonge themselfes, as som of follye maye give oute or of simplicitie may beleeve. And thus much I thought to tell you in fewe words; but the matter hath beene such, and together my love towards yow so sincere, that I thought not to spare a fewe words more then I mente to mak plaine a thinge so necessary for yowe and me; which yow maye use to yourself, or impart as far as you list alsoe to such frends as can be contente to hier the trewth att my hands. And as for Thomas Morgan himselfe, as I deale not against him so I have no cause to deffend him, but rather to remitt all to justice or mercye as yt shall please God and the officers to deale towards him; wishing his amendment with all my harte, as I doe with like affection forgive him so much as toucheth my owne person; being very sorry that a man whom I have used sometimes famyliarlye and receaved pleasures att his hande shulde fall into such busye practises as shulde bothe displease his frendes and hinder the common good of our countrey. And I pray lett me hier of the receite of this, whereof I have more doute because of the trowbles and difficulties of the waise in every place. Thus fare yow well. From my lodginge in Rome, 4 Jan., 1591.

[1] Perhaps *conster*, construe, was in the original letter.

CXCVII.

Cardinal Allen to Mr Thomas Throgmorton. Rome, 20 February, 1591.

From a contemporary transcript in the archives of Stonyhurst College. Anglia, Vol. I., p. 105.[1]

Good Mr Throgmorton; Presuming that my letters unto you of the 4 of February[2] have miscaried by the waie, wherby I suppose you thinke yt verry longe to have hearde no answer as yet of yours, I have thought yt therfore necessary to sende you a double againe of the same letters, that therby the better you may perceave bothe of what minde and affection I was towardes you then and what also I do continew to beare unto you still. So yt ys that I receaved a letter from you by the handes of one of my Lorde of Cassanos chaplines, which cam later to my handes, as I answer yt also the later, by reason of the longe conclave and som other particuler affares, incident to the newe ellevation and coronation of his Holines; which now beinge paste, I could not forgeat to give you som answer to your said letter, which was bothe longe and lovinge, but yet of suche matter as I thoughte good to informe you better of. Therfore touchinge Thomas Morgan I can not accuse you that you love constantly your ould frende, much lesse that you joyne not (as you say som would have you) in his condemnation, spetially beinge perswaded him to be innocent of all thinges wherwith he was charged and for which he was first imprisoned. Nether will I dispute with you how far he was guilty of suche matter as they lay unto his charge, beinge not acquainted in truthe with his doinges or any his actions in this behalf; indeede not thinking nether that he ever of purpose betraied the Q. of Scotland or the common cause, thoughe I well knewe that he proceeded not in his pretended service that way ether so wysely or sincerely as he ought to have done, but that by many cunninge shiftes, ind[oub]linges and partiall dealinges he gave suspition that he dealt not therin for God, nor yet accordinge unto conscience, but rather for his owne advaunsment and sum his particuler followers; which was ever like unfortunatly to fall out both to himself, his frendes and followers, and spetially to the disadvauntage of the common cause and distruction of the poore Queene herself, whose service he spetially pretended. Upon which presumptions if any thear of zeal accused him further then they could *per allegata et probata* condemne him, lett them looke howe well and wisely they have done it. You see many[4] . . how men be accused and restrained as well in England as elswheare upon mere suspition, and many that have ben apprehended and indited for one thinge wherof they have proved themselves guiltles, and yet by further ripinge into matters and to their lief and actions have ben after discovered culpable of other greater matters then they were befor

[1] There is a sufficient amount of difference between this letter and that of which it is a duplicate to make it worth while to print them both.

[2] This must be an error of the copyist for *January*.

[3] One or two letters worn away in the MS.

[4] A word worn away in the MS.

suspected of, and so have been condemned and executed for the same. Wherby comonly the Providence of God ys rather wondered at then the first informers (though they erred in their action) blamed; whose zeale ys rather commendable then reprovable in any comonwelth, so long as they do yt not of passion nor partiality, but of conscience and sincere intention; as we may well beleave that of Morgans accusers did, who havinge no juste cause of particuler inimite for any thinge that I can knowe of, yea divers of them being religious and in a manner all the cleargy of our nation, and sundry also of the gentry opposinge themselves against him, yt cannot well be thoughte that so many persons of sundry qualities may have dealt unhonestly in this particuler mans matter. And thoughe ther be a cunning pretence thear amongst you that the cleargy in this case opposeth yt self againste the nobillite, yet that appeareth but to be a seditious cover of som mens iniquite, as thoughe ther were none of the gentry that followed not Morgans faction, but that priestes only were the men that were against him. I will not put miself nor you to the paines to reckon all the noblemen that have ben since our banishment or yet are alive ether in Spaine, France, Italy or Flanders, much lesse that now be in England, whether (I say) more of them do stande for Morgan or against him, I meane not for his condemnation to any greavous punishment but for mislike of his actions. Which the rather I repeat unto you at this time, because sum tell me by their letters from thence that I shall gaine fewe frends and servauntes by takinge parte or deffence of Morgans accusers; of whose services assure yourself I shall finde at all no lacke nether heare nor in England; not requiring any of their offices that stand heare againste me for any my advaunsement or increase of creadite or honor; thoughe yet I shall accepte [allwaies][1] willingly their said service and frendship che[efly][2] for to do themselves [good].[1] Nether am I of the [English][1] ceremony to look awrie at all suche as [stand in][1] deffence of my adversares, much lesse to use my authority to revenge or represse their unfrendly departments towards me that way: and that ys my nature, being nether cruell (I thanke God) insolent nor inhumane, but much accomptinge of every honest mans love and spetially of gentlemen as you be, whom I have ever loved and honored no lesse before my exaltation to this degree then after. In which affection (contrary to Thomas Morgans false suggestions) I truste you shall finde me allwaies to continue spetially towardes yourself, yf you thinke my love towardes you may be as availeable as that of my adversares. Wherin I have yet to [warne][1] you of one errour frendly and sincerely, namely in that you interpret my doinges hearin to sounde rather to my particuler and personall revenge then to the deffence of the common cause, and that Morgans accusation beinge for the common should not be adjoyned now in thende nor be intermedled with my particuler: this I say ys your errour that you suppose the thinges spoken, attempted and don by Morgan and his faction against me not to be

[1] A word worn away in the MS. [2] MS. worn away.

don against the common cause and the service of God, the churche and our countrie. All which you might well thinke, yf I were a privat person and not a publike, not only in respecte of the place wher I am, but in respecte of all Christendom besides and of all persons whosoever that counte themselves subject to the Sea Apostolike. And I thinke yourself wolde not deny but that contumelious, disordered and seditious speaches againste the Counsell or any of the counsellors of England wer punishable as offences don againste the publike. And to say the trothe, you well enughe knowe that the thinges which have ben don by that faction never were don against me for any particuler or personall respecte of mine owne (miself nether before my promotion nor after never givinge them any occasion in the worlde of offence) but wer rather don to the offence and spetial hurte of the common cause. As to give you example; to drawe from me my schollers, when I was in lesse degree then now I am, and to imploie them in publike services, yea suche whom I knewe to be discontented and disloiall to me, then their master, as Gifford[1] by name and divers other priestes whom the worlde hathe now discovered, all which wer sett on worke to their own destruction and the ruine of the common cause. To seek to [put][2] a pike by cunninge dealinge betwen me and the cleargy on thoneside and nobillite and layety on thotherside. As also by cunninge fiction to make the worlde beleave that ther wer som dissention betwixte the Bushop of Cassano and me, wherby to drawe the good man in to som emulation of my dignite, and to make him (as yt were) a heade of a faction opposite to my frendes and my proceedinge; wher in deede we ever have loved bothe together and a sunder, he ever deferringe the honor he knewe dewe to my degree and I the mutuall love that I knewe requisite aswell to his callinge as to his oulde affection and respecte of me; which we shall still observe, notwithstandinge the folishe jealosie or artificiall practises of certen ill disposed persons don to the contrary. All which pointes how muche they parteine to the common cause good or ill, and that they are thinges not of particuler personalty but matters parteining to the publike yt self your wysdom cannot I know but see. When yt pleased God of his Providence to induce the Pope and King to put me in this place, for Morgan and his faction to be so boulde to addresse a spetiall messanger, (the poore unfortunate prior[3] of the Carthusians) under pretence of other businesses of his order and house to deale openly with his Majestie against me, and under pretence of my ether insufficiencie or ill dealinge in the common affaires to make supplica that an other might be exalted to the like dignite and opposed against me and my doinges and followers, was not this a matter of comly quality or can yt be otherwise accompted then a plaine treason againste the common cause? A meanes in deede to bringe the Kinge in doubtefulnes of us all, and to thinke that under pretense of religion we did nothing else but seeke to supplante one an other, and so might have juste cause to surcease all doinges for us and

[1] Gilbert Gifford. [2] A word worn away in the MS. [3] F. John Arnold. See p. 322, note.

to averte his holy intentions from the generall succourse of our cuntrie; all which the said priors treachery, as well by his owne letters and hande as by Morgans writinges and by other meanes also, ys now evident to all the worlde. That againe sum like discontented persons after the deathe of the said prior and Morgans imprisonment have sought to persuade som about his Majestie that this pretended or fained division of our banisshed cuntriemen rose upon the difference of the Englishe and Welshe provinces and that the remedy therof was to have a Cardinall also of that parte to ballance the matter; as thoughe yt was allwaies necessary in Englande that ther shuld be one Englishe and an other Welshe Cardinall or else none at all; as thoughe this matter of Morgan were a matter of cuntries, whear indeede yt ys not so. For as som beguiled Englishmen may followe his seditious humor, so many good Welshemen do detest thies false and dishonorable suggestions; who all do knowe and the whole worlde besides, but God espetially, and myne owne conscience, that I never put difference betwixte Englishe and Welshe nor any other province of our cuntrie and an other, but have ever ben ready to serve the whole and every parte and parcell therof with all the facultes of minde and body and with my lief also when occasion shall be offered, as you all may acknowledge by my continuall travell and trade of livinge ever since I was a childe. Now as for my Lorde of Cassano the faction in deede coulde not have don him a greater displeasure or disgrace in the worlde then, under pretence to extoll him, to make him great of purpose to contradict me, and to draw him in to suche a dishonorable action bothe against his knowledge and will. Whose orderly exaltation as yt might allwaies be manifouldly comfortable unto me, so otherwise accheaved or procured by faction and partiality shuld nether be proffitable to himself nor wellikinge unto his Majestie and others, who have more fealinge in suche matters and smell the bottom of suche traffique better then the poor prior or his complices did thinke. To drawe towardes som ende, coulde you or any man beleeve that Thomas Morgan after so many his unfortunat proceadinges, wherby her Majestie of Scotland and so many have ben (thoughe not by his intention yet by his rashenes) ruinated, and now all pretense of the said Queenes or any other Princes agency or comission beinge voide, that he (I say) beinge but a mere privat person shuld be of so resteles a disposition and withall so hedious as to complott the makinge and placinge of ambassadors in Rome, Spaine, Paris, Savoia, the creatinge also of Cardinals, governours, viceroys and suche like? Thies be highe matters of state and not of any privat person. Well my good frende Mr Throgmorton, the thinges discovered of Morgan you tooke only to be personall and conster[1] beste and make the leaste of the matters wherwith he ys charged, which I impute unto your constancie in his love and frendship: wherin I pray you keape som parte also for me your oulde frende, whose affection may be in time as proffitable and honorable unto you and with as little burthen of your conscience as his or any of his complices can be; trustinge

[1] The word means perhaps *construe*.

you shall allwaies prove my actions as well in common as your privat to be without fraude, treachery or simulation. Yt shall be ever good for you to followe in that kinde the maine streame and the principall of your nation with so many of the best and greatest (without comparison) of the nobillite, cleargy and religious, and not to caste yourself in to the creekes of a fewe and veary fewe discontented persons; who are not yet so many nor of suche credit ether at home or with other Princes abrode as to countervale the numbers of those that mislike the dealinges of thies left handed men, nether yet enow to give the name unto a faction of a whole nation, as thoughe the Englishe were indifferently devided amongst themselves about thies matters; which ys alltogether untrue and in a manner also unpossible, thoughe som of folly may give out so or of simplicite may beleave yt. And thus muche I thought to tell you in fewe wordes, but that the matter hathe ben suche, and together my love towardes you so sincere, that I thought not good to spare a fewe wordes more then I meante to make plaine a thing so necessary for you and me. Which you may use to yourselfe or imparte so farr as you liste, cheefely unto suche frendes as can be contented to heare the truthe at my handes. And as for Thomas Morgan himselfe, as I deale not against him, so I have no cause to deffende him, but rather to remitt all to justice or mercy, as yt shall please God and the officers to deale towardes him; wisshinge his amendment with all my harte; as I do with like affection forgive him so muche as towcheth myne owne person; beinge very sory that a man, whom I have used sometimes familierly and receaved pleasures at his handes, shuld fall in to suche busy practises as shulde bothe displease his frendes and hinder the common good of our afflicted cuntrie. I pray you let me heare of the receyte of this, wherof I have the more doubte because the former copies were loste, and because of the continuall difficulties of the waies in every place. 20 Feb., 1591.

Endorsed.

My letters to Mr Thomas Throg. [*In Cardinal Allen's hand*] about the faction. 20 Feb., 1591. Card. Allen [*In F. Persons hand*].

CXCVIII.

F. Robert Persons, S. J., to Don Juan de Ydiaquez. Seville, 4 April, 1591.

From a transcript by F. Christopher Grene, S. J., in the archives of Stonyhurst College. P. 246.

Copia de la carta para Don Juan de Ideaquez sobre los soldados convertidos a 3 de Março, 1591, copyed out of F. Persons owne wryting.

Tras lo que escrivi los dias passados sobre la reducion de los Yngleses en las galeras,[1] torno a escrivir algunos renglones aora a su Mg[d] de los señales que ay de que

[1] "Personius magnam partem hyemis [1590-1591] apud portum S. Mariæ [near Cadiz] consumere

esta conversion aya sido muy verdadera, y esto por las causas que V. S. ya sabra, o las diré a V. S. a la buelta; y aunque bien se que su Mg[d] monstrara la misma carta a V. S. toda via he querido embiar el traslado para mayor seguridad.

En la substancia del negocio no tengo que añadir mas a V. S. sino fuere dezirle llanamente con la confiança que suelo presumir con V. S. que me he espantado de la tibieça con que si ha recebido la volundad de los Yngleses que ellos an offerecido con tanto amor y con tan grande riesgo y perdida suya.

Muy buena obra si les hara en quanto a lo temporal en mandarles bolver a su tierra en veniendo su riscate que si aguarda; y en lo espiritual tambien confio en Dios que por donde quiera que vayan la mayor parte dellos quedaran siempre constantes en la fé, que es la sola cosa de mi interes, si parte alguna tengo en esta riducion, que sera muy poca. Pero si esto sera mejor por el servicio de su Mg[d] si deve mirar, y yo por mi lo tengo por muy cierto que si el enemigo tubiere tal occasion de honrar a se y de haçernos daño con gente nuestra, no lo dexare passar ansi sin servirse della con mayor cuydado y demonstracion.

Una cosa muy cierta es que pensar poder prevalecer en Ynglaterra sin tener parte de dientro es engaño muy grande, y pensar tener esta parcialidad sin procurarla y conservarla es tambien engaño; ni hai cosa tan contraria a esto como la disconfiança la qual hasta aora si ha muestrado con los Yngleses, aun catholicos, en todas las occasiones, las quales podrei cuentar a V. S. en particular, pero bastara por todas la del tiempo de la Jornada quando si manifesto a todo el mundo: pues teniendo su Mg[d] mas menester entonces que nunca de sirvirse de su parcialidad, ningun caso si hizo della, ni si hizo confiança alguna de persona viviente de la naçion dientro o fuera del reyno, aunque avia muchas que pudieren aver ayudado y avian offerecido sus vidas antes en servicio de su Mg[d].

Esto sintieron mucho todos los buenos de la nacion, pareciendoles que su volundad fedelissima a su Mg[d] no merecia una disfiança[1] tan notoria a todo el mundo. Mucha pena tambien les dava entender que algunos ministros principales de su Mg[d] dezian (y esto se yo que es verdad) que ellos no entendian que avia catholicos en Ynglaterra; y si algun dixiere que el lo era, muy bien se recatarian en creerlo; y si quesieren[2] reduzirse, no se admiterian sino con recato, &c.

En esta manera V. S. vee lo que succediere a los pobres catolicos si la victoria estubiere de nuestra parte; y esto era forçoso succederles no solamente por la poca noticia y amor que llevavan los ministros, pero tambien y principalmente por la disconfiança que tubieren de todos los buenos de la nacion, los quales les podian dar luz de los demas. Y porque intiendo que Dios no quiso que a sus siervos si hiziessen

coactus est in reducendis ab hæresi nonnullis Anglis qui in triremibus regiis captivi detinebantur. Nonaginta autem et tres reducti sunt, et ab utraque servitute tum animi tum corporis liberati."—Annales seminarii seu collegii Anglorum Hispalensis; ex autographo Personii usque ad mensem Martii, 1595. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 345, 349.

[1] *disconfianza?* [2] *quisiesen?*

tantos estragos por mano de los nuestros, despues aver padecido lo que an padecido de los hereges, dio el successo que emos visto; ni tengo esperanza de mejor, hasta que si toman medios mas proportionados al santo fin de la sincera reformacion de aquel reyno que si pretende que no si tomaron la otra vez, aunque no si duda de la buena intencion de su Mg^{d}.

Esto escrivio a V. S. con la occasion de la disconfiança que si ha muestrado aora de recibir al servicio de su Mg^{d} los Yngleses reducidos en las galeras, ni lo dixo para que no si mire muy bien para toda siguridad, antes deseo esto sobre todas las cosas: pero con esto dixo que tan poco si deve creer a los que para parecer prudentes y cuydadosos quieren poner dudas y suspechas en todos los extrangeros; porque esto no es siempre prudencia ni piedad, antes muchas vezes es enfermidad, y nasce de nuestra casa, y es causa di muy grandes males, particularmente de enemistades; pues adonde hai suspecha y disconvenienza ne hai amor ni fidelidad; ni hai cosa nel mundo que mas hace desesperar a los hombres que recebir disconfiança en paga di buena volundad, y quanto mas universal fuere o nacional tanto peor.

Y porque he commençado hablar en esta materia, dire tambien esto particular, que en los 30 años que ha reynada Isabella en Ynglaterra an venido al servicio de su Mg^{d} en Flandes y otras partes muy grande numero de Yngleses catholicos que ubieren podido hazer grandes cosas y grandes daños a la Reyna, y muchos dellos eran hombres de calidad y perdieron lo que tenian para acudir a esta parte, y otros quedavan alla a la mira para seguirles si les succediere bien; pero nunca si ha hecho confiança dellos en cosa alguna de importancia, y assi an perecido todos in effeto, y no solamente los hombres particulares sino las compañias y regimientos tambien de soldados, y esto por el poco amor y cuydado que dellos toman los ministros para tratarles bien y conservarles: aunque los de la parcialidad de nuestro Morgan y Pageto an querido attribuirlo a principio mas alto, que es a la disconfianza que su Mg^{d} y toda esta nacion tiene de los mismos catolicos de Ynglaterra, en lo qual si les ha hecho la contradicion por el Cardenal y otros que V. S. en parte sabe, *et hic fons discordiæ extitit.*

Mas he escrito de lo que pensava en esta materia, aunque no mas de lo que importa la consequencia deste negotio de los reducidos; el qual como es caso nuevo y nunca antes accaecido y muy notorio por todas las partes, ansi si advirtera mucho la demonstracion que en el hara su Mg^{d}; y si poco caso si hiziere destos, no aya miedo V. S. che otros siguiran a su exemplo, ni que los de Ynglaterra aguardaran mejor tratamiento en llegando Españoles alla; y intiendo que esto solo pondra mas disconfiança y disesperança en los amigos de alla que qualquiera otra cosa que hasta aora ha succedido. Dios encamine todo por lo mejor.

En lo universal no ay que escrivir mas, ni de que cansar mas a V. S. con mas papeles, pues sobran los que emos escripto. V. S. me dixo en Escurial que o este año o nunca; y ya estamos en lo primero, y veo tan poco aparejo que me haze pensar que por ventura Dios quiere lo segundo: *fiat voluntas ejus sicut in cœlo ita et in terra.*

Una sola cosa tengo de supplicar muy encarecidamente a V. S., que si su Mg^{d} no tiene en que emplear de presto el coronel Stanley que se le de licencia para bolver a Flandes o Francia, donde su Mg^{d} fuere servido occuparlo en algo; pues esto seria darle vida y mucho consuelo, y al contrario tenerlo aca sin hazer nada es martyrizarlo de mil muertes. Y pues intiendo que estó otro sera servicio de su Mg^{d} y grande contiento por el buen cavallier, el qual lo merece por su fedelissima volundad a su Mg^{d}, torno a supplicar a V. S que si haga con effetto con quanta instancia puedo pedirlo, &c. Dios guarde a V. S. siempre. Sevilla, 4 Abril, 1591.

ROB. PERSONIO.

CXCIX.

Count de Olivares to Philip II. Rome, 28 April, 1591.

From a transcript of the despatch in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado. Leg^{o} 957. Copia de carta descifrada del Conde de Olivares á S. M., fecha en Roma á 28 de Abril de 1591.

Señor.

Hable al Cardenal Alano en conformidad de lo que V. M^{d} mando en el despachar la yglesia de Malinas y su yda a residir, y demas de mostrarse aparejado a hazer lo que V. M^{d} mandare, muestra desseo de que no se le acabe la vida sin haver hecho algun servicio a Dios con la dignidad en que le ha puesto y a V. M^{d} por la merced que le ha hecho, y tambien conoce que con estar en lugar donde aya pressidio de Españoles no tiene peligro de las machinas que contra su vida podra yntentar la Ynglesa. Solo repara en que estando alli, donde tantos Yngleses acudirian a el y donde havria menester vivir con algun lustre, le seria mas hazienda, porque Malinas presupone que el dia de oy no le vale ninguna cosa, y lo qué el tiene, con los 100 escudos[1] al mes que le cessarian en saliendo de aqui, con vivir limitada y estrechamente no ha tenido para comprar paños para colgar su aposento ni cama en que dormir, que de lo que se sirve es mio, y con todo esto deve algunos dineros, de que yo tambien en parte soy testigo. Agora esta muy occupado con la revision de la Biblia que hizo Sixto V., siendo uno de los Cardenales a quien el Papa lo ha remitido, y el que mejor entiende la materia y que mas resiste a las mudanças. Esto creo se acabara este verano, a lo menos hasta ponerlo en estado de embiarlo a las universidades para tomar su parezcer. Conforme a esto y a la utilidad que V. M^{d} juzgare de su persona alla, podra mandar lo que mas fuere de su servicio. Dios guarde, &c. De Roma, a 28 de Abril, 1591.

[1] "Nel conclave del 1464 fu eletto Paolo II., che come d'animo grande non solo aumentò le prerogative de' Cardinali, ma a quelli che non aveano di rendita ecclesiastica 4000 scudi annui ordinò che la Camera Apostolica loro somministrasse 100 scudi d'oro al mese, ciò che volgarmente si chiamò il *piatto del Cardinale povero.*" Dizionario Storico-Ecclesiastico by Moroni. Vol. LII., p. 274.

CC.

Monumental inscription at Zagarolo.[1] 1591.

From a copy printed in Moroni, Dizionario Storico-Ecclesiastico. Vol. CIII., *p.* 385.

Gregorius XIV. P.M.
De incorrupta sacrorum Bibliorum puritate solicitus
Textum Vulgatæ editionis
Sedente prædecessore suo Sisto V.
Typis Vaticanis indiligenter excussum
A pluribus quæ irrepserant mendis expurgari
Pristinoque nitori restitui curavit,
Delectis in hunc scopum
Atque Zagarolum missis clarissimis viris,
Bartholomæo Miranda, Andrea Salvener,
Antonio Agellio, Roberto Bellarmino, Joanne de Valver
Lælio Lando, Petro Molino et Angelo Rocca,
Additis etiam doctrina non minus quam dignitate
Eminentissimis Cardinalibus,
Marco Antonio Columna et Guilelmo Alano,
Qui Pontificiæ obsequentes voluntati
Anno MDLXXXXI.
Communibus collatis animadversionibus et notis
Opus insigne
Et catholicæ religioni maxime salutare
Assiduo seduloque XIX dierum labore
His ipsis in ædibus perfecerunt.
Ne tantæ rei notitia aliquando periret,
Clemens Dominicus Rospigliosius,
Clementis IX. P. O. M.
Ex fratre pronepos, Zagarolensium dux,
Monumentum posuit,
Anno salutis MDCCXXIII.

[1] Zagarolo is a town about one mile and a half distant from Palestrina. It was formerly a fief of the Colonnas, in whose favour St. Pius V. raised it to a dukedom. The conferences commemorated by this inscription took place in a hall of the baronial palace of Zagarolo, which then belonged to Cardinal Marc' Antonio Colonna.

CCI.

Joint protestation of Cardinal Allen and Dr Owen Lewis, bishop of Cassano.
Rome, 6 May, 1591.

From a contemporary copy without signatures in the archives of the see of Westminster. IV., 95. *Printed also in Dodd. Vol.* II., *p.* 240.

Nos, quorum nomina inferius propriis nostris manibus scripta notantur, ad confusionem diaboli et membrorum ejus, hæreticorum, qui mutuo et constanti inter nos amori antiquo invident, et astutia serpentina fraternam inter nos unionem separare sæpe conantur, et ad certiorem quoque instructionem multorum catholicorum, nostrorum amicorum communium, qui decepti falsis et fictis quorundam rationibus suspicantur fortasse non esse inter nos duos solitam illam et sinceram amicitiam, et ideo studiis partium pro suo quisque sensu favere vel contradicere aliquando cogitant, et ex hujusmodi falso dissidii inter nos fundamento inter se quoque aliquando dissident: declaramus per has patentes et communes tabulas, et notum omnibus testatumque facimus, nullum esse aut fuisse unquam inter nos dissidium, nullam animorum alienationem, sed semper in hoc nostro 30 annorum exilio utrumque nostrum animis conjunctis ac fraterno plane et sincero amore nos semper invicem dilexisse, et cum summa animorum consensione et conjunctione parique studio et communi consilio ac totis viribus ubique partes catholicorum, honorem Dei, religionis catholicæ defensionem, consolationem nostratium qui propter constantem fidei orthodoxæ confessionem exulant, patriæ denique nostræ dulcissimæ et afflictissimæ reductionem ad unionem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ catholicæ, apostolicæ et Romanæ procurasse et promovisse pro nostra virili: et hanc quoque inter nos firmam et constantem amicitiam perpetuam fore speramus et profitemur: et rogamus nostros communes amicos omnes ut invicem quoque diligant et utrique nostrum sine discrimine tanquam uni homini faveant æqualiter. Nos enim quicquid officii et studii erga unum ex nobis præstabitur, erga alterum quoque præstari existimabimus; et honore invicem prævenientes non nostra sed quæ Jesu Christi sunt quærere semper studebimus; et quicquid honoris aut favoris nobis accedet id totum dicabimus et consecrabimus Deo Opt° Max°, cui soli honor et gloria, et servitio ecclesiæ catholicæ et communis patriæ nostræ restaurationi; et mutuis officiis conabimur promovere mutuam omnium erga nos charitatem; et sincera benevolentia omnes præcipue domesticos fidei et coexules nostros diligemus in Domino et eorum rebus favere ac necessitatibus consulere non omittemus quantum penes nos erit. Hoc interim per viscera misericordiæ Dei rogamus omnes fratres nostros Anglos seu Britannos in hoc communi exilio nostro dispersos, ut non sint inter eos schismata aut jurgia aut ulla propter nos personarum acceptio; cum inter nos duos nullum per Dei gratiam sit aut unquam fuerit dissidium. Et si in unam fortasse circa res omnes agendas non possint omnes semper convenire sententiam, ita tamen modeste contendant circa istas res

omnes exteriores ut non excidant a charitate Dei et proximi et ut nullum inde nascatur scandalum, memores verbi Domini Jesu, qui dixit "Veh homini illi per quem scandalum venit." Istas vero communes declarationes et amicitiæ nostræ tesseras nostris manibus nostrisque sigillis, ad majorem eorum omnium quæ superius diximus fidem et probationem, signavimus. Romæ, pridie Nonas Maii, 1591.

Endorsed.

Fede universale per levare tutti li falsi rumori che si facievano d'essere fra il Card^le^ Alano et Monsig^r^ vescovo di Cassano.

CCII.

Brief of Pope Gregory XIV. to Cardinal Allen. Rome, 18 September, 1591.

From an authenticated copy in the archives of the see of Westminster. IV., 99. *Printed also in Dodd. Vol.* II., *p.* 243.

Dilecto filio nostro, Gulielmo titulo S. Martini in Montibus presbytero Cardinali Alano Gregorius PP. XIV.

Dilecte fili noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Inter maximas pastoralis nostræ solicitudinis curas quibus assidue urgemur, in ea cogitatione diu noctuque versamur, qua scilicet ratione catholica fides in iis regnis et locis, quæ Sathanæ fraudibus decepta ab illa misere desciverunt, restitui valeat. Sed erga nobilissimum Angliæ regnum ejusque populos præcipua quadam commiseratione permoti eorum saluti quibus possumus modis omnino consulendum censemus. De tuæ igitur Circumspectionis in catholica fide constantia, jam a pluribus annis quibus ob eam voluntarium ab ipso Angliæ regno, patria tua, exilium delegisti comprobata, præcipuaque in ipsam patriam tuam caritate, prudentia, vigilantia ac restituendæ in primis in ipsa patria catholicæ religionis ardenti studio plurimum in Domino confisi, infrascriptas tibi facultates, quibus provide et circumspecte ad restituendam in regno Angliæ catholicam fidem et Anglorum salutem procurandam uti possis, concedendas duximus. Motu itaque proprio, non ad tuam vel alterius pro te Nobis oblatæ petitionis instantiam, sed ex certa scientia maturaque deliberatione nostris, tibi, missionum Anglicarum Præfecto, pro continuo catholicorum in ipso regno operariorum supplemento, ne desint qui occisis, vinctis aut defunctis presbyteris succedant, quoscumque Anglos vel Hibernos catholicos doctrina ac moribus idoneos cuicumque catholico antistiti gratiam et communionem Apostolicæ Sedis habenti per tuas literas commendandi, ac etiam sine suorum ordinariorum literis dimissoriis ac sine titulo ad primam tonsuram ac omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratus ordines præsentandi: omnesque pariter Anglos et Hibernos, qui agnitis erroribus pœnituerint et ad sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ catholicæ gremium redire voluerint, ab omni hæresis et schismatis

labe ac quibuscunque peccatis et excessibus quantumvis enormibus ac censuris et pœnis ecclesiasticis, etiam Apostolicæ Sedis absolutioni reservatis, et contentis in literis die Cœnæ Domini legi solitis, per eos propterea incursis: ipsis tamen clericis, qui hæretici Calvinistæ seu sacramentarii fuerint, ab altaris ministerio perpetuo vel ad tempus tuo arbitrio suspensis, dummodo non sint relapsi, in foro conscientiæ absolvendi, et cum eis super irregularitate præmissorum occasione quomodocumque, videlicet ob communicationem cum hæreticis, contracta in eodem foro dispensandi: atque sacerdotibus in prædictis regnis Angliæ et Hiberniæ degentibus vel illuc pro tempore mittendis vel aliquibus eorum similem vel limitatam absolvendi et dispensandi, personarum ac temporum qualitate pensata, facultatem secundum prudentiam tuam communicandi eosque ad prædicta subdelegandi; necnon eisdem ut in carceribus, cameris, cryptis, et aliis locis, ubi tutius et melius atque cum majori qui licuerit cultu et ornatu, sacrosanctum missæ sacrificium super altari portatili etiam ante lucem celebrare possint licentiam et facultatem Apostolica auctoritate concedendi. Nonnullis etiam eorundem sacerdotum, quos magis idoneos judicaveris, paramenta et indumenta aliaque utensilia ecclesiastica, non tamen calices, patenas et corporalia aut alia in quibus sacrum chrisma adhiberi solet, pro earum partium usu benedicendi facultatem tribuendi. Atque etiam cum personis catholicis aut hæresim relinquentibus dictorum regnorum, durante in iis schismate hujusmodi, si salutem animarum, bonum religionis aut evidentem rei necessitatem id exigere cognoveris, quas secundo in linea æquali, ac secundo et tertio, ac tertio et quarto simplicibus vel mixtis consanguinitatis et seu affinitatis gradibus conjunctas matrimonio jungi aut in jam contractis matrimoniis remanere utile futurum sit, ut non obstantibus gradibus hujusmodi matrimonium, servata forma concilii Tridentini quantum in illis locis fieri potest, contrahere et solemnizare, ac in eis, et seu jam contractis, remanere, ac super cognatione spirituali similiter, non tamen inter levantem et levatum, tam de contracto quam de contrahendo in foro conscientiæ tantum dispensandi, easque a censuris et pœnis ecclesiasticis propterea incursis et incestus reatu absolvendi prolesque susceptas et suscipiendas exinde legitimas nuntiandi et decernendi: et ad præmissa quoque pios aliquos sacerdotes in iisdem partibus subdelegandi; dummodo tamen, cum fides catholica ibidem restituta fuerit vel alias commode potuerint, dispensationes et legitimationes hujusmodi ab Apostolica Sede in foro exteriori impetrentur. Vota pariter quæcumque (castitatis et religionis dumtaxat exceptis) in alia pia opera illis locis, personis et temporibus magis convenientia commutandi, vel super eis cum personis illarum partium quæ illa emiserint dispensandi, et ad hæc quoque sacerdotes tibi benevisos subdelegandi. Ad hæc libros catholicorum contra hæreticos Anglico idiomate scriptos ac Sacras Scripturas in idem idioma fideliter versos approbandi, catholicisque ut eos legere possint licentiam concedendi; certis etiam personis, doctrina et pietate ac catholicæ religionis zelo præstantibus, ut libros hæreticorum ad effectum illos con-

futandi dumtaxat legere et contra eos scribere valeant licentiam concedendi plenam, amplam et universam facultatem, auctoritatem et potestatem concedimus et impartimur. Mandantes propterea in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ dilectis filiis sacerdotibus et aliis catholicis in Anglicana et Hibernica messe laborantibus et illuc pro tempore mittendis ut tibi tanquam missionis hujusmodi Præfecto eorumque superiori in omnibus præmissa[1] et missionem hujusmodi concernentibus prompte pareant et obediant; omnes ad te inter ipsos catholicos aut alios controversias, dubia ac difficultates referant, ac tua monita et jussa exequantur, non obstantibus quibusvis Apostolicis, ac in universalibus, provincialibus et synodalibus conciliis editis, generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Datum Romæ apud S. Marcum sub annulo Piscatoris, die 18 Septembris, 1591, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

Sumtum ex minuta originali Brevium secretorum San. mem. Gregorii PP. XIV. collatum concordat.

Pro E. Card[li] Passioneo,

L. S. CAJETANUS AMATUS.

CCIII.

Cardinal Allen to Redmond O'Gallagher, bishop of Derry (+ 15 March, 1601) Richard Brady, bishop of Kilmore (+ September, 1607) and Cornelius O'Devany, bishop of Down and Connor (+ 1 February, 1612). Between Oct. 1591 and Oct. 1594.

From an ancient transcript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. MS. E. 3. 8. p. 28.[2]

Nos Gulielmus miseratione divina sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ Cardinalis Alanus[3] nuncupatus, vigore Literarum Apostolicarum a sanctissimo bonæ memoriæ Gregorio 14°[4] die 18° Septembris, 1591, nobis in hac parte conscriptarum, reverendissimis DD. Redmondo Derensi, Richardo Kilmorensi, Cornelio Dunensi episcopis.

Cum de vestra pietate, doctrina ac zelo domus Dei multa audivimus, vobis facultatem damus et licentiam concedimus audiendi confessiones, ac ab omnibus peccatis quantumque enormibus ac quibusvis casibus, et[5] in bulla Cœnæ Domini contentis, atque etiam ab hæresi et schismate et a quibuslibet censuris inde incursis, pœnitentes absolvendi in omnibus partibus totius regni Angliæ et totius regni Hiberniæ, idque in foro conscientiæ tantum; necnon vobis damus facultatem prædicandi, sacramenta

[1] *præmissis?* An ancient copy of the Brief in the Westminster archives has this reading.

[2] I am indebted to the courtesy of Professor John K. Ingram, LLD, librarian, and Thomas French Esq., assistant librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, for a copy of this transcript. The text is evidently very corrupt, but a few emendations have been suggested in the footnotes.

[3] It is probable that in the original document the words *vulgariter de Anglia* were interposed between *Alanus* and *nuncupatus*.

[4] Pope Gregory XIV. died 15 October, 1591.

[5] *etiam?*

ecclesiastica et in universum alia omnia quæ animarum exercitium convenientia et quæ per episcopos vel eorum licentia exerceri possit[1] in locis etiam profanis ministrandi, et præsertim missam in commodis vel aptis vel etiam ante lucem celebrandi super altaribus portatilibus, vestimenta sacerdotalia et alia hujusmodi benedicendi; modo per omnia decenter et quantum fieri in illis locis potest cum convenientia tractantur. Vobisque damus facultatem quoties id necessitas aut animarum salus requirat, in matrimoniis contra canones in diversis consanguinitatis aut affinitatis [gradibus][2] usque ad tertium gradum inclusive pro majore animarum tranquillitate de contrahendis dispensandi licentiam concedimus tum catholicis tum ad catholicam fidem redeuntibus in foro conscientiæ dispensandi, ab incestu omnibusque peccatis, pœnis ac censuris incursis absolvendi; [in][2] prædictis matrimoniis, si partes consentiant, [per][3]manere permittendi; prolemque inde susceptam et suscipiendam legitimam faciendi: ita tamen ut, postquam Dei misericordia prædicta regna ad ecclesiæ unionem[4] ac obedientiam redierint, admoneatis omnes hujusmodi ut has literas super hoc in curia Romana ad satisfaciendum ecclesiæ in foro exteriori juridicialiter pro tempore illis indultum fuerit expedire curent. Quod autem ad clericos vel hæreticorum ministros seu etiam presbyteros legitime ordinato[s][5] qui se hæreticorum officiorum aut sacramentorum ministratione contaminarunt, illi absolvi possunt et ecclesiæ reconciliari ac (pœnitentia injuncta peracta secundum peccati gravitatem) sacramenta etiam suscipiendi; sed non statim ad sacramentorum administrationem, ac non nisi longiore peracto tempore a vobis definiendo, admitti possunt. Si qui autem essent relapsi, super his absolvendis nullam habemus potestatem: [ad][2] sacrum officium Inquisitionis Generalis recurrendum erit. Hæc autem omnia semper valeant durante hæresi et schismate in regnis illis, et non ulterius. In cujus confessionis[6] notitiæ[7] fidem et testimonium his propria nostra manu subscripsimus, solitoque sigillo nostro munivimus. Datum Romæ in loco recidentiæ, die, etc.

Ego Joannes Olingus,[8] Hibernus, sacerdos Societatis Jesu, fidem facio hanc copiam esse veram.

CCIV.

Cardinal Allen to F. Robert Persons, S.J. [Rome] 7 January, 1592.

Fragment of a letter printed in the "Briefe Apologie or Defence of the catholike ecclesiastical hierarchie and subordination in England," by F. Persons, f. 38. verso.

My good Father; God is angry with us, as yow may perceave and we do feele by the open taking from us our head and pastor; for now is Innocentius also, in whome

[1] *possint?* [2] Supplied for the sense. [3] *per* is in a later hand.
[4] *unitatem?* [5] the *s* of *ordinatos* is eaten or cut away. [6] *concessionis?* [7] *nostræ?*
[8] Olingus is called Olingo in Patrignani's Memorie, Holing in Spicilegium Ossoriense, Huling in an English book published *circ.* 1607, and Houling in the preface of F. Fitz Simon's work on The Masse ed. *an* 1611. He retains the appellation of Olingus in the Literæ annuæ Lusitaniæ, *an.* 1599.

for his great prudence, learning and vertue we had great hope, taken unto God after he had byn in the Seat only 2 monethes,[1] &c.

And now we are to enter the 10 of Jan. into the conclave againe. God send grace and mercy and avert His wrath from us, &c.

And this for that. Now for our English matters. I wrote to yow I thinke by one of myne upon the 26 of October last past how N. N. had written hither from Flanders to some of the Inquisition that the Counsel of England offered him a pasport and safe conduct to passe and repasse especially with C. and H., who wil he saith become catholikes; by which you may see what kind of practises these good fellowes (of the faction)[2] have in hand and with whome they deale. Moreover I had warning 2 or 3 moneths agoe, and wrote to yow of the same, how the two companions N. N., N. N. were with the Treasurer and were suspected to have discovered all they knew, and perhaps added somwhat of their owne more then they knew, since which the former of them hath byn heere as yow ere this knowe. But now we are further advertised that they have betrayed all indeed, &c.

By whose advertisments and I know not by what other meanes or surmises they have lately set forth a Proclamation[3] of an entended invasion by the King of Spayne; wherin particularly they set downe his practises, and how he procured me for my treasons to be made Cardinal, and other things to bring us and all priests into hatred of the people; and I thinke yow be named in the said Proclamation, and the way how the preists are sent out of Spayne to prepare (as they say) the way to the said invasion; and so followeth in the said Proclamation most strayte order and provision for prevention of the said fayned invasions with very cruel provision against priests and catholikes. The poore wretches are more afrayd then we know cause; *sed Deum non invocaverunt, ideo trepidaverunt*, &c.

The present form of the name is Howling or Howlin. "Father John Huling, naturall of Wexford, by his industrie and the charitie of godlie people did relieve a certeine nomber of Irish youths in Lisbonne, and in the time of the plague in that citie sought licence of his superiors to serve in the hospital of the plague, whereof he died; which is a sufficient sign of his great charitie." Coppinger's Mnemosynum to the catholics of Ireland, p. 268, published about 1607. See also F. Hogan's Ibernia Ignatiana, pp. 31, 33*, 55 and 56. As F. Huling died in 1599, the transcript of Cardinal Allen's letter in Trinity College Library could not have been written by him; for the next two documents in the MS. volume, though in the same handwriting as the letter, are entitled respectively Clemens VIII. ad Ibernos, Apr. 18, 1600 and Clemens VIII. ad Ibernos, 1601. The information contained in this note is due to the kindness of the Rev. Father Edmund Hogan, S.J., who has also been so obliging as to collate my copy with the transcript in Trinity College Library.

[1] Innocent IX. was elected Pope 29 October, 1591, and died on December 30 following. [2] The words in brackets are apparently F. Persons' comment and not from the Cardinal's pen.

[3] This Proclamation (Strype's Annals, IV., 78.) was published in London, 20 Nov., 1591. Dr Stapleton under the name of Didymus Veridicus Henfildanus replied to it by his "Apologia pro Rege Catholico, Philippo II., contra varias et falsas accusationes Elisabethæ Angliæ Reginæ. Constantiæ" [1592].

And D. Dee,[1] their conjuror or astrologer, is said to have put them in more doubt; for that he hath told the Counsel by his calculation that the realme indeed shalbe conquered this somer, beleeve him who wil.

If it should come to his Majestie or other superiors eares that those priests should betray the catholike cause or be occasion of this Proclamation, it would be very scandalous, especially there in Spayne. I trust we shal have a copy of the Proclamation shortly. I doubt me your way of entercourse betwene England and Spayne and contrary wise is now by the said companions discovered. Gods wil be fulfilled and save us *a falsis fratribus*. I hope yow be before this perfectly recovered. Have a good hart in God, for by Him we shal overcome all. Thus much for a farewel before I enter the conclave. Adew, my deare Father, my comfort in these tribulations and temptations: this 7 of Jan., 1592.

CCV.

Cardinal Allen to Count Mansfeld, governor of the Low Countries. Rome, 22 February, 1592.

From the original in the archives of the kingdom of Belgium.[2]

Original dans la liasse No 295 de la collection des Papiers d'État et de l'Audience; aux archives du royaume, Bruxelles.

Monseigneur.

Combien que entre votre Excellence et moy ney ayt eu jusques à présent ou familiarité ou congnoissance, s'y est ce que en respect de voz anciens mérites à l'endroict des Pays-Bas et vostre très-grande fidélité endroit sa Majesté, dont elle est à bon droict renommée vers tous, j'ay, il y a bon espace, porté singulière affection à votre Excellence, come estant aussy très-affectionné serviteur de sa dite Majesté catholique et fort desireux du bien et salut du Pays-Bas; mesmes estant présentement comme naturel du dit pays, depuis que par la nomination de sa Majesté j'ay esté désigné archevesque de Malines. A cause de quoy si j'ay moyen de faire quelque service ou amitié à votre Excellence je le feray très-volontiers et d'affection. Et réciproquement il me samble que je ferois bien d'avoir recours à votre Excellence pour mes affaires et de quelques miens proches parens et singuliers amys, veu mesmes qu'il a pleut à sa Majesté vous ordonner Gouverneur Général des Pays-Bas en l'absence de Monseigneur le Duc de Parme; dont je prie très-affectueusement le Seigneur Dieu qu'il lui plaise

[1] Concerning Dr Dee see "Dr John Dee's private Diary," edited by James Orchard Halliwell Esq. for the Camden Society, 1842.

[2] Transcripts of this letter and of the fragment of a letter to Dr Thomas Stapleton printed at p. 343, have been very kindly furnished to me by M. Gachard, Archiviste général du royaume de Belgique.

vous donner la grace de bien régir et gouverner à l'advancement de son honneur et du bien des dits pays.

Monseigneur, il y a en Flandres plusieurs gentilshommes et aultres honestes personnages, exilez d'Angleterre leur patrie pour la foy, ou s'en estans retirez soubz la protection de sa Majesté Catholique et entretenus de la seule libéralité et munificence d'icelle ; lesquelles personnes fort desolées, à raison de nostre commune patrie et de la charité que je leurs dois, les recommande à votre Excellence très-affectueusement et autant qu'il m'est possible. Et entre autres, ou plus que nul des aultres, mon frère Gabriel Alanus et ma soeur Elisabeth, en respect de la grande conjonction et proximité de sang quy est entre moy et iceulx, lesquelz se sont retirez d'Angleterre avec leurs enfans et famile pour la religion, d'autant plus que en mon respect ilz eussent esté fort persécutez, et sont présentement demourans en la ville de Namur, n'ayans aulcun autre moyen de vivre que l'entretènement qu'il a pleu à sa Majesté leur ordonner. A cause de quoy et que bien souvent ilz sont payez bien tard et non sans difficulté, ilz se retrouvent quelques fois en bien grande nécessité comme j'entends. Par quoy, Monseigneur, je supplie très-affectueusement et tant que faire puis qu'il plaise à votre Excellence donner ordre qu'ilz soient secourus en cest leur extrême nécessité, commandant que l'entretènement qu'il a pleu à sa Majesté leur ordonner leur soit payé plus tost ; priant aussis qu'il plaise à votre Excellence donner tousjours bénigne audience à ce porteur, lequel sollicitera leurs affaires vers icelle. Quoy faisant votre Excellence fera ung grand œuvre de miséricorde et très-agréable à Dieu ; et le tiendray à très-grande obligation, prest à le recognoistre par touts moyens à moy possibles s'offrant l'occasion. A tant, Monseigneur, je prieray le Seigneur Dieu de tout mon cœur qu'il luy plaise avoir votre Excellence en sa garde et luy tousjours donner sa sainte grâce pour bien régir et gouverner. De Rome, ce 22 de Février, 1592.

Votre très-affectionné et bon amy,

LE CARDINAL ALANUS.

Addressed.

A Monseigneur, Monsieur le Conte de Mansfelt, par le présent gouverneur général des Pays-Bas. Bruxelles.

CCVI.

Madame Caterine de Clèves, Duchess of Guise, to Cardinal Allen. Reims, 22 February, 1592.

From the original, with autograph signature, in the British Museum. Harleian MSS. 7015, 212.

Monsieur ; Oultre la charge que j'ay donné a M. l'abbé d'Orbais, prévost de l'église de Reims et vicaire général de Monsieur l'abbé de St. Denis en France,[1] mon second filz,

[1] Charles Cardinal of Bourbon was abbot of St Denys until his death, which took place 30 July, 1594. Louis of Guise, second son of Henry Duke of Guise and Catherine of Cleves, was thereupon

que son frère aisné dépesche présentement vers Nostre Saint-Père, de vous veoir et saluer de ma part comme celluy qui a tousjours beaucoup honoré nostre maison de son amitié et bienveillance, je vous ay bien encore[1] faire ce mot pour vous prier de le croire au tesmoignage qu'il vous fera de nostre commune affection à vous servir et de la mienne en particulier, que je me sentirois bien heureuse vous pouvoir démonstrer par effect, si les occasions s'en presentoient. Je vous prie de vouloir favoriser le dict s[r] d'Orbais de vostre autorité et assistence en ce qu'il pourroit avoir de besoing en vostre court de delà, dont je me revancheray ailleurs pour vostre service de bon coeur ; comme je prie le Créateur vous donner, Monsieur, en bonne et parfaicte santé très longue et heureuse vie, me recommandant très humblement à voz bonnes grâces. De Reims, ce XXII Febvrier, 159 [2].[2]

Vostre très-humble

CATERINE DE CLEVES.[3]

Addressed.

Monsieur Monsieur le Cardinal Alanus.

Endorsed.

1592. Di Rems, li 23 [*sic*] di Febr. Mad. Caterina di Cleves, Duchessa di Guisa, in racc[ne] et credenza dell' Abb. d' Orbè. Risp° a 21 di Maggio.

CCVII.

Charles Cardinal of Lorraine to Cardinal Allen. Saverne, 22 July, 1592.

From the original, with autograph signature, in the British Museum. Harleian MSS. 7015, 213.

Ill[me] et R[me] Signor mio oss[mo]; La natural bontà di V.S. Ill[ma] et la scienza che ella ha per prova delle sagaci et ostinate persecutioni delli' heretici, oltre [al] amore che io so che ella porta anche a me la persuaderanno senza miei lunghi preghi ad abbraciare con ogni protettione et zelo la causa mia di Argentina,[4] et a considerarci dentro l'importantissime conseguenze che ella ha seco per servitio di Dio et della sua chiesa et per

nominated abbot by Henry IV. of France, and shortly afterwards confirmed by the chapter. He took possession of the abbey, 3 December, 1594, though he had not yet obtained his bulls from Rome. Gallia Christiana, Vol. VII., p. 412. I cannot harmonize this statement with the expressions of the letter.

[1] *fait* omitted? [2] The last figure of the date is completely worn away; but in the endorsement, which has also suffered at this point, the upper portion of the figure still remains, and from its shape appears to have once formed part of the figure 2.

[3] The signature is much injured and only partially decipherable.

[4] Strasburg. The Cardinal had just been elected bishop of Strasburg (9 June, 1592) by the catholic members of the chapter, the protestants voting for a near relation of the Elector of Brandenburg. It was only in 1604, three years before his death, that the Cardinal obtained peaceful possession of his bishopric. Gallia Christiana, Vol. V., p. 818. See also *supra* p. 318, note.

mantenimento della religione cattolica, et ad aiutarmi ad impetrare dalla somma carità et prudenza di N.S^re^ qualche subsidio di danari per mettere in sicuro il possesso et la salvezza di questa mia chiesa. Onde non spendero seco molte parole, ma rimettendomi a Giovanni Poya, mio secretario, l'assicurero che meritando con il publico benefitio la si obbligherà in perpetuo anche me, il quale mi offero a lei di vivo cuore et le bacio la mano. In Saverna, il dì 22 di Luglio, 1592.

Di V. S. Ill^ma^ et R^ma^ humilissimo servitore,

CARLO CARD^LE^ DI LORENO.

Addressed.

All' Ill^mo^ et R^mo^ S^r^ mio oss^mo^, il S^or^ Cardinale Alano. Roma.

CCVIII.

Cardinal Allen to Dr Thomas Stapleton. Rome, 15 August, 1592.

Extracted from the volume entitled 'Negotiations de Rome,' 1587—1597, f. 239. in the archives of the kingdom of Belgium, Brussels.[1]

Ex literis reverendissimi et illustrissimi domini Cardinalis Alani ad doctorem sanctæ theologiæ, Thomam Stapletonum.

Quid vero fiat aut non fiat in negotio reverendissimi domini Middelburgensis[2] du Blionlus et Sublindius ejus procuratores reddent rationem. Nos, quantum possumus et licet, eos urgemus ut expediant. Dominus Tornacensis[3] jam ad suos discessit, nec impedire potest. Quid præterea sit in mora nescio, præter hujus curiæ in hujusmodi causis majorem quam homines exteri crederent tarditatem. Romæ, ipso die Assumptionis Beatæ Virginis, anno 1592.

CCIX.

Cardinal Allen to the catholics in England. Rome, 12 December, 1592.

From a contemporary copy in the archives of the see of Westminster.[4] IV., 132 *bis.*

The Indorsment.

Charissimis in Anglia fratribus Londini vel alibi.

My deerest brethren and children whom I love in the verie bowells of Christ. As the excessive troubles and paynes and perills that you suffer daily and hourely in that

[1] See p. 340, note. [2] John de Stryen, Bishop of Middelburg in Zeeland, being unable to obtain possession of his see, was appointed president of the theological college at Louvain, in which office he died, 8 July, 1594. [3] John Vendeville, bishop of Tournay. He died 15 October, 1592. [4] There is a contemporary copy of this document, together with two later ones, in the Public Record Office, London. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 243, nn. 80, 81, 82.

extreame heate of persecucion gave me contynuall sorowe of minde with all possible compassion, yea truly with incessante desire at our mercyfull Lords handes that I might deliver, yf it were possible and so pleased his Divine Majestie, you and your afflicted children with an hundreth deathes and lyves of myne owne; so on the other side the daily intelligence and consideration of your notable patience, constancy and fruitfull labors in that harvest giveth me in manner equivalent comfort and consolation with hope in Gods goodnes that wee shall, ere yt be longe, see an end of all those myseries and Christes and the Churches enemies brought to confusion. Our brothers bloud makes forcible instance for the same from the earth, and theire soules from heaven with no lesse efficacy crieth out for the same. Doubt yee not, my moste sweete and faithfull coadjutors and true confessors, that our adversaries iniquities are now in Gods sight neere accomplished and at the height: on the contrary side the nombers of our bretheren that are to suffer for his truith are nere made up and shortlie to receive, not onlie in the next, but in this worlde, the worthie fruites of theire happie labors. God Almightie and all mercyfull will not suffer longe the rod of the wicked to leay so heavy upon the lott of the just, neither let us be tempted more then by his grace we shalbe able to beare, but will shorten those daies of affliction for the electes sake. Comforte your selves herein, my lovinge fellowes, and in the moste Christian and glorious cause that ever Gods preists or people suffred in. Wee are ashamed heere to syt *ad sarcinas* and see you in the fight and so bloudy a combatt; and wee compt your case a thousand tymes more happie and more meritoryous then ours. But this is Gods ordynance and disposicion of all our actions and persons dyfferentlie accordinge to his will and wysdome; and wee that by his appointment staye yet heere maie in good tyme have our turne, and in the meane wee succor you and the cause with prayers, sacryfice, teares, sighes and grones from the bottomes of our hartes and with contynuall instance to God and man for some releife of your miseries. Thus muche I write for myne owne comforte and yours and to dischardge my harte of the daily sorowes, care and sollicitude I have over you and your afflicted flocke, requiring you to whom these my letters maie come to make all good catholiques partakers of the same and of my infinite desyre I have to serve them even with my life, expectinge contynually good occasion to effectuate and accomplishe that which you and they moste desire. And havinge this commodity of writinge [I] cannot but require and advertyse you, my lovinge brethren that be preistes, of this one thinge, that I would have you use greate compassion and mercyfulnes towards suche of the laytie especially as for meere feare or savinge theire family, wyfe and children from ruyne are so far only fallen as to come sometymes to theire churches or be present at the tyme of their service. For though it be not lawfull to do so muche, nor in yt selfe any waies excusable, yet suche necessity in that kynde of men maketh the offence lesse and more compassionable, yea and more easily by you to be absolved. And therefore be not hard nor roughe nor rigorous nor *morosi* in receavinge againe and absolvinge them when they confesse

theire infirmities and be sorie for the same and yelde some reasonable hope that they will hereafter stand more strongly, or have hope to have meanes to escape and not to be led into the like temptacion by anie morall[1] shiftes which they maie finde and with[2] the circumstance of the tyme by ceasinge of the persecution or otherwyse maie bringe. Which mercie you muste use, thoughe they fall more then once, and thoughe perhaps you have some probable feare that they will of like infirmity fall againe; whereof yet we cannot be assured, because God maie give them more strengthe: wherein no more severity is to be required of the penitent then in any other synnes that be subject to the sacrament of pennance, and perhappes [less,][3] all circumstances well and discretly waighed. In all which matters that cannot be so well subjected to certaine rules you muste use muche wysdome and muche charitie and be assured that in moste cases of this kynde *tutior est via misericordiæ quam justitiæ rigoris; sed Deus dabit nobis intellectum in omnibus.* Yet on the other side you and all my bretheren muste have great regard that you teache not nor defende that it is lawfull to communycate with the protestantes in theire praiers or service or conventicles where they meete to mynister theire untrue sacramentes;[4] for this is contrarie to the practyse of the churche and the holie Doctors in all ages, who never comunycated nor allowed in anie catholique person to praie togeather with Arrians, Donatistes or what other soever. Neither is it a positive lawe of the churche, for so it might be dispensed withall upon some occasion; but it is denyed of Gods owne eternall lawe, as by many evident arguments I coulde convynce, and it hathe bin largely proved in sondry treatyses in our owne tongue, and we have practysed from the beginninge of our myseries. And least either any of my bretheren might either mistruste my judgmente, or be not satysfied by suche proves as have bin made therein, or my selfe to be beguiled therein in my owne conceipte, I thought onlie to take the opinion of the best learned devines here; but to make all sure, I have demaunded the Popes Holynes that now is[5] his sentence; who expreslie told me that to participate with the protestants either by prayinge with them or cominge to their churches or service or suche like was by no meanes lawfull or dispensable, but added withall, that such as of feare and weakenes or other temporall force or necessitye should do yt ought to be gentlie dealt withall and easily absolved, as before saide. This is his Holynes expres will and myne opinion, in which I desyre all my lovinge fellowes to agree, *ut non sint in vobis schismata.* And if any there [be][3] which cannot quiet his mynde in the matter, send me worde, and I will take the paines to treate of the matter at large that they maie see theire error. In the meane tyme I hope this maie serve for some taste of my lovinge meaninge towards you all, and especially of the contynuall care I have that you be *unanimi in Domino.* Remember me, your lovinge father in Christe, as you be all

[1] *of any mortall shifts* R. O. MS.
[2] *which* R. O. MS.
[3] Conjecturally supplied to complete the sense.
[4] See p. 56 and p. 57, note 1.
[5] Pope Clement VIII.

printed in my verie harte. Fare you well, my sweet children. Rome, this XII^th^ of December, 1592.

By the hande of your dearest

W. CARD^LL^.

It is notefied also by certaine intelligence unto all preistes, that his Holynes being myndfull of their labors for Gods churche and benefitte of theire contry sendeth them a jubile. If, within three monethes after notyce had, they make a generall confession either of their whole lyfe or of the tyme passed since their last generall confession, which happely they maie have made; no other condicion is intended. Therefore it belongeth to every ones devotion to prepare him selfe for suche a benefitt as he shall thincke moste effectuall. Also that those who by his Holines ymediat graunt maie admitt unto the Society of the Rosary maie do the same without any limitacion of a particular alter, but that the plenary indulgence at the first admission maie be received wheresoever; and that there needeth no writinge of names at all, but only a bare admission without solemnitye.

Endorsed.

Copie of a letter sent from Card. Allen which was found in Mr Wisemans house. 1592.

CCX.

Cardinal Allen to a Cardinal in Spain. Rome, 15 March, 1593.

From the original letter in the archives of the English College at Valladolid.[1]

Illustrissime et reverendissime Domine.

Scripserat ad me diebus præteritis P. Robertus Personius, Societatis Jesu, cum Hispalim proficisceretur, se istac in reditu per D.V. Ill^mam^ transiturum ut manus vestras osculetur et benedictionem accipiat resque Anglicanas cum D.V. Ill^ma^ tanquam cum patre amantissimo fideique catholicæ defensore acerrimo zelosissimoque (id enim a multo tempore intelleximus jam omnes) fiducia multa communicaret. Quod et ego satis quoque mihi causæ esse existimavi ut has statim literas exararem, quibus et tantam pietatis famam ex animo Ill^mæ^ D.V. gratularer, et patri Personio testimonium præstarem quod ejus virtus et prudentia religioque merentur. Fuit enim mihi a multis jam annis fidelissimus semper in hac communi patriæ nostræ ac Dei causa sustinenda et contra hæreticos propugnanda coadjutor, maximosque labores et pericula subiit pro Dei gloria. Quo etiam Dominus usus est instrumento ad seminaria gentis nostræ istic in Hispaniis instituenda; e quibus cum insignem Dei honorem tum ingens etiam patriæ nostræ afflictissimæ solatium et immortalem nationis istius laudem

[1] A copy of this letter is due to the kindness of the Very Reverend Charles Allen, Rector of the English College at Valladolid.

emanaturam confido. Ipse coram explicabit rerum nostrarum statum et conditionem eique in omnibus tanquam mihi ipsi fidem præstari cupio. Dominus Jesus illustrissimam D. V. incolumem semper salvamque conservet. Romæ, Idibus Martiis, 1593.

Illus^mæ D. V. servus indignusque frater,

GULIELMUS CARD^LIS ALANUS.

CCXI.

Lævinus Torrentius, bishop of Antwerp, to Cardinal Allen. Antwerp, 24 April, 1593.

Printed in the Bulletins de la commission royale d'histoire à Bruxelles. Deuxième Série; Tome 7, p. 337.

Reverendissime et illustrissime domine; Placuit Regi Catholico me, nihil minus quam hoc cogitantem, Celsitudinis tuæ loco, designare archiepiscopum Mechliniensem. Et exigebat quidem horum temporum necessitas ut ecclesiæ illi primariæ jam quartum annum vacanti provideretur. Sed quis ego sum, obsecro, qui tali viro succedam aut sperare possim tanto oneri futurum parem?—oneri, inquam, quod talem ac tantum virum magnitudine sua deterruit quominus illud aggrederetur. Obstupui itaque audito nuncio. Cum tamen vehementer me premerent tam Mechlinienses ipsi quam qui Bruxellæ Regis secretiori concilio præsunt, re tota non oscitanter perspecta, quanquam nihil inveni quod animam alliceret meam ad obediendum, tandem tamen eo me adduci passus sum ut civilitatis servandæ causa non prorsus supterfugerem. Scripsi itaque ad Regem, pateretur me tantisper excusari dum provinciæ hujus statum penitius considero; necdum ea me Antverpiæ, quæ tanti momenti civitas est, præstitisse quæ conceperam, cupere enim me separari hanc ecclesiam a conventu et monasterio S. Bernardi; defore non unde tam futuri episcopi quam novi abbates commode et honeste vivant; tantummodo desiderari ut hoc saluberrimum consilium Regi primum ac deinde Summo Pontifici non displiceat; rem esse minime difficilem et alioqui admodum favorabilem. Dicebam præterea constituisse me reformationem quandam edere huic tempori accommodatam, quæ jam edita fuisset, nisi bis repente evocatus Bruxellam aliud egissem. Si Majestas sua hæc quæ libello supplici jampridem petiveram annueret, me obtemperaturum, dummodo tamen interea omnia propius examinans agnoscerem meliorem Deo atque ecclesiæ ejus me Mechliniæ operam quam Antverpiæ præstiturum; alioqui imprudentiæ et ambitionis notam incursurum, si nondum recte ordinata hac ecclesia alteram susciperem multo difficiliorem. Quæ rationes si non persuaderent, cogitari posse de alio mihi surrogando, præsertim in tam gravi ætate mea, cum sim prope septuagenarius. Missa hac in Hispaniam epistola, ad quam responsum expecto, nihilominus urgeor ut diutius rem non differam quominus saltem administrationem subeam. Verum ad hoc opus est Summi Pontificis auctoritate atque assensu. Et alioqui nihil ad manum est quo placari creditores, qui plures sunt

et permolesti, aliqua saltem ex parte possint. Relinquo sumptus necessarios in tali dignitate. Omnia pæne desunt. Nulla Mechliniæ domus, supellex nulla, nulla etiam ecclesiæ ornamenta, ita ut vel maxime obsequi si velim, impediar tamen paupertate, cui malo nullum a me remedium est, aliunde occurri oportet, quod lentum sane negotium esse video. Aut igitur me simpliciter excusare cogor, aut necessarium est conjungi duas istas ecclesias saltem ad aliquod temporis spatium, ut puta biennium aut triennium, ut alterius sim dominus sive episcopus, alterius vero tantum administrator, ut Pontifici placuerit. Sunt enim civitates admodum vicinæ Mechlinia, cui subest Bruxella, atque Antverpia, ita ut uno eodemque die adiri possint omnes tres. Atque ita quidem res sese habet, dubie sane et perplexe ut non possim animo conquiescere, præsertim multo magis nunc sæviente quam unquam antea bello, quo quas dixi civitates imo totus iste tractus gravissime affligitur. Spes tamen melioris tandem successus, maxime ob populi catholica in religione constantiam. Quod si etiam, Deo nos miserante, qualiscumque tandem pax contingeret, facillime constitueretur ecclesia hæc Belgica, nec tantus nobis incumberet labor, qui tametsi gravis esset, ob provenientem inde in publicum utilitatem minus nos offenderet. Nunc miserrima prorsus nostra conditio est. Sed consolabitur nos Deus. Ego pro perpetua mea erga Sanctissimam istam Sedem observantia omittere non potui quin hæc perscriberem ac consilium simul atque auxilium implorarem. Nec profecto ulla orbis Christiani, meo quidem judicio, provincia est a qua plura dependeant quam ab hac Belgica, cujus summa vis atque potentia diuturno isto octo et viginti annorum bello manifeste cognoscitur. Superest igitur ut Celsitudo tua suam hic nobis operam non deneget. Scribo equidem ad Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum, sed paucis tantum verbis, ne prolixius scribendo molestus sim. Tantum rogo ut intellectis his quæ a Celsitudine tua proponentur, quid per me fieri vult significare non dedignetur, præsertim si quid etiam ex Hispania hac de re Romæ intellectum fuerit. Deum autem rogo quam possum humillime ut Celsitudinem tuam quam diutissime nobis servet incolumem. Antverpiæ, an. MDXCIII., mensis Aprilis die XXIV.

CCXII.

Cardinal Allen to Mr Richard Hopkins. Rome, 14 August, 1593.

Printed in Strype's Annals, Vol. IV., *p.* 203.[1]

Good Mr Hopkins; Yours of the 10th of July came safely to my hands, and gave me knowledge of a certain overture made to you by one that might seem to do it by some secret commission of treaty of an accord between England and Spain, with

[1] The following is the title in Strype: "Cardinal Allen, from Rome, to Richard Hopkins, fugitive, August 14, 1593. So endorsed by the Lord Treasurer's own hand. This letter of the Cardinal was in answer to one from Hopkins at Antwerp upon report of a treaty between England and Spain to endeavour a liberty of religion for the catholics."

desire of my sense therein either of myself or with the Pope upon some reasonable conditions for toleration of the catholic religion in our country. Which argument how grateful it should be unto me, you that of old know so well my opinion and desire in that cause may easily deem.

And after a little pause of mind upon so sudden and unwonted news, I could think no otherwise but that God himself hath stirred up in their hearts this motion for the saving of that realm from the present fears and dangers and perplexities it is fallen into. And thereby also a special [favour] offered at length unto me, once ere I die, not only to give the willing desired comforts I owe unto my afflicted catholic friends and brethren, but therein also to serve most faithfully and profitably even my very enemies; though otherwise than through these unfortunate differences and debates in religion (our Lord God forgive the author thereof) I know I have none; or[1] to do to the one or the other and above all to my neighbour country most dear unto me so much good as an unfeigned peace would bring I would travail to the last drop of my blood.

I thank God I am not so estranged from the place of my birth most sweet, nor so affected to foreigners that I prefer not the weal of that people above all mortal things; whereof, if it pleased the Queen's Majesty or Council to take a sure taste, I desire no more but that they would confidently use and command me in this matter. And in truth upon the receipt of your letter I had not slept before I had dealt with his Holiness, if the party that made the motion unto you had brought any warrant in the world from any in authority, or any sufficient proof or attestation of their contentment therein, which might have been (as yet it may be) kept as close as themselves would require. That they so did not, if they meant any matter indeed, I marvel. And you did well and wisely to stand on that point, without which I cannot in reason nor honour attempt a thing of that weight and quality with the Pope; much less bring our purpose to pass either with him or the King. With whom also, not only by his Holiness' mediation but by myself, in matters concerning our country and religion, I may perhaps do more than I need now to say: and whatsoever I can do with either of them, I would employ in this case myself to the uttermost. Though to say the truth, if the Pope were a temporal prince only, being no less injured (though in another kind) than the King himself, his person were not so fit to be a moderator of this pretended peace. But being a spiritual person and the common and most loving father of all Christians, and attending above all human respects the service of God and the advancement of religion, without all formalities and punctos of worldly honour, I am assured he will embrace this cause with all hearty affection. For I know many ways his most tender heart and desire towards our country's weal both in God and in the world.

Only we want good grounds of her Majesty's intention and good acceptation of

[1] *for?*

our travails herein; which if you can by writing or other equivalent means obtain, let me alone for the rest, promising mine own pains without exception, and not much doubting but that his Holiness will most favourably and earnestly employ his authority for the same.

In all which matters as myself would proceed with much more alacrity, if I might understand how far and in what sort they of themselves would condescend in matters of religion, so I am sure that upon a reasonable toleration according to that state of that realm, we may induce his Holiness to take this motion to heart and to proceed carefully, steadily and effectually in the same. Where otherwise, if he be not well warranted of some reasonable accord for religion, as I know he will never deal, but with all possible force debar all other treaty of peace, so it is no less certain that the King of his like zeal and piety will never make peace (or if I suppose his posterity after him) without some important moderation in religion.

Therefore this point well established and cleared and the places holden of England rendered to the King, I trust, without all other restitution or recompense of losses, spoils or damages, the King by his Holiness' means and by labours may be induced to a peace, most necessary and happy for England and profitable for the whole Christian world; whereof if I might by any office of my life or death be a promoter or procurer, I would reckon the remnant of my few years I have to come more fortunate than the many evil and long years of my life past; assuring myself that there is no other way but this to save my beloved country from imminent ruin temporal and (as it may be feared) perdition eternal. From either of which I would willingly deliver it by my death.

Of this my desire and entire affection to serve and save them in this cause, I pray you, as you have occasion, make them in England to understand: wishing them if they mean sincerely, as I do faithfully and as before God and my soul for their general and particular good desire it, to send over some one or two of their civil or temporal wise lawyers of catholic inclination, void of passion and partiality, that know how far the state of the realm may comport [with] the exercise of the catholic religion, and how far the Queen and Council can be contented to condescend therein for a firm and stable peace. Which persons, joining with you there and with some such of our principal English clergy and gentlemen in those parts as you shall choose, may set down such articles as among you shall be agreed upon and so send them hither to me that I may present them to his Holiness; that thereby he may the sooner be incited to take this matter in hand. Or if the parties think better to come hither with her Majesty's licence and you (if it be thought good) with them for more speed and substantial despatch of all things, I will give them or any of them protection, and procure them large passports and benign audience of the Pope; and all this with as much secrecy as themselves shall desire.

But these and all such like particulars I commit to your discretions, praying you

to advertise me of the receipt hereof. And so with my hearty commendations, I bid you farewell. From my house in Rome, this 14th of August, 1593.

Yours assuredly,

W. CARDINAL.

CCXIII.

Cardinal Allen to Pope Clement VIII., with two letters enclosed. [Rome] 8 September, 1593.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Borghesiana, III., 74).

Beatissime Pater.

Etsi vestra Sanctitas nihil eorum quæ in Galliis geruntur ignorat, tamen ut intelligat qui sit sensus eorum qui ad me aliquando scribunt, meæ in ipsam obedientiæ et observantiæ consentaneum duxi istud binarum ad me nuper missarum literarum a quodam nobili Anglo, Ducis Magni [1] familiari, scriptarum exemplar post oscula sanctissimorum pedum offerre. Die 8 Septem. [1593].

Vestræ S^tis^ obedientissimus filius et servus,

G. C. ALANUS.

Exemplar literarum 12 et 16 Augusti Parisiis scriptarum.

Scripsi jam pridem semel aut iterum de rerum nostrarum statu, progressu et difficultatibus, sed nescio an literæ rectæ [2] sint traditæ, nam sæpissime intercipiuntur, ac proinde eadem quæ antea significata sunt breviter repetenda censui.

Hic Statuum conventus[3] putabatur remedium allaturus hujus regni malis ac miseriis: et ita certe fecisset, si omnes ad quos hoc negotium pertinebat accessissent rebus necessariis et liberis animis instructi, secundum id quod dominus meus Dux Mayneus prudentissime præscripserat, qui ab initio prædixit omnes conatus irritos fore nisi justus adesset exercitus. Certo enim sciebat sine magnis copiis nec nominari, nedum constitui regem posse; præsertim cum hostis jam et armis esset potentior et frequentibus victoriis insolentior.

Ministri Catholicæ Majestatis bona fide promiserant ante finem Junii sufficientes ad hostem reprimendum copias adfuturas. Interea ita fuimus milite et omnibus rebus necessariis destituti ut in conspectu nostro ad deditionem oppidum Drusense[4] cogeretur; sicut et eodem tempore Burgum S^tæ^ Gertrudis[5] in Brabantia. Qua re multum animi hosti additum et nobis tantundem detractum. Et sane de toto negotio regni et reli-

[1] *Maynci?* [2] *recte?* [3] The States General which met at Paris, 26 January, 1593.
[4] Dreux. [5] Geertruidenberg.

gionis actum fuisse videretur, nisi dominus meus eorum opinioni et sententiæ qui statim eligendum regem censerant[1] restitisset. Cujus regis primus ingressus fuisset non modo subjectus intollerabilibus necessitatibus, sed etiam tam inimicorum irrisioni quam amicorum compassioni obnoxius. Quibus rationibus inductus dominus meus coactus est non admittere pro conditione temporis quæ tantopere ministri Catholicæ Majestatis urgebant. Hinc magni animorum motus et partium offensiones variæ, quæ sine tædio et dolore commemorari non possunt.

Dum in his angustiis essemus, Navarrus dolo et artificio hæreticis peculiare[2] consilium iniit de mutanda et abjuranda religione sua; effecitque ut divulgaretur per Franciam ac orbem Christianum universum quod jam tandem constitutum haberet catholicam fidem et religionem suscipere, ecclesiam adire ac missam audire. In quem finem misit literas Parisios ad certos doctores et urbis parochos, huic fraudi magis aptos, ut adessent ac adsisterent futuræ actioni; quorum aliqui profecti sunt, Legato[3] etiam repugnante. Hæc autem fabula seu commedia erat apud S. Dionysium exhibenda. Illuc ergo ad diem constitutum accessit Navarrus cum toto exercitu suo, ac si esset obsessurus Lutetiam; id enim se facturum minabatur. Eo etiam venit tota ipsius nobilitas, suarum partium prælati, nobilium quoque feminarum ac omnis generis et sexus innumerabilis turba. Ministros interea suos (Calvinistas prædicatores) jussit ad sororem suam Mantes divertere. Sacrum igitur in die S^ti^ Jacobi publice audivit; quod et ab eo tempore quotidie facit. Hujus rei fama ita movit hujus populi animos ut, neglecta omni cura et cogitatione religionis catholicæ conservandæ, ineundam mox cum hoste pacem sperarent. Unde summum toti causæ creatum est periculum; et Parisiensis plebs etiam tumultuari cœpit; nec in hac tempestate aliter rebus nostris consultum iri videbatur quam ut vela complicaremus et ancoram jaceremus. Magnæ interim disceptationes et continuæ deliberationes inter nostros Principes, Regis Catholici ministros et Legatum Apostolicum extiterunt quomodo tam gravibus et tam præsentibus periculis occurrendum esset. Dominus meus, cujus ab initio consilia non ita probabantur, ad priora remedia recurrebat, et eadem tanquam salutaria a cæteris qui antea dissenserant ultro jam acceptabantur. Eo autem hæc consilia tendebant ut simularent se non improbare conversionem Navarræ, sperantes eam non fictam sed sinceram esse, seque rem omnem suæ Sanctitati relaturos et quod ipsa judicaverit libenter secuturos: voluntatem autem suæ Sanctitatis nisi Romam misso nuncio sciri non posse: interea dum nuncii irent et negotium tractarent, se paratos esse inducias aliquot mensium ante sæpe oblatas acceptare. Et dominus meus vidit hoc solum esse remedium præsentis mali avertendi et in futurum bene sperandi: in quam sententiam ab omnibus tandem itum est, cum viderent nullam aliam esse viam se a præsentibus necessitatibus expediendi. Porro cum Dux Guisius fuisset paulo ante a sua M^te^ in generum nominatus, modo ipsum Status crearent regem, tamen post multas deliberationes erat judicatum necessarium ut ab hoc negotio supersederetur et ut omnem de

[1] *senserant?* [2] *peculiari?* [3] Cardinal Sega, bishop of Piacenza.

eo sermonem supprimerent. Induciarum vero spatio, quæ per tres menses duraturæ sunt, judicatum est posse suam Sanctitatem recte informari de toto negotio, quod tanto majoris momenti et periculi est, quando[1] apertissimis argumentis constat hanc prætensam Navarræ conversionem non modo fictam et falsam esse sed plane fallacem, fraudulentam ac omnis doli ac impietatis plenam, nec ullo modo a Spiritu Sancto (ut fingitur) profectam esse. Interea quoque temporis sua Majestas Catholica informari potest de statu totius causæ deque erroribus hinc inde commissis et quam incommodo tempore propositus fuerit Dux Guisius, et quomodo ex hoc maximo errore in has necessitates et in variorum hominum calumnias inciderimus affirmantium hoc factum esse ut inter se domus Lotheryngica et Borbonica committerentur et æternis dissidiis Francicum regnum dissiparetur. Quæ omnes calumniæ Majestatis suæ sanctissimis consiliis ac in Galliam studiis patefactis facile detegi possunt. Postremo harum induciarum tempore non solum Pontifex sed et Rex Catholicus et totus Christianus orbis possunt magis particulatim de domini mei actionibus informari et instrui.

Post publicationem harum induciarum Ordines hic congregati simpliciter et sine exceptione acceptarunt sacrum Concilium Tridentinum et renovarunt jusjurandum de catholica unione tuenda et conservanda. Et ut semel concludam, ne Amplitudinem tuam nimia prolixitate onerem, ita omnes boni hic sentiunt hujus totius causæ successum optatum primo et præcipue a sua Sanctitate pendere; nempe, si rite et exacte examinet insufficientem modum procedendi in Navarri absolutione et fraudulenta conversione: secundo a sua Majestate, quæ si tempestive justis auxiliis militariis et pecuniariis electioni Ducis Guisii adsistat, Navarrum facile et hæresem omnem prorsus ex hoc regno abiget et gloriosissime ubique de hostibus suis triumphabit. Parisiis, 12 Augusti.

Alteræ literæ 16 Augusti scriptæ.

Post publicationem induciarum de ulteriori pace cum Navarro tractari aiunt. Ad id deputati sunt ex parte nostra Villeroy, præsidens Janing,[2] Bassompier et Sebastianus Jamet.[3] Quid resolutum sit non est hactenus cognitum; rumor tamen est conclusum esse super certis capitibus, et inprimis ea quæ conclusa sunt non aliter fore rata nisi modus absolutionis et conversionis prætensæ a Pontifice approbetur, et Navarrus a Sede Apostolica simpliciter absolvatur; quod nunquam futurum speramus; nam si ita accideret tum actum esset de Francia, et hoc miserum regnum, Angliæ exemplo, in æternam laberetur ruinam. Res ista incredibili artificio tractatur: proinde nisi summa prudentia et constantia isti fraudi occurratur, religio hic omnis peribit. In principio hujus mutui inter partes colloquii seu conferentiæ non putabatur fore ut unquam in necessitatem pacis faciendæ adduceremur; et Legatus revera constantissime semper se opposuit. Faxit Deus ut omnia ad bonum religionis catholicæ tendant, et ad honorem

[1] *quanto?* [2] Jeannin. [3] Zamet.

etiam domini Ducis, patroni mei; cujus intentiones, quantum ex signis externis judicare licet, veræ et sinceræ sunt. Sed, ut verum fatear, res tota est in summo periculo, et dominus meus fortunam suam hactenus non stabilivit; hostis denique abundat fraudibus et cautelis.

Cogitant nostri de mittendo Romam archiepiscopum Lugdunensem. Pro inimicis ac Navarræ absolutione iturus dicitur Nivernensis;[1] idem qui tempore Sixti Quinti sollicitavit ejusdem Navarræ excommunicationem. Parisiis, 16 Augusti, 1593.

CCXIV.

Cardinal Allen to the Rev. Anthony Martin, in religion Dom Athanasius. Rome, 21 January, 1594.

Printed in Weldon's Chronological Notes,[2] *p.* 40.

Most dear brother and child; I have received two letters from you since you have withdrawn into those holy places, both of them elegantly and lovingly, but (what is above all) religiously written. To the first I answered by some about me, but to the last having got a little leisure I resolved to write myself; first that you might not by other persons words only see how much I affection you, but also by my own; next that you might know how much I esteem your progress in that most holy state of life, for which much more now in the Lord than ever in the world, although your remarkable talents ever rendered you very dear to me, I love and embrace you; lastly that I might communicate unto you the joy I have conceived of this most happy state of life, to which I apply the words of the Apostle: I have no greater joy than to hear that my children walk in truth. Wherefore I most highly congratulate your contempt of human affairs and fervour in pursuit of those of heaven, and that having escaped and overcome the most cruel and most turbulent movements of a worldly and secular life you model and form yourself in such holy discipline, prudently preferring to the most turbulent businesses of the world the most holy leisures of a most ancient and most glorious religious state of life. For this solid good and most saving advantage I congratulate with you from the bottom of my heart: neither is there any thing more for you or me to crave Christ our sovereign good, who inspired you this, than that He will please of His infinite piety and goodness to assist you to the end of the work of your salvation which He has so happily begun; which He will not fail, if that, since you have put your hand to the plough of the Lord, you do not look back, but advance forward to the utmost you may be able; if you are diligent in the hard, yet sweet, labours of religion; if courageously and stoutly you shake off temptations;

[1] The Duke of Nevers.

[2] There is a Latin version of this letter in Reyner's "Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia, Tract. I., p. 243." F. Martin had been a priest of the English college at Rome.

if you cast out of your mind what for your trial you have suffered in the world either from heretics or bad catholics or rivals and envious, and also pray for your persecutors; which all the saints in heaven do, whose life and charity you have taken on you to express on earth by a lively imitation of them.

Let others think and say what they list of this your most holy state of life; I would have you persuaded I most heartily espouse your affairs and mightily like this resolution you have taken of engaging in religion, and hope that you are taken from this wicked world to contribute to the restoration of this most holy order which formerly so flourished in our country; and your pen and genius will render you an ornament thereof; and therefore so much the more you make in that most holy discipline, so much the more I shall love you, and you will have no occasion to repent you of this resolution.

If a letter would allow it or that I had time, I could expose to your piety out of the histories of our nation many things concerning the sanctity and greatness of this order in England. For S. Austin himself, and all the other disciples of S. Gregory who converted our nation to the faith were all of your order; and all the first monasteries (of which Venerable Bede, as likewise he himself) were of the self same institute; and all the cathedral chapters, which were afterwards held by secular canons, were at their beginning in the hands of Benedictine monks. So was Canterbury church in the time of Lanfranc, Anselm, Thomas the martyr, who themselves were monks of the self same order: that I may say nothing of the most noble monasteries of Westminster, St Alban's, St Edmund's, Glastonbury, whose abbots and many other more proved glorious martyrs under Henry VIII. These examples, my child, are able to encourage you and the rest of our countrymen to strive after the solid glory of Christ and His church. For my part I mightily delight at the sole thought of such great men; which thought and the remembrance of our old affairs has made me longer than I would have been; but not to the dislike of either you or me, for I talk freely with you. Wherefore remember me in your prayers and sacrifices, and salute from me the superiors of your house and order very affectuously in the Lord, who will abundantly recompense this most Christian charity which they thus exercise on our fellow pilgrims and exiled. Adieu, my dear child; from our mansion at Rome; the 12 of the Calends of February, 1594; with my own hand, thine in Christ,

WILLIAM CARDINAL ALLEN.

CCXV.

Petition for faculties presented by Cardinal Allen to Pope Clement VIII. and granted by his Holiness. 16 February, 1594.

From an ancient copy in the archives of the see of Westminster. IV., 107.

Beatissime Pater.

Supplicatur S. Vestræ ut pro variis necessitatibus afflictissimæ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ

dignetur concedere Cardinali Alano infrascriptas facultates, et ut easdem certis presbyteris quos magis aptos judicaverit communicare possit.

1°. Facultatem dispensandi super impedimentis criminis et justitiæ publicæ honestatis tam in contrahendis quam contractis matrimoniis.

2°. Super impedimentis quæ impediunt ad contrahendum sed non dirimunt contractum.

3°. Dispensandi cum iis qui amiserunt jus exigendi debitum conjugale.

4°. Dispensandi cum sacerdotibus super irregularitate et eos ad celebrandum habilitandi.

5°. Dispensandi super juramentis ex metu factis vel extortis.

6°. Commutandi et dispensandi super jejuniis et abstinentiis ubi legitima existit causa.

7°. Dispensandi super male perceptis beneficiorum fructibus cum ministris, presbyteris aut aliis clericis hæreticis, schismaticis vel simoniacis ad ecclesiam redeuntibus.

Hæc subscripsit manu propria Ill^mus et R^mus Card^lis Alanus.

Hæc omnia S^mus D. N. Clemens 8^us vivæ vocis oraculo concessit, die 16 Feb., 1594.

GUILIELMUS CARD^LIS ALANUS.

CCXVI.

Cardinal Allen to Rev. John Mush. [Rome] 16 March, 1594.

From a contemporary copy in the archives of Stonyhurst College. Anglia, Vol. I., p. 162. Printed also in the Catholic Spectator. Third Series. Vol. I., p. 63. 1824.[1]

Welbeloved father and freind; Because I could not satisfie my self ynough, nor make you knowe so fully as I desired in presence how much contentment I tooke of your late company and conversation and especially of the often and lardge relation you made me of the state of the catholique cause and in particular of every of my lovinge fathers and brethren and childrens paines, perills, zeale, constancy and most generouse proceedings in defence of fayth and promotinge our countreyes salvation, I could not omitt farther to assure you of my said contentment in the premises by theis fewe lines of myne owne hand, which maie serve for a more stable memorie betwixt us of all such communication and conferences as hath passed at your late beinge here. Christs blessinge be ever on my sweet fellowes and children to make them partakers

[1] A paragraph of this letter was printed by F. Persons in his Briefe Apologie in defence of the Hierarchie in England, p. 11, verso, and also by Strype, Annals of the Reformation, Vol. IV., p. 273.

of theis 2 speciall points, which I soe often, soe wofully and carefully commended to your remembrance at your beinge with me; which was to be ware above all things of partialities, differences, dissentions, discorde, æmulation and discontentment of one towards another, of old against yonge; sæcular against religiouse, preists against Jesuits. All which come *ex malo et ex inimico homine*,[1] who soweth amongest their manifold graces and vertues theis seeds of his darnell to make their happie laboures voide of merrit and profitt. Such things be of the Apostle numbred amongest *opera carnis*; as peace, concord, mutuall love and unanimitie be the workes of the Spirite, fruites of charitie and evident markes of Gods grace. Peace is the blessinge of Christ that he left to his disciples and which he recommendeth in everye acte of his life and religion and without which all our preachinge, prayinge, yea our dyinge for our faythe is worth nothinge in the worlde. And specially that singular concorde, love and unitie of harte and mynde which was amonge Christs first disciples, which the Apostle calleth *charitatem fraternitatis* and is more specially to be required betweene Gods preists, chosen to soe holye a worke and called of purpose to preache Gods peace unto mens hartes and to drive out the divell which is authour of all division; amongest men (I say) of that profession that they and we are of, if perfect charitie, unitie and peace want, all is lost we doe.

Wherein I spend soe many wordes with you at this tyme, for that I have heard saie to my great greife that there is not all good correspondence betweene the fathers[2] and other preists, I cannot tell upon what discontentment that grewe heere or else where; but whereof soever yt cometh or by what humane infirmitie soever it is contynued, it is of the enemye, and is with all possible discretion and diligence by the wiser sorte on both sides to be rooted owt, or else it wilbe the ruyne of the whole cause and distruction of both partes: *qui, si invicem mordeant, invicem consumentur.*

Therfore in this pointe specially M. M.[3] be earnest and peremptorie with all parties and everie one in particular, and tell them that I chardge and adjure them by the blessed bloode and bowells of Gods mercye that they honour, love and esteeme one another according to everie mans age, order and profession; that those of the secular order, and especially all those that have beene brought upp under the fathers and found soe great love, charitie and helpe in all places at their handes, that they be correspondent in all gratitude and thankfullnes; reverencinge them in worde and deede, as is requisite to their meritt and callinge; and the fathers on the other side to love, cherishe, favour and embrace all the secular as their owne bowells, life and soule, and as their deerest fellowe-souldiers, breethren and children. My good freind, inculcate in my name, yea rather in Gods behalf, to both sides, this pointe, least they loose all and bringe my grey heyres the sooner to the grave.

An other thinge ther is which I praie both yourself and the fathers of the Companie and all other my godlye freinds, preists or lay men; that they extend theire

[1] Matt. xiii. 28. [2] Jesuits. [3] *Mr Mush* in F. Persons extract.

hands and hartes of compassion towards the maytainance of the semynarie of Dowaye, which is as deere to me as my owne life, and which hath next to God beene the beginninge and ground of all the good and salvation which is wrought in England; which must needs be dissolved in verie shorte tyme except it be abundantly one way or other releived. The decaie wherof as it would rejoyce the enemie much, soe certainely it would be the fall of all other colleges erected for our nation abroade in the world. You knowe the case, my freind, and how much it importeth your good and honour of the catholique cause. All other things that we have talked of I recommend to your memorie. Our blessed Lord blesse you and be with you for ever. In hast, 16 March, 1594.

W. C.

Endorsed in F. Henry Garnett's hand.

Card[l] Allen to Mr Mush after his departure from Rome.

Also endorsed in F. Robert Persons hand.

The letter of Card. Allen to Mr Mush agaynst the faction raysed agaynst the Jesuites. 16 Martii, 1594.

CCXVII.

Cardinal Allen to Ernest Archbishop Elector of Cologne. Rome, 17 September, 1594.

Printed in Chapeauville, Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium. Tom. III., *p.* 588.

Illustrissimo ac reverendissimo in Christo patri ac serenissimo principi, Ernesto Electori Coloniensi, etc., domino suo colendissimo.

Illustrissime ac reverendissime Princeps Serenissime; Ego jam diu Celsitudinem tuam, cum propter meam in universam inclytam Bavaricam familiam studium peculiare, tum propter amplissimæ personæ atque ecclesiæ dignitatis suæ splendorem singulariaque in ecclesiam et rempublicam merita, unice colui et dilexi. Sed in eo sermone quem non ita pridem sua Sanctitas in pleno consistorio coram Cardinalium collegio de rebus a Principibus catholicis maximeque ecclesiasticis in comitiis Ratisbonensibus pro fidei defensione contra hæreticorum conatus præclare gestis habuit, tam multa et tam honorifica nominatim de aptitudinis[1] tuæ incomparabili in hæreticis repellendis virtute et constantia dixit, ut omnem[2] in ejus amorem et observantiam pellexerit. Meum certe animum, pientissime præsul, tam exquisito laudum tuarum præconio pius Pontifex ita affecit ut mox calamum arripuerim, ut conceptum gaudium communicarem, tibique de felicissimo comitiorum successu simul et gratularer et gratias agerem. Quod his paucis lineis quanto possum studio et affectu facio, Christumque Opt. Max. prece et

[1] *Amplitudinis?* [2] *omnes?*

sacrificio suppliciter postulo ut pietatem tuam benigne aspiciat, atque ut hostes clementiæ suæ potentius debellet, virtute induat ex alto, præsulatumque tuum longum et beatum faciat in terra; ut in diebus sacri ministerii tui nobilissimam et gravissimam olim nobisque semper adamatam Germaniam ab his impurissimarum sectarum sordibus expurgatam videat. Illam enim provinciam et ecclesiam celeberrimam, tot catholicorum principum ac præsulum munitam præsidiis, licet gravibus et diuturnis jactatam tempestatibus, tamen non omnino perituram, sed ex istis hæreseon fluctibus emersuram tandem non dubitamus. Sed, O nos miseros Anglos ac infelicem patriam nostram, quæ tota jam diu impiorum libidini inservit, ut nec unde se extricet nec quid speret uspiam videatur! Neque nos tamen desperabimus, cum adhuc multa millia existant catholicorum qui genua non curvarunt ante Baal, et ubi Deus dat plebi suæ virtutem et fortitudinem ut non solum credat in eum sed pro illo patiatur. Sed quicquid nobis Dei judicio evenerit, tamen mirifice animos nostros Germaniæ vestræ in fide et religione conservatio consolatur, ac de nostris miseriis conceptum dolorem plurimum minuit. Sed nolo tuam Celsitudinem ulterius distinere; ipsi omnem salutem et gloriam in Christo et ecclesia exoptans, eidemque mea obsequia devotissime offerens. Vale. Romæ, 17 Sept., 1594.

CCXVIII.

Faculties granted by Popes Gregory XIII. & XIV. & Clement VIII. to Cardinal Allen.

From a paper in Dr Thomas Worthington's handwriting in the archives of the see of Westminster. IV., 111.

Facultates concessæ per Gregorium 13^um^ domino Guilielmo Alano et sacerdotibus ab eo subdelegatis et in Angliam missis vel in Anglia versantibus.

1. Absolvendi in foro conscientiæ ab omnibus peccatis, censuris et pœnis ecclesiasticis, etiam reservatis Sedi Apostolicæ, item in Bulla Cœnæ Domini.
2. Ab omni irregularitate contracta occasione hæresis vel schismatis quomodocunque.
3. Dispensandi vel commutandi[1] super omnibus votis, exceptis perpetuæ castitatis et religionis, vel ea commutandi in alia pia opera.
4. Dispensandi in foro conscientiæ in occultis debitis quæ hæreticis debentur et disponendi de summis ita debitis in pios usus.
5. Dispensandi ut vendatur jus patrocinatus, modo disponatur proventus inde veniens tripliciter.
6.[2] Benedicendi et consecrandi superaltaria, calices et omnia paramenta altaris et sacerdotis.

[1] The words *vel commutandi*, interlined in the MS., have a line drawn through them.

[2] 7 in MS., 6 being omitted.

7.[1] Dispensandi super matrimoniis contractis intra gradus prohibitos, modo una partium sit extra secundum gradum. Item in cognatione spirituali, excepto inter levantem et levatum.

Anno 1591, Sep. 18, Gregorius 14[us] renovavit Ill[mo] Cardinali Alano omnes facultates supradictas a Gregorio 13 concessas (exceptis 4 et 5) eundemque Cardinalem constituit superiorem omnibus sacerdotibus et clericis Anglis et Hybernis, et sequentes etiam adjecit.

1. Licentiam legendi libros catholicos Anglice scriptos contra hæreticos, et concedendi aliis facultatem eosdem legendi, itemque Scripturas Anglice versas.
2. Legendi libros hæreticorum ad effectum dumtaxat eos confutandi verbo vel scripto.
3. Dispensandi in foro conscientiæ tantum ad contrahendum in 2 gradu consanguinitatis et affinitatis in linea æquali; item in 2° et 3°, et deinceps.
4. Similiter in matrimoniis jam contractis in eisdem gradibus ut matrimonium legitimum fiat.
5. Item in cognatione spirituali tam in contrahendis quam in contractis; non tamen inter levantem et levatum. Tum etiam proles susceptas et suscipiendas legitimandi. Ita tamen ut cum fides in Anglia restituta fuerit legitimationem a Sede Apostolica in foro exteriori impetrent.

Aliæ facultates[2] concessæ Ill[mo] Cardinali Angliæ Alano per Clementem 8[um] cum potestate easdem sacerdotibus Anglis et Hybernis subdelegandi. 16 Feb., 94.

1. Dispensandi super impedimentis criminis et justitiæ publicæ honestatis tam in contrahendis quam contractis matrimoniis.
2. Super impedimentis quæ impediunt contrahendum matrimonium sed non dirimunt contractum.
3. Dispensandi cum eis qui amiserunt jus exigendi debitum conjugale.
4. Dispensandi cum sacerdotibus super irregularitate et eos ad celebrandum habilitandi.
5. Dispensandi super juramentis ex metu factis vel quovis modo extortis.
6. Commutandi et dispensandi super jejuniis et abstinentiis, ubi legitima existat causa.
7. Dispensandi super male perceptis beneficiorum fructibus cum ministris, presbyteris aut aliis clericis hæreticis, schismaticis vel simoniacis ad ecclesiam redeuntibus.

[1] 8 in MS. [2] See *supra* p. 355.

CCXIX.

Faculties granted by different Popes to Cardinal Allen both before and after his promotion.

From a paper in the archives of the see of Westminster.[1] IV., 109.

Facultates omnes Cardinali Alano concessæ tam ante quam post promotionem.

A. 1. Conceditur a Pio V° Alano et duobus aliis facultas absolvendi Anglos ac Scotos pœnitentes in omnibus casibus, etiam in Bulla Cœnæ Domini contentis, in foro conscientiæ dumtaxat.

2. Item cum quibusvis clericis et presbyteris secularibus et regularibus super quacumque irregularitate quomodolibet contracta in regno Angliæ et Scotiæ dispensandi, in foro conscientiæ dumtaxat.

B. 1. Extenditur per eundem Pium V. prædicta facultas absolvendi ad plures ac ad regnum Hyberniæ.

2. Conceditur facultas scribendi et approbandi libros etiam in lingua vulgari de controversiis, et dandi licentiam catholicis eosdem legendi.

3. Alanus omnibus his missionibus præficitur cum omni potestate spirituali ac ministeriali in tali causa necessaria.

C. 1. Eadem potestas per Gregorium XIII^um^ ab hæresi et omnibus casibus Sedi Apostolicæ reservatis absolvendi Alano conceditur.

2. Datur eidem potestas subdelegandi.

3. Facultas dispensandi super matrimoniis in gradibus prohibitis usque ad secundum consanguinitatis et affinitatis inclusive, ac in omni cognatione spirituali excepto inter levatum et levantem; et hoc in foro conscientiæ tantum, et cum conditione quod, restituta catholica religione, illi quibuscum sic dispensatum est dispensationem tam pro conjugii quam prolis legitimatione[2] Literas Apostolicas in foro externo expedire teneantur.

D. Alano datur a Gregorio XIII. autoritas præsentandi quoslibet Anglos sibi approbatos ad omnes ordines etiam sacros sine titulo et dimissoriis.

E. 1. Eadem facultas ordinandi Anglos sine titulo et dimissoriis ita ampliatur ut possit etiam extra tempora ipsorum ordinationem curare, ubi missionis occasio Alano id requirere videatur.

2. Alano datur facultas dispensandi in irregularitatibus et[3] delictis occultis, seu ex eo quod causis criminalibus aliquis se ingesserit, ad effectum ordinationis.

3. Alano datur authoritas ut condonet ministris aut presbyteris seu aliis clericis

[1] From the character of the handwriting this paper seems to have been written early in the seventeenth century. [2] *per* omitted? [3] *ex?*

hæreticis, schismaticis vel simoniacis ad ecclesiam redeuntibus male perceptos beneficiorum fructus.

F. 1. Datur a Gregorio XIII. facultas Alano ut constituat sacerdotes qui Anglos extra Angliam in omnibus casibus absolvant in foro conscientiæ.

2. Ut sacerdotibus in Angliam missis et in Anglia laborantibus det licentiam legendi libros hæreticorum pro eorum refutatione.

G. Sixtus V. concessit Alano ut constituat et nominet quos velit in Anglia sacerdotes qui altaria portatilia, calices, cruces, vasa ac vestimenta consecrent et benedicant.

H. Gregorius XIV. dedit Alano facultatem dispensandi cum alumnis collegiorum Anglicorum sacros ordines suscepturis super irregularitatibus ex eo incursis quod vel ipsi hæretici antea fuerint vel ex parentibus hæreticis nati ac inter hæreticos seu schismaticos versati aut educati, in foro conscientiæ.

I. 1. Clemens Octavus hanc facultatem confirmavit, et declaravit eam sufficientem esse in ordine ad sacros ordines rite suscipiendos, vivo vocis suæ oraculo.

2. Simili vivæ vocis oraculo dedit Alano facultatem dispensandi in ordine ad suscipiendos ordines omnes, etiam primam tonsuram, cum quibuslibet Anglis super omnibus irregularitatibus quocunque modo sive delicto incursis et contractis.

CCXX.

The Duke of Sesa[1] to Philip II. Rome, 24 October, 1594.

From a transcript of the original in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas, Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 963. Copia de carta original del Duque de Sesa á S. M., fecha en Roma á 24 de Octubre de 1594.

Señor.

El Cardenal Alano murio a 16 deste, como tengo avisado, y aviendo sido su enfermedad retencion d'orina, que le duro cosa de 15 dias, estuvo siempre en si dexando grande exemplo de paciencia y conformidad con la voluntad de Dios. Su S^{d} le envio a visitar diversas vezes con Diego de Campo su camarero secreto, y le hizo merced de 500 escudos d'oro para los medicos, porque supo que estava con mucha necessidad; i e sabido por cosa cierta que dando el Cardenal a su S^{d} muchas gracias por este favor i los demas que avia recibido dixo a Diego que si mereciesse ver a Dios lo pagaria alla con rogar por su S^{d}, i que en este mundo no sabia con que satisfazer a su obligacion, sino con acordar a su S^{d} que mirasse mucho como se fiava de ereges i de sus promessas

[1] The Duke of Sesa succeeded Count de Olivares as ambassador to the Court of Rome.

i guardasse no ser engañado; que el estava ya oleado i aguardando cada ora la muerte, i que assi podia estar cierto su S^{d} que ningun fin humano le avia movido a hazerle aquel recuerdo sino el puro servicio de Dios i suyo, i la larga esperiencia que tenia de los embustes de los ereges.[1] Yo le visite algunas vezes en el discurso de su enfermedad; i dos o tres dias antes de su muerte, teniendole los medicos desafiuzado del todo, me hablo a solas con mucha terneza, diziendo que no sentia otra cosa mas de aver llegado el fin de sus dias antes de aver podido cumplir el desseo que V. M^{d} avia mostrado de enviarle a Flandes, donde por ventura pudiera ser de algun provecho para ayudar a los buenos catolicos, los quales, aunque sabia que no era menester encomendarlos a V. M^{d} que tanta protecion tenia dellos, me pedia que suplicasse a V. M^{d} no los desamparasse, porque moria con confiança que por medio de la corona de V. M^{d} avia de bolver aquel reino algun dia a reduzirse a la obediencia desta S^{ta} Sede; y entre otras cosas en que ha mostrado la confiança que lleva desto a sido que en su testamento a dexado ciertas casullas de poco valor que tenia en su capilla a la yglesia parroquial donde nacio, cuando fueren catolicos, que entretanto las guarden en el colegio de los Yngleses d'aqui donde se mando enterrar.

Dixome mas que suplicava a V. M^{d} le perdonasse las faltas que uviesse hecho en su servicio, pues despues de Dios i desta S^{ta} Sede a nadie reconocia la obligacion que a V. M^{d}; i si Dios por su misericordia le llevara a su gloria procuraria satisfazer alla lo que aca no avia podido, rogando por la salud de V. M^{d} i conservacion de su real corona.

Que lo que mas le aflixia era morir con deudas, i que assi suplicava umilmente a V. M^{d} fuesse servido de hazer merced a sus erederos de los 4^{m} ducados que estavan señalados para su viage de Flandes, con los quales i con lo que se podria sacar de las pocas alhajas de su casa creia que se podria cumplir con sus deudas, como mas particularmente me daria razon el obispo de Cassano, uno de sus testamentarios.

Que tambien encomendava a V. M^{d} sus parientes i criados Yngleses, pues los pocos que avia podido acoger en su casa son personas que an padecido por la religion catolica i algunos de calidad. Con esta envio a V. M^{d} una memoria dellos i de sus partes, i tambien la sustancia de lo que contiene el testamento i relacion de sus deudas i una carta que hizo escrevir a V. M^{d} el mismo dia que murio, i por no poderla firmar pidio al obispo de Cassano que la firmasse en su nombre.

A un sobrino eclesiastico que tenia en casa, hijo de ermana, llamado Tomas Heschet, transfirio en vida con facultad de su S^{d} 700 escudos de pension sobre Pavia que le dio Gregorio XIV., i tambien le hizo su S^{d} gracia de la abadia de S^{ta} Maria de Capua, cuya nominacion toca esta vez al Duque de Trayeto, pero el Papa pretende que por aver muerto el Cardenal en la Corte pertenece a su S^{d} la provision, pues solamente los patronatos reales son reservados desto. Todavia avra pleito, i segun una cuenta que me a mostrado el dicho sobrino el valor de la dicha abadia un año con otro no

[1] Cardinal Allen had evidently in his mind the great question of the day, whether or not the Pope should absolve from heresy Henry IV. of France.

llega a 1500 ducados de Napoles, i los cargos y pensiones que tiene sobre si passan de 1200 ducados, de suerte que nunca le ha valido 300 ducados limpios, i fuera de lo dicho no le queda otra cosa alguna al dicho su sobrino.

A su ermano Gabriel, que no tiene aora otro, i se a hallado aqui presente, i le a dexado por eredero para que tenga cuidado de satisfazer a sus acreedores, a señalado su S^{d} entretenimiento aqui en Roma de 25 escudos al mes. Tiene otro entretenimiento de V. M^{d} en Flandes de 40 escudos al mes, de que dize se le deven muchas pagas, y assi no pudiendose sustentar alla por no tener otra cosa, le fue forçoso venirse a casa de su ermano avra casi un año, i como ombre de edad i soltero, que nunca se a casado, dessea quedarse aqui para poder vivir con mas quietud i gozar desta merced que le haze su S^{d}, si fuese servido V. M^{d} de que el entretenimiento de Flandes se le pagasse aqui i assi mismo lo corrido; y con esta merced entiendo que quedaria muy contento, porque no pretende sino poder cumplir con el testamento de su ermano i passar su vida quietamente.

Otro pariente sacerdote que le servia de maestro de camara llamado Ricardo Hadoc, el qual dizen que es ombre doto i muy virtuoso, i queda sin nada, i assi me le encomendo particularmente el Cardenal despues de su ermano i sobrino, tengole por ombre diño de que V. M^{d} le mandasse proveer de alguna yglesia mediana de las de Napoles.

I no me pareze razon callar a V. M^{d} las palabras que casi ultimamente dixo el Cardenal, que el mayor dolor que llevava era ver que aviendole hecho Dios merced de que a su persuasion tantos uviessen padecido carceles, persecuciones i martirio en Ynglaterra, uviesse el merecido por sus pecados acabar en aquella cama. Su muerte a sido sentida de su S^{d} y de todo el colegio, porque siempre fue bien quisto i muy conocida su virtud i buenas partes. Dios le de el cielo, i guarde la catolica persona de V. M^{d}. De Roma, 24 d'Otubre, 1594.

El Duque de Sessa.

CCXXI.

Funeral discourse on Cardinal Allen delivered in the church of the English College at Rome, 1594.

From an early copy in the archives of the see of Westminster. IV., 239.

Oratio funebris habita in collegio Anglorum Romæ.[1]
In obitu Cardinalis Alani an. 1594.

Utinam intra unius aulæ privatos parietes se contineret causa doloris! Utinam una solum familia orbitatem sentiret! Utinam hoc solum templum luctuosissima pyra

[1] This heading, though in an ancient hand, differs in its character from that of the rest of the MS. There is however an endorsement upon the document by the original writer in precisely the

funestaretur! Utinam hoc solum collegium patre amisso in luctu esset! Utinam amicos solum, ubicumque terrarum sint, damni vis adigeret ad lamenta! Utinam solos sinceræ religionis amantes tanti viri ruina affligeret, ac non id[1] ipsos hostes fidei, ad ignotos, ad integras urbes, provincias, regna se extenderet calamitatis et jacturæ malum! Sane tolerabilior esset dolor, facilior patienti ad supprimendum, dicenti ad exprimendum. Nunc dolor ipse in dolore versatur, quia si nos non vexet quantum potest, ingratus; si vexet quantum debet, tyrannus est. In Alano Anglia non minus sanguinis quam morum nobilitatem, innocentiam, constantiam; Belgium et Gallia prudentiam, charitatem et retinendæ religionis ardorem; Roma pietatem, modestiam, integritatem est admirata. Ac mitto jam hæreditariam quam ex primo flore Lancastriæ accepit a parentibus nobilitatem; adolescentiæ florem illustrium fæminarum procacitate frustra tentatum; quem florem ad extremum spiritum illibatum non incertis signis, secto defuncti corpore, medici se comperisse testati sunt: virginitatis enim laude florere debuit cujus omnis vitæ labor huic rei militabat ut Anglicanam ecclesiam jam et passim adulterantem Christo virginem castam exhiberet. Prætereo celerrimum ad sapientiam ac proinde ad summos honores, quos illa parere solet, excursum. Relinquo honestissimam ex Angliæ finibus fugam, ac propter lentam febrem sese in imas medullas penitus insinuantem nullo alio quam nativi cœli remedio in eosdem reversionem, in quam[2] multo magis suæ patriæ quam suo corpori curando intentus fuit. Ad ea tempora venio quibus Duacum appulsus subitoque docendi muneri præfectus suorum sibi desideriorum veluti auroram quandam affulsisse vidit; cœpit enim suam in domum, domum pietatis, domum refugii, domum quam sibi ædificavit sapientia, cogere dissipatos Anglos, semen electum, spem fidei resurgentis, eversæ reliquias religionis. O domum felicem ac beatam, qua[3] primos illos martyres patremque martyrum tenuisti! Nulla te consumat vetustas; nulla te ventorum aut tempestatis labefactet injuria; nulla unquam te ruina dejiciat; tota olim vertaris in templum, tota auro, tota gemmis, si quid divini in posterum mens nostra præsentire potest, vestienda. O florentissimum olim, nunc afflictissimum Angliæ regnum!

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same words as the heading. The funeral discourse was delivered by Francis Tregian, eldest son of Francis Tregian of Volveden or Golden near Truro, who after having suffered the forfeiture of his estates and an imprisonment of twenty-eight years for harbouring the Rev. Cuthbert Mayne, martyred at Launceston, 29 November, 1577, died in exile at Lisbon, 25 September, 1608, in the odour of sanctity. "In ejus [sc. Cardinalis Alani] funere oravit Franciscus Tregianus, Anglus." Ciaconius, Tom. IV., p. 174. The younger Francis Tregian had evidently a reputation for eloquence, since, when only a student of scholastic theology at the college of Reims, he had been chosen to pronounce the complimentary address on behalf of the community on the occasion of the visit of Mgr Sega, Bishop of Piacenza and Vice-legate of the Holy See in France, 14 August, 1591. First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 240. He was afterwards for two years chamberlain to Cardinal Allen. At length he returned to England, and died a prisoner in the Fleet, 1619. See "The economy of the Fleete," edited by the Rev. Augustus Jessopp, D.D., for the Camden Society, p. 193, note.

[1] *ad?* [2] *qua?* [3] *quæ?*

Numeras tu quidem hoc tempore veros Christiani nominis cultores et defensores multos, in cavernis quidem terræ habitantes, profugos, fortunis omnibus spoliatos, morti destinatos; sed numeras tamen; totum est hujus domunculæ beneficium. Audeo affirmare nullum hoc tempore in Anglia futurum fuisse veræ pietatis vestigium, recordationem nullam, nisi apostolicam hanc Alanus familiam erexisset. Lapsi erant omnes: fidei stellam libidinum et licentiæ nubes obscuraverat: nullus jam sacrilegos conventus et conciones horrebat: boni si qui superfuerant aut clam profugerant aut carceribus includebantur: publice jactabatur paucos jam esse atque ætate confecta sacerdotes ex Mariæ Reginæ temporibus, qui ubi semel occubuissent totum regnum conscientiæ liberam impunitatem habiturum; ita plane futurum nisi hæc cœpisset Alani domus similes submittere sacerdotes. O quicunque ex Anglorum natione exteras gentes divina petitis aut humana de causa, huic domunculæ vos proni ac venerabundi submittite; huic debetis si libero cœlo, si hominum consuetudine frui potestis; hæc vestrum nomen, omnibus gentibus aut suspectum jam aut perosum, amabile fecit ac venerabile. At quibus præsidiis succrescentem familiam Alanus aluit? Virtutum videlicet suarum. Liberalitatem quæris? Suas fortunas omnes et stipendia consumpsit. Humilitatem? Viros primarios ecclesiastica præsertim dignitate conspicuos adivit, nomenque et amorem Christi prætendens, mendicus Christi factus, stipem coegit. Prudentiam? Nemo unquam in tam soluta ac libera gubernatione querelam aut concipere potuit, aut si concepisset effundere. Christianam eloquentiam? Vix ullus sceleratis opinionibus imbutus unquam venit quin ejus colloquio victus se fidei redderet. Sapientiam? In luce jam doctissimorum hominum versantur ejus epistolæ, libelli, majora monumenta, materno latinoque sermone eruditissime suavissimeque conscripta. Humanitatem? Quidam furore percitus ad collegium cum venisset germanum fratrem rapturus, Alani comitate verborumque suavitate repressus demulsusque, ipse etiam collega est factus. Patientiam? Plurimas hæreticorum injurias et convicia pertulit, sicas vix effugit. Constantiam? Cum collegarum numerum indies augeret Deus, nec illum sustentandi spes superesset (quod ante etiam Pio Quinto Pontifice fecerat) Romam advolat. At ad quem Pontificem? Quam pium, quam recuperandæ Angliæ cupidum? Quam misericordiæ addictum? Gregorius fuit. Non necesse est aliud afferre quam nomen. Huic exposita ac deplorata causa et lacrymas et annuam pecuniam excussit. Tranquillitatem animi, etiam in summis vitæ periculis? Cum amici serio ut caveret admonuissent, ejus vitæ esse positas insidias, hostes sacrorum solum Alanum petere, aliquo proinde se præsidio et comitatu tueretur; 'si quid,' inquit 'discrimen capitis imminet, non recuso. Cæterum quod præsidium aut quem meliorem comitatum quæram cum quotidie Christi corpus et tractem et suscipiam?' Quid hoc animo tranquillius?[1] Quid D. Thomæ Cantuarensi similius cum præsidium et comitatum nullum alium voluit quam altaris? Charitatem in gregem illum suum quem inter lupos mitte-

[1] After *tranquillius* there is a capital A in the MS.

bat? Cum magnam in illos effundi invidiam sentiret collegiique et alumni nomen tota Anglia infame, exosum ac scelestum haberi, justissimam æque ac modestissimam defensionem, ne hostibus quidem asper esset sciens, in lucem edidit. In Deo fiduciam? Cum semel odio incensi impietatis satellites magna et armata manu collegium illud, arcem illam propugnandæ fidei erectam undique cum telis ac facibus obsedissent, cum filiis patrem per summum scelus trucidaturi, jussit Alanus omnes primum ad preces confugere, tum fores aperiri, tantundem esse vel in Anglia vel in Belgio martyrem fieri. Tantæ virtutis factum divinitus rei exitus comprobavit. Vix in atrium hostes irruperant, stricti gladii de manibus concidunt, ponit præfervida rabies, emnes [1] re non solum infecta sed etiam intentata discedunt. Indefessam perseverantiam? Cum hoc ipso tempore hæreticorum et bellorum ardor collegii statum everteret, migrandum censuit. Iterum ad Gregorium venit: Rhemos collegium transfert, ut tam sancta familia plures orbis terrarum regiones honestaret. Quo in itinere nihil minus cogitans in adventu Cameracensi canonicatu, in discessu Dunelmensi episcopatu a Gregorio auctus est. Denique magnitudinem animi? Audite, patres amplissimi, sapientiam admirabilem. Cum aliqui ex augustissimo Cardinalium senatu gravissimi patres illi significassent non omnino tutum videri tam multos, tam florentes sacerdotes quodammodo prodi et ad manifestum interitum ruere, satius esse eosdem ad meliora tempora reservari, rescripsit pro ea qua illi innata erat modestia valde demisse, æquissimo se animo admonitionem accipere, cæterum oportere meliora tempora non expectare sed facere. O vocem viro sapientissimo dignam! Quæ enim meliora tempora expectanda erant? Quis illa faceret meliora? An succrescens juventus? At illa in omnem præceps intemperantiam per apertam libidinis viam insolentius rueret. An perditissimus cœtus hæreticorum magistrorum? At ii odio religionis omnem [2] sanctitatis vestigium nituntur delere. An populi in summum Pontificem quæ olim maxima reverentia fuit et pietas? At in ludibrium versa est. An nobilium vis et constantia? At Principis potentiam et fortunarum amissionem multo magis quam Dei judicium timent. An regii senatus sapientia et consilium? At cœcum cupiditate fertur. An Reginæ authoritas et majestas? At eo temeritatis et amentiæ ventum est ut ipsa pro Pontifice esse velit, ut impudentissima fœmina ipsorum ecclesiæ ementiatur. An denique ipsi qui jam in eadem Anglia latent sacerdotes? At ni nos subinde subsidiarias veluti copias mittamus, his paucis hæretici semel extinctis victoriam libertatemque proclamabunt. Quid multa? Hæc suprema vox—oportet meliora tempora non expectare sed facere—ita alte in Cardinalium, in Gregorii omniumque deinceps summorum Pontificum animis insedit ut studiosissime ex nostra juventute semper miserint quos sua sponte ad tam piam et honestam mortem incensissimos videre.[3] Nec vero non est ista vox effectum veritatemque sortita. Jam enim nostrorum opera tempora sunt facta meliora. Quantumvis enim fremant Pontificii nominis hostes, quantumvis honestum [4] et lethale sonent edicta, quantumvis laxentur et impleantur

[1] *omnes?* [2] *omne?* [3] *viderent?* [4] *funestum?*

custodiæ, quantumvis nostro sanguine patibula perfluant, plurimi tamen sunt et de plebe infima et de prima nobilitate gravissimi viri, innocentes pueri, clarissimæ fæminæ, qui fortissimo pectore invicem quod amissam fidei drachmam invenerint gratulantes summa cum lætitia et divitiarum et vitæ profusionem expectent. Sed jam tanta virtus privata esse non debet, tam ardentem lucentemque lucernam occultari sub modio non æquum est. Romam collegiorum causa venientem Sixtus V^s^, miræ prudentiæ Princeps, Cardinalem renunciat, ut luceat omnibus qui in domo ecclesiæ sunt. Quod ultimum vitæ tempus quia magis notum audientibus mihi minus persequendum erit. Satis per se apparuit singularis modestia in summis honoribus, ut vero illi fuerit Cardinalatus corona meritorum non ambitionis follis: per se emicuit rerum humanarum contemptus omnium, ut videatur ea minime appetiise cum caruit quibus frui neglexit cum habuit. Quam tam excellentem virtutem ejus etiam libet testimonio confirmare. Is in extremis vitæ horis cum jam nihil cogitaret aut loqueretur nisi Deum, cum se recte factorum suorum conscientia recrearet dixisse fertur: 'Mihi convenire non potest illa S. Augustini de relictis retibus sententia—multa humana perdidit qui pro Dei amore omnia reliquit: etsi enim omnia mea reliqui, plura tamen ejusdem generis bona Deo dispensante sum consecutus. Verum illud pro certo affirmare possum, nunquam huc spectasse labores meos, nunquam animum meum tam humiliter se abjecisse ut in humanorum bonorum aut divitiarum adeptione conquiesceret; nunquam privatam meam aut meorum utilitatem publica patriæ meæ meorumque civium salute mihi fuisse chariorem.' Hæc inquam rerum humanarum despicientia satis per se omnibus elucebat; ex ejus tamen dulcissimo ore audita nescio quomodo delectat magis. Notus est integerrimus ille animi candor qui in ejus vultu, in oculis, in actione, in alloquio eminebat: nota prudentia: nota gravitas. Quid dicam de amore et pietate in afflictos cives suos? Esse non poterat ut qui illis olim tenuem rem suam totam effudit, nunc cum habuit ampliorem non magnam tribueret partem. Nullus Anglus cujuscumque generis homo Romam venit qui non aliquid ab eo receperit, una illa de causa tristiore quod non tantum auri suppeteret ut penitus sublevare plurimorum indigentiam posset. Quid cum illam S. Augustini sententiam subinde repeteret—ad res magnas gerendas oportere divitem esse et contemptorem divitiarum—illud cum lacrymis addens: 'hoc secundum bonitas mihi divina concessit, illud primum Providentia negavit'? Quid quod ita erat ab auri cupiditate alienus ut memorabilis Romanæ pecuniæ æstimationem nesciret, ut eandem nunquam tractare vellet nisi forte cum sua manu pauperum consolaretur inopiam? Quid illa verba ab eo sæpius audita; guttas sanguinis e corde sibi exprimi cum auditis suorum miseriis unde opem ferret non haberet? Quid illæ charitatis voces: 'dum mihi supererit indusium ad tegendum, tu rerum mearum partem semper habebis'? Erga hoc vero collegium quo animo fuerit, quam paterna pietate, qua vigilantia, qua quam æquabili in omnes amore, et tacitas nunc lacrymas et alterius desiderat orationis exordium.

Qui ita vixerit[1] quomodo mortuum esse existimandum est? Profecto non dissimili. Tanta in maximis cruciatibus patientia ut diceret gaudere se quod, cum tam multos in vita ad martyrium impulerit, ipse etiam in morte aliquid martyrio simile pateretur. Tanta animi tranquillitate et innocentiæ significatione, ut crebro diceret animo non magis anxio mori quam si infans esset divino fonte recens ablutus. Tanta religione, ut divinissimo præsente Sacramento dixerit velle se quod ante calamo fecerat, tunc etiam lingua coram exigua familia, quod libentius coram omnibus gentibus faceret, tanti Sacramenti divinitatem et catholicæ integritatis sinceram puramque fidem profiteri effusissime in Deum religionis indicium. Quid jam restat nisi ut, involutus potius in tanta orationis brevitate quam explicatus, Alani virtutes eo maxime laudabiles quod publicæ semper utilitati servierit publico etiam luctu prosequamur. Guillelmus Reginaldus, vir doctus in primis et eruditus, ab Alano ex magno hæretico maximus catholicus factus, ante aliquot jam menses est mortuus; cujus eruditionis et pietatis Antverpiensis episcopus illum invisens illustre testimonium dedit. Is ergo morti proximus Alani in se merita in memoriam revocans præ affectus magnitudine hanc unam vocem edere poterat—Alanum; Alanum geminabat, forte inquiens hæc extrema Alano suspiria. Quærentibus quid tandem vellet ista Alani tam dulcis tam iterata appellatio—'Annon' inquit 'inter mortuas hasce voces illo invocando consumam,[2] qui causa fuit salutis meæ, per quem catholicus morior, per quem jam cœlum ingredior?' Alane! Alane! Alane! Alane! Quod enim ille moriens te vivo fecit id nos viventes te mortuo faciemus: nam immensam vim beneficiorum et charitatis tuæ æstimantes exclamare cogimur Alanum Alanum, et doloris magnitudine omnis alia quam ista vox includitur.[3] Alanum, Alanum: hæc vox ad Angliæ littora repercussa gloriose resultare credendum est: ipsa etiam Alanum, Alanum sonat. Si enim Reginaldus lecto affixus quod aliquam sibi prælucere spem gloriæ sentiat exclamare cogitur Alanum, Alanum, quid tandem evenisse tota Anglia existimandum iis qui pro Christo sanguinem te authore fuderunt, cum non otiose in tabernaculis sed fortiter in acie, non in lectis sed in patibulis, non [4] sed inflictam mortem oppeterent, quo facto non aliquam spem salutis sed certum æternæ gloriæ pignus acciperent? Cum se in tam nobili agone tam generose dimicantes viderent, cum caput in laqueum, i.e., in coronam, in cœlum inserere nt, cum agnoscerent se in patibuli, i.e., in paradisi gradibus stare, idque tua opera, consilio, authoritate, nutu, a te olim conquisiti, conversi, instructi, missi; an non verisimile est ipsos etiam placidissimis vocibus nomen tuum identidem ingeminasse Alanum, Alanum? O nomen beatissimum per sanctissimorum martyrum ora tanta cum laude volutum! Sed hæc dum in morte essent cum a mortalibus audirentur quid nunc cum te cœlo venientem excipiunt, cum pulchro ordine aspectuque se tibi obviam ferunt palmasque tua veluti manu sibi decerptas prætendunt? Quanto dulcius et gloriosius idem nomen tuum coram cœlitum agminibus et cœli Principe, Deo, iterant

[1] At this point in the MS. there is a capital A. [2] *consumar?* [3] *interoluditur?*
[4] A blank space for a word is left in the MS.

atque inclamant? Alanus, Christe optime, jam ad te venit qui tuam semper causam egit in terris; illas manus perpetuis attritas pro tua fide laboribus onera sempiterna mercede; illos pedes perpetua pene fuga exiliisque pro tua religione fatigatos in terra viventium stabilito; illum sinum, illud pectus tuo semper amori patens ac pervium, omni terrestrium rerum affectui clausum et inaccessum, divini gaudii mensura bona, conferta, coagitata et supereffluente cumulato; illud denique caput tibi devotum, in omni vita toties pro tui nominis gloria appetitum, merita corona præcingas. Nos vero, collegæ optimi, imaginem quam nobis expressam virtutum maximarum optimus parens reliquit prosequamur admiratione, veneratione, imitatione. Scio nuper hæreticos ejus imaginem inventam in Anglia per summam contumeliam atque licentiam conviciis et ludibriis appetisse, maculasse luto, procidisse ferro, cremasse flammis, ut quod corpore exoptabat saltem in imagine martyrium ferret. Ejus imaginem corporis divexent pro libidine ac deleant hæretici, qui non essent Alani hostes nisi fuissent religionis proditores: nos qui ad eandem religionem propugnandam vocamur ejus imaginem animi vivam in memoria atque inviolatam servemus.

CCXXII.

Abstract of Cardinal Allen's will. Rome, 9 October, 1594.

From a transcript of the original document in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simanças; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 963. Copia de un documento en cuya carpeta dice:—La sustancia de lo que contiene el testamento del Cardinal Alano.

Die nona mensis Octobris, 1594, Ill^mus^ D. Cardinalis Alanus condidit testamentum.

Voluit sepeliri in ecclesia collegii Anglorum de Urbe. Reliquit dicto collegio suos libros.

Reliquit suæ familiæ seu suis familiaribus domesticis ultra stipendia eis debita scuta quingenta m.[1] dividenda inter ipsos, mandans solutis debitis portionem unicuique augeri juxta vires hæreditarias, si hæredi videbitur et commodum erit, et præsertim Ludovico Gualterio suo familiari, ut adjuvare possit Mariam suam sororem ad vitam monasticam propensam.

Reliquit dictæ Mariæ charitatis intuitu scuta viginti quinque.

Mandavit persolvi sua debita saltem intra triennium. Item mandavit suo hæredi ut solvat suæ cognatæ viduæ scuta tria millia quæ ipse donavit pro tribus illius filiabus pro dote.

Reliquit paramenta et alia suæ capellæ ecclesiæ cathedrali[2] S^ti^ Michaelis,[3] necnon

[1] *n.* i.e., *nempe?* [2] *parochiali?* [3] St. Michaels-le-Wyre, the mother church of the district from the time of the Heptarchy.

ecclesiæ filiali in oppido Pultoneæ,[1] Cestrensis diocesis, si regnum Angliæ ad fidem catholicam revertatur; alias voluit spectare ad collegium Anglorum de Urbe.

Executores nominavit Ill^mos D. Cardinales Caetanum, de Montealto et Aldobrandinum.

Hæredem instituit ill^mum dominum Gabrielem Alanum, suum fratrem germanum.

CCXXIII.

Petition of F. Joseph Creswell, S.J., to Philip II. on behalf of Cardinal Allen's relations. 1594.

From a transcript of the original in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 963. Copia de un memorial del P. Cresuelo sin fecha entre papeles de 1594.

Suplican a su Mg^d los deudos del Cardinale Alano que les haga merced de los 4000 escudos señalados al Cardinal para su yda en Flandes, porque de otra manera no pueden pagar las deudas y cumplir las mandas del testamento del dicho Cardinal.

Suplican tambien a su Mg^d que se sirva continuar la merced que a hecho estos años passados a la viuda Ysabela Alana, cuñada del Cardinal, de ochanta ducados al mes en Flandes para sustento suyo y de sus hijas, mandandolos asentar en alguna cosa firme; y que haga merced a Gabriel Alano, hermano del Cardinal, en Roma o Napoles del entretenimiento de 40 ducados al mes que su Mg^d le da en Flandes.

Y a Ricardo Hadoco, sacerdote, pariente[2] del Cardinal, se sirva mandarle proveer de alguna cosa para su sustento por estar desamparado con la muerte del Cardinal.

Siendo servido su Mg^d hacerles merced de los 4000 escudos, le pueden señalar 2000 escudos para la dote de las dos monjas sobrinas del Cardinal y 2000 escudos para la dote de la tercera que esta para casar, y asi recibiran la merced immediatamente de su Mg^d, y juntamente se cumplira el testamento del Cardinal.

El Papa despues de la muerte del Cardinal a dado a Gabriel Alano, su hermano del Cardenal, 25 ducados de entretenimiento al mes.

Ya he dado particular memorial a V. S.[3] para Rugero Baynes, que fue secretario y mayordomo del Cardenal, y desea servir a su Mg^d.

Jos. Cresuelo.

[1] Poulton, the parochial church of Rossall, from which it is about four miles distant.

[2] Richard Haydock's mother, Helen, daughter of William Westby, and wife of Vivian or Evan Haydock, of Cottam, near Preston, was sister of Elizabeth widow of George Allen, the Cardinal's eldest brother.

[3] Perhaps the Secretary of State, through whose hands the petition would pass, is here addressed.

CCXXIV.

Memorandum concerning Cardinal Allen's relations. 1594.

From a transcript of the original document in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 963. Copia de un documenta en cuya carpeta dice:—Memoria de los parientes del Cardinal Alano.

Per noticia delli veri et piu propinqui parenti del Cardinale Alano di bo. me. si dice lui havere havuto o havere li sottoscritti parenti.

Giorgo, suo fratello primogenito; quale ha havuto moglie et figlioli, et morse [1] 16 anni sono come si dira qui soto.

Gabrielle, suo fratello minore, qui presente, quale no ha mai havuto moglie ne figli.

Elisabetta, sua sorella, maritata in casa Heschitta, della quale i [2] nato Thomaso qui presente, il quale vene fora del regno XIIX [3] anni sono,[4] et di continuo e stato appresso il zio bo. me. sotto la disciplina, cura et governo suo.

Ysabella, maritata in casa di Conicrs, senza figli, si bene ne ha avuto molti.

Giorgio, primogenito sopradetto, presse per moglie Lisabetta Wertbey [5] et da essa hebbe un figlio primogenito maschio et tre figluole femine, cio e Giovanni, qual morse fora d'Ynghilterra undeci anno sono in circa.[6]

Helena,
Caterina,
Maria,
} quali tutti vivono.

[1] In the *Inquisitio post mortem* Georgii Allen taken at Preston, 12 January, 1579-80, the jurors state on oath "quod prædictus Georgius Allen obiit nono die Augusti ultimo præterito, et quod Joannes Allen est filius et hæres propinquior prædicti Georgii Allen, et quod prædictus Joannes est ætatis, die captionis hujus Inquisitionis, quatuordecim annorum, quatuor mensium et sex dierum." They enumerate all the lands and messuages at Poulton and elsewhere held in fee by George Allen at his death. They also find that George Allen's father, John Allen, now deceased, by a deed dated 26 July, 1563, had granted certain other lands to George and Elizabeth his wife for their several lives with remainder to George's lawful male issue, and, failing this, to the grantor's rightful heirs. They add that the aforesaid John Allen by his will of 1569 gave the life-use of certain specified lands to his younger son, Gabriel Allen. Ducatus Lancastriæ inquisitiones post mortem, Vol. 14, n. 80. Public Record Office, London. Compare p. 219 *supra* with reference to the leaseholds and personalty of George Allen deceased. [2] *e?* [3] Así (transcriber's note).

[4] Thomas Hesketh was sent from Reims to the Jesuit college at Verdun, 5 October, 1581. He accompanied his uncle, Dr Allen, to Rome in September, 1585. First and Second Douay Diaries, pp. 183, 207. [5] Westby.

[6] In the *Inquisitio post mortem* Joannis Allen made at Wigan, 3 April, 1612, the jurors testify "quod prædictus Joannes Allen obiit apud Preston in Amoundernes vicesimo tertio die Junii, anno regni dominæ nostræ Elizabethæ nuper Reginæ Angliæ tricesimo quinto [A.D. 1593] absque aliquo exitu de corpore suo legitime procreato, Maria Worthington, modo uxore Thomæ Worthington de Blainscowe in comitatu Lanc. prædicto armigeri, adtunc et adhuc existente sorore et hærede prædicti

Detto Giorgio [morse] come si e detto 16 anni sono, lasciando doppo se la detta moglie et figluoli.

Lisabetta sua moglie, sendo rimasta vedova, XIII. anni sono in circa, fu per la fede cattolica gravemente afflita et perseguitata et spogliata de tutti i suoi proprii beni, et quello che piu da maravigliarsi et che mai fu udito ne fatto ad alcuno altro nel regno, fu ancho priva et spogliata di tutti li altri beni di detti suoi figli; dal che chiaramente si giudico che, non havendo essa ne li suoi figli fatto cosa che meritasse tal privatione, tutto cio fusse fatto dalla Regina et da ministri suoi per invidia et odio che portavano al Cardinale, all'hora chiamato il dottore Alano. Per questo l'anno seguente desiderando detta vedova fuggire l'altre persecutioni et conservar se stessa et li figli catolici se ne fuggi[1] secretamente fora del regno, menando seco detti suoi figliuoli et portando occultamente tutto quel poco ch'haveva potuto ascondere et liberare dalle mani di raptori. Condottasi in Francia, l'anno appresso li morse Giovanni suo figlio primogenito, il quale gia era in eta d'anni 19 et per inderizzo del tio attendeva alli studii di pieta et delle buone letere. Sendo re[s]tata con le tre figlie femine se ne e stata in Francia da detto tempo in sino alle anno 1591, vivendo parte con quel poco che pote trasportare d'Ynghilterra e parte con quello che le dava il Cardinale mentre era in minoribus, et anco dopo fatto Cardinale. Delle[2] anno poi 1591 essa vedova con le sue figlie se ne paso in Fiandra, dove dalla M^ta^ del Re Cattolico per mezzo del Duca di Parma de fe. me. li furono per loro sustentamento assignati scudi 60 d'oro il mese di pensione, li quali ha hauto in sino al presente, si ben fosse interrotamente et con qualche difficulta et tardanza insieme, oltra di quello che sempre ha havuto dal Cardinale predetto.

Joannis Allen; et quod prædicta Maria est die captionis hujus inquisitionis triginta sex annorum et amplius." The lands and messuages enumerated are the same, with certain additions, as those possessed by George Allen at his death. The jurors also find that after the decease of the aforesaid John Allen, the yearly rents and profits thence accruing were severally accounted for and paid to Queen Elizabeth during her lifetime, and since then to King James; but by what right or title this was and is still done, they profess themselves to be wholly ignorant. Duc. Lanc. inquis. p. m., vol. 20, n. 23. Such are the statements under oath of the seventeen esquires or gentlemen of Wigan or the neighbourhood who formed the jury of inquiry. On the other hand the Second Douay Diary, p. 206, records that John Allen died at Pont-à-Mousson, 24 June, 1585, and Dr Thomas Worthington, uncle to Thomas Worthington of Blainscowe, has added in his own hand to this entry the words "qui erat festum S. Joannis Baptistæ." The finding therefore of the jurors is clearly incorrect; but on what grounds it was made, and why the *Inquisitio* was not taken until 1612 are by no means evident. Mary Worthington's elder sisters, Helen and Catherine, professed nuns in St Ursula's convent at Louvain, died the one in 1603 and the other in 1612. Records of the English Jesuits. Second series, p. 133. Hence as Mary would not be sole heiress until Catherine's death in 1612, it is just possible that she may have refrained until then from claiming the inheritance of her deceased brother John. There would still however remain the erroneous statement about the date and place of his death to be accounted for.

[1] Mrs Elizabeth Allen with her two daughters Helen (Eleanor) and Catherine arrived at Reims from England, 9 September, 1584. First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 202. [2] *detto?*

Di dette tre figlie, non essendo ci modo di maritarli tutte, ne colloco le due prime maggiori nel monasterio de S^ta^ Orsola in Lovanio con promessa di certa somma per loro vitto, ritenendo la minore per maritarla.

Per vitto dunque delle due prime fatte monache et per dote della minore destinata a maritarsi il Cardinale, bona me., oltre quello que a questo effetto li ha dato di tempo in tempo, di piu promesse alla vedova scudi tre mila da distribuirsi fra loro secondo a lei fusse parso; ma venendo poi egli a morte senza haver adempito questa promessa ha incaricato il suo herede ad ademplirla et di pagar quanto prima li 3^m^ scudi; il che e quanto si puo dire della vedova Alana, delle figlie et dello stato loro.

Quanto poi [a] Gabrielle qui presente, egli venne fora di Ynghilterra XIV. anni sono,[1] et anco esso e visuto parte con le poche cose portate, parte con l'agiuto del Cardinale, suo fratello, bo. me., cosi inanzi al Cardinalato como dopo. Finalmente l'anno 1588 la M^ta^ del Re catolico col mezo del Duca di Parma di fe. me. li asigno per suo trattenimento scudi 40 d'oro il mese di pensione.

Hora reducendo le cose narrate in una breve somma, si dice gli parenti piu stretti rimasti al Cardinale di bo. me. esser questi, ciò è—

Gabrielle, suo fratello, qui presente.

La vedova Alana, sua cognata, absente in Fiandra.

Le due figlie maggiori, messe nel monasterio.

L'altra minore, distinata a maritarsi.

Thomaso Heschetto, qui presente, figlio d'Elisabetta sorela del Cardinale.

Si potrebbono nominare altri parenti, ma questi sono le piu principale et che sono stati tenuti in piu conto dal Cardinale.

CCXXV.

List of the members of Cardinal Allen's household. 1594.

From a transcript of the original document in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 963. Copia de un documento que dice lo siguiente:—Lista di tutta la famiglia dell' ill^mo^ signor Cardinale Alano.

Gabriele Alano et herede del suo testamento et solo fratello vivo di tre fratelli; et nostro Signore l'ha fatto gratia di 25 scudi il mese. Il fratello primogenito si chiamava Georgio Alano, Gabriele il minore.

Thomaso Heschetto, suo nipote, clerigo, ha 700 escudi d'oro di pensione sopra la chiesa di Pavia et l'abbadia di Capua che era del signor Cardinale, ma parisce[2] difficolta per il *jus patronatus* del Duca di Traietto. Tomaso e figliolo della sorella del detto signor Cardinale.

[1] "1583, Martii 9° die ex Anglia rediit Mr Gabriel Alanus." First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 194. [2] *patisce?*

1. Ricardo Hadoco, maestro di camara del Cardenale, sacerdote, nipote della cognata del signor Cardinale, moglie del defunto suo fratello maggiore, la quale vive hora in Fiandra con tre figlie femine, delle quali doe sono gia professe monache in Lovanio, lārè[1] da maritar.

   1. Questo fu alumno del collegio Ynglese di Roma, et e poi stato molti anni in Ynghilterra et Ybernia[2] secretamente per servitio della fede cattolica.

2. Giovanni Byas,[3] camariero et servitore inanzi al Cardinalato.

   2. e adesso in Milano ò por strada in Fiandra per mutar aria per la sanita et vive alle spese del signor Cardinale: e bon giovane laico, bon musico, poverissimo.

3. Ludovico Gualtieri, camariero et servitore inanzi al Cardinalato.

   3. Nato in Roma da patre Ynglese et matre Romana: bonissimo musico et poverissimo: e bon giovane: sa servire bene.

4. Nicolo Fierberti,[4] coppiero et servitore dal principio dal Cardinalato.

   4. Gentilhuomo assai nobile; da bene; li cui parenti hanno patiti molto per la fede cattolica. E clerigo, capace di pensione, si ben non va in abito: sa servire bene: e stato sette anni in servitio del signor Cardinale, al quale era carissimo, in Roma, dove era stato prima molti anni, et da Papa Gregorio XIII. beata me. hebbi dieci scudi d'oro il mese per studiare. Suo patre mori in prigione di 26 anni per la fede, et suo tio anco lascio la vita in prigione per la medesima causa, carcerato 32 anni continui.

5. Rugiero Bayns secretario per la lingua Ynglesa et servitore dal principio dal Cardinalato.

   5. Garbato gentilhuomo: sa servire bene: e stato molti anni fuori d'Ynghilterra per la fede cattolica: ha una pensione di cento escudi l'anno, et per mano di questo passavano tutte l'intelligenze che il Cardinale teneva in Ynghilterra, Franza et Fiandra.

6. Don Guglielmo Warmintono, sacerdote, maestro di casa et servitore dal principio del Cardinalato.

   6. E stato alumno del detto collegio, et poi bandito d'Ynghilterra per la fede cattolica: e pio e di buoni costumi: non vorria servire piu, se trovasse il modo di vivere poveramente et servire Dio.

7. Giovanne Smazzone, maestro di stalla et servitore dal principio del Cardinalato.

[1] *l'altra è?* [2] In the archives of the see of Westminster, Vol. vii., p. 311, there is memorial to the Pope dated 1602, to which among other autograph signatures that of "Richardus docus, sacræ theologiæ doctor et Dubliniensis decanus" is appended. [3] John s was Dr Allen's servant at Reims and went with him to Rome. First and Second Douay ries, p. 207. [4] Nicholas Fitzherbert.

7. Laico nobile, tempato: ha patito molto per la fede in Ynghilterra: ha servito il patre del signor Cardinale Sfondrato, quale l'ha gia pigliato al suo servitio.

8. Guglielmo Wartone, scalco e servitore dal principio del Cardinalato.

8. Bonissimo giovane, laico: e bon scalco et trinciante, quieto, di bonissimi costumi, poverissimo.

9. Don Ludovico Huys,[1] sacerdote, caudatario et servitore da quatro in cinque anni.

9. Bon sacerdote: e stato carcerato in Ynghilterra per la fede cattolica e poi bandito, et vuole pur tornarvi per servitio della detta fede: non vuole piu servire: alumno del collegio di Reymes.

10. Don Thomaso Harleio, capellano, servitore da alcuni mesi in qua.

10. Bandito per la fede d'Ynghilterra: e stato scolare del collegio de Reymes: ha un benefitio picolo di residenza nella diocesi di Milano, dove dice voler andare la primavera, perche non puo cavare li frutti fin all' hora.

11. Francesco Trigiano,[2] camarero, servitore di dui anni.

11. Molto nobile, di 20 anni, secolare, di ingenio felicissimo, dotto in filosofia, in musica et nella lingua latina. Suo patre gia ricco e per la fede cattolica condennato in Londres a perpetuo carcere et confiscatione di tutti li beni, et vive de elemosina esso et la sua moglie et figli. Questo e il primogenito et herede legitimo di molte belle posesioni di 7^{m} scudi d'entrata. Tutta questa crudelta fu usata con esso perche fu trovata una copia stampata della bolla del giubileo del l'anno santo et un *agnus Dei* presso suo capellano,[3] qual per questa causa et anco per haver celebrata la messa secretamente in casa del sudetto suo patrone fu squartato vivo.

12. Nicolo Balduino, camariero et servitore da dui anni.

12. Non sono informato di questo gentilhuomo, secolare di 40 anni in circa, e di statura grande. Intendo che e quieto et huomo da bene.

13. Christoforo Ysamo, admesso nuovamente al servitio della camara del Cardinale.

13. Gentilhuomo molto bono di 40 anni in circa. Ha suo figliolo scolare del collegio Ynglese in Roma et un altro figlio scolare del collegio Ynglese di Douax in Fiandra, et e poverissimo, l'havendo detto signore Cardinale chiamato al suo servitio a posta da Fiandra in Roma poco avanti la sua infirmita: ha anco doi figli picoli in Ynghilterra, dove ha perso molte intrate et tutto c'haveva per la fede cattolica, et in particolare perche sotto colore di traficare mercantie in Franzia conduceva li petri[4] delli collegi

[1] Hughes. November, 1577.

[2] Tregian. See p. 364, note.

[3] Cuthbert Mayne, martyr, 29

[4] *preti?*

Ynglesi da Roma, Franzia et Fiandra in Ynghilterra, dove li dava ricapito in casa sua.

Guglielmo Bostoco, parafrenero.

Giovanni Harrisone, scopatore; quale ha la sua moglie Ynglese seco a Roma.

Ciriaco Petit, } servitori del signor Gabriele.
Thomaso Mader, }

Christoforo Cossin, servitore del signor Thomaso.

Oltra li sudetti sono anco in Fiandra doi mandati questo anno dal detto signor Cardinale.

Guglielmo Gifford, dottore in theologia, molto nobile et dotto, theologo del signor Cardinale: e stato scolare del collegio Ynglese di Roma, e poi ha letto philosophia molti anni nel collegio di Reymes: e di molto valore et merito et ha niente per mantenersi.

Thachiero, giovane laico nobile, camariero, mandato per mutar aria per la sanita, et hora vive in Fiandra alle spese del signor Cardinale: e bellissimo giovane di 22 anni et di costumi angelici.

Li sopra detti tutti sono Ynglesi.

CCXXVI.

Inventory of Cardinal Allen's debts. 1594.

From a transcript of the original in the archives of Simancas.

Archivo general de Simancas; Secreteria de Estado, Leg° 963. Copia de un documento que dice asi:—Debiti del Cardinale Alano che sono scoperti fin adesso.

Il detto Cardinale di bo. me. mi ha detto pochi giorni avanti la sua morte che il suo maestro di casa l'haveva all'hora notificato debiti liquidi in Roma di mille et cinquicento scudi 1500

Detto Cardinale a donato inter vivos un pezzo fa tremilla scudi per li dote delle sue tre nepote femine, figlie del defonto suo fratello maggiore, le quali hanno vissuto molti anni con la sua propria madre, gentildona di santissimi costumi, in esilio per la fede cattolica; et hora due delle dette figlie sono gia professe monache in Lovanio, dove la madre poverissima vive con la terza figlia minore da merito: et li detti tre milla escudi non sono ancora pagati, come il signor Cardinale ne fa mentione in suo testamento, et era molto sollicito di far pagare questo debito 3000

Sono anco debiti cinque cento scudi per l'anello cardinalicio, delli quali sua S^ta^ non ha fatto gratia, perche gia per Breve questo emolumento dell' anelli de Cardinale defonti e applicato a S. Giovanni Laterano 500

Il detto Cardinale, sendo l'anni passati in minoribus rettore del collegio Ynglese all'hora de Reymes et adesso tornato a Douay in Fiandra, piglio in presto per servicio necessario del detto collegio dui milla scudi, se ben mi ricordo della quantita, dal signor Tomaso Somerseto cattholico gentil'huomo Ynglese, quale era in Ynghilterra all'hora, et adesso e passato a migliore vita; et detto Cardinale mi a detto che esso era obligato *in verbo sacerdotis* di far pagar detti danari ogni volta sarebbeno domandati, et era molto solecito d'esseguire detto obligo all'heredi del detto Tomaso quando domandassero 2000

7000

CCXXVII.

Rev. Thomas Audley to Dr Christopher Bagshaw. 26 June, 1595.

From the original in the archives of the see of Westminster. V., 39.

I can not but be very sorry, as a brother of yours (though one of the lest) to hear of those sturres among you, which is much spoken of by the catholickes every where, and is thought a greevous matter that *inter personas Deo militantes* such discorde should ryse and continewe so longe. And that which maketh the matter more greevous is that in that place where all catholickes eyes are fastened to look for order, the desire of order and discipline shoulde be hindred upon stomacke onely against the Jesuits, and that order being the thing which is resisted, yet the collour of this disquyett is such a thing as hath lest collour at all of any reason. And to this effect I was moved in charyty to wryte unto you, that allbeit I knowe the Jesuits are unwilling to take any such superioryty (neyther indeed is that which is there [1] attributed to one [2] of them worthy to be tearmed by the name of superioryty, for it is not *præesse sed prodesse*) yet such a matter was otherwyse esteemed of and commended unto all by our absolute superior, and in other manner then is there accounted of. And that no longer since then at Lent last was a twellmonth, at what tyme our mission, having allredy receyved the Popes benediction, was alltogether with my Lord Cardinal before our journey hetherward; whoe then used unto us a longe and earnest speech to commend unto us, when we came in England, peace, unyty and gratitude towardes the Jesuits there. He took occasion to beginne with telling us howe after wee wer gone out from the Popes presence, himself and the Protector having been there with us at the Pope the same tyme, the Protector tolde the Pope that ther was peace in our colledg, for ther had been sturres amongst us to the great disquyett and discreddit of the house, and that the Pope knewe well inough of, wherto the Pope sayd agayn:— Then there is God. Upon which wordes of the Popes, which our Cardinal extolled

[1] Wisbeach Castle. [2] F. Edmunds, alias Weston, S. J.

hyghly as worthy of such an absolute monarke, he earnestly charged us that when wee came into England, wee should looke especyally to keep peace with the Jesuits and to joyne with them and to goe to them for ther advyse and direction, and to take heed of emulation and contention with them, and willed us to tell our brethren, when wee came into England, from him, if any such matter did happen, what his mynde was and howe sore he mislyked it, and as they did regard his love and favour and wolde hear him they should take heed of such matters. Besydes he tolde us how wee ought to acknowledge them as those which had been our superiors and masters, of whome wee had receyved our education and learning and all our cheifest good, and this they had bestowed on us freely without any temporall reward. Besydes he shewed us howe carefull they wer of us after wee wer gone from them, and howe ready to asist us in any thing in our journey and every where; further what great good the whole Church receveyed by them, and that himself used ther help very much and could not be without it.[1] And that this might take better impression in us, very fewe dayes after he wrytt unto us a long letter with his owne hand to the same effect, which overtook us in our journey at Millan; wherin even as it wer his last will and testament being not longe before his death, with most loving, godly and vehement wordes, able to move any, he charged us to love one another *in charitate fraternitatis* without making any difference with the fathers for that they wer of different vocation from us, and to beware of all dissensions and emulation with them, saying they proceeded *ab inimico homine;* and if he should hear of any such thinges among us, wee should bringe his gray hears with sorrowe to the grave. I hope you may heerafter see the letter, which wilbe worthy the reading, and I will say is worthy his spiritt. If he wer then so carefull to prevent such matters, what may wee thinke wolde he say if he wer alive to hear of this nowe? And that I may speak what I think in this matter, besydes the discouragement which the report of these sturres among you doth cause in catholickes myndes, so allso (as farre as I can perceyve) the catholickes are so wholly affected to the Socyety and have them in such estimation that whoesoever shall shewe him self to favour any part against them or not so thoroughly to affect them, yea though he be one of our coate, he shalbe lesse gratefull and welcome to them. This I speak as my selfe have perceyved since my coming into England, and

[1] Compare on the other hand, the following passage in a Memorial addressed to Pope Paul V. by William Harrison, archpriest, and his eleven assistants. It is dated London, 2 December, 1619, and has the names of each of the twelve attached to it. "Unde meminimus Ill^mum Allanum sub extremum vitæ de rectoribus seminarii Romani ob alumnos ad suam Societatem pellectos multoties conquestum fuisse, uti et de patre Personio cæterisque qui in Hispaniis seminaria fundaverant ad clerum Anglicanum, ut præ se ferebant, propagandum, revera tamen quibus sibi ipsis commodarent, eleemosynas quæ clericis sustentandis porrigebantur ad Jesuitas copioso numero in iisdem seminariis alendos convertende." From a copy of the document in the Third Douay Diary, a MS. in the Westminster archives, p. 182. An English translation of the entire Memorial will be found in Tierney's Dodd, Vol. V., Appendix p. ccxxii. See also pp. 138, 153, *supra*.

not in a fewe nor of the meanest qualyty; for that themselves being alltogether free from any passion in these matters doe in all sincerity acknowledge the universall good which God bestoweth on the whole Church by the fathers more then by all other orders at this day besydes, and the particular good by them to our countrey at home and to ther children and freinds abroad. And (to say truely) our selves in all due reason ought especyally above any others acknowledge all this, having more reason to knowe it and having reaped part therof in our selves.

Thus much I thought to wryte unto you, allthough I thinke I am knowen to very fewe there, yet I hope it wilbe taken with the same goodwill which I intend it, which is onely of desire of peace amongest you, for which I doe dayly pray and doe thinke wee are all bound to pray for the same and to sett our handes to helpe to it as much as wee can. And so commending my self to your good prayers I committ you all to our B. Saviour, whoe sayd to his disciples: *Habete sal in vobis, et pacem habete inter vos.* 26 of June, 95

Servus in Christo,

TH. AUDLEY.

Addressed.

To Mr Christopher Bagshaw[1] be these at Wisbich dd.

Endorsed.

Thomas Audley to Bagshaw movinge him to like of the Jesuits. What charge Cardinall Allen gave that the preists in England submitt themselves to the Jesuits. That the Jesuits are allready in such creditt as what priest soever shall oppose himselfe against them shall discreditt himselfe.

CCXXVIII.

Sir Francis Englefield to Mr Thomas Hesketh. [Spain] 27 January, 1596.

From a contemporary copy in the archives of the see of Westminster. V., 117.

A clause of a letter of Sir Frances Englefildes to Mr Thomas Hesket of the 27 of January, 1596.

The rest of your letter, being in deffence of the wronge charge wherwith you had burthened me in your former letters, demaundeth no greate replie, as well for that all I said thereof was upon the expresse wordes of your former letters to me, as also for that you acknowledge ether not to remember them, or to deeme them more worthie of blame then justification, which ys recompence enughe for my satisfaction. Yet this point I can and do avvere unto you, that I knowe, to whom the Busshop of Cassano wrote expressely, that your deer uncle tould him by his owne mouthe som monthes

[1] The name Christopher Bagshaw has been carefully written over in order to efface it.

before he died, that he had no meaninge nor intention to goe to Flanders, insinuatinge withall that he writt yt to this ende that the King heare might be undeceaved of your uncles meaninge, and not to expecte at his handes that which your uncle meante not performe, and this do I know who hath yt of the Busshopes owne hand writinge. In all such cases therfore wherof you do knowe somwhat, and others may knowe more, your surest way shall be to averr and avowe only that which you knowe to be trewe, without accusinge or suspectinge others for saieing that which they knowe more than you did. And whether yourself or any others of his Graces famely wer of oppinion that by his Graces tarienge in Rome he might become Pope, and whether yourself or they in that respecte did caste furthe any plausible speaches to your uncle tending to perswade his abode theere or delaie of fulfillinge the Kinges desire, thies pointes beinge better knowne to yourself then me, I will not accuse you resolutely of them; thoughe I knowe some which love you full dearely, of whose mouthes miself have hearde that their owne eares have ben witnesses of divers speaches to that sense uttered by yourself and by some more aboute his Grace also in familier conferences amonge yourselves.

CCXXIX.

F. Robert Persons, S.J., to F. William Creighton, S.J. Seville, 10 May, 1596.

From a transcript by F. Christopher Grene, S.J., in the archives of Stonyhurst College.

P. 316.

Epistola Personii ad P. Crittonium. Hispali, 10 Maii, 1596. De libro Successionis,[1] etc. ex autographo.

P. Christi. Serius aliquanto redditæ mihi sunt literæ R. V^a^. Quod agit mihi gratias R. V^a^ de subsidio quodam pecuniario procurato, animo certe meo debentur ac desiderio, licet non operi, ob temporum difficultates. Egi quod potui agoque; sed duorum hic seminariorum[2] pressus onere, quorum unumquodque ad septuaginta fere alit, quid aliis præstare possim R^a^ V. pro sua prudentia facile videbit. Utinam R. V. istius seminarii Scotici, cum hic adesset, opus ursisset. Aliquid sine dubio effectum fuisset. Nunc autem de absentibus lentum negotium ac languidum. Neque exiguo mihi dolori est inopia vestra, cui levandæ etsi impar omnino sim, aliquid tamen ut conferam, hoc libentissime ex tenuitate nostra offero, ut si V. R. sex habeat istic adolescentes Scotos bonæ indolis, qui ad studia philosophica idonei sint atque Anglorum convictum non respuunt, eos in hæc seminaria admittemus; et si hoc initium ex animo nobis successerit, fieri potest ut reliqua deinde sequantur ampliora.

Quod de alio negotio successionis regiæ R. V. scribit, nescio sane quid respondeam,

[1] "A conference about the next succession to the Crowne of Ingland divided into two partes. Published by R. Doleman. Imprinted at N. with license, 1594."

[2] The seminary at Valladolid founded in 1589, and the seminary at Seville in 1592.

et an quicquam hac in re respondendum sit, cum magis optarem de cœlesti tantum regno et non de terreno tractandum nobis foret; sed quia temporum iniquitate patriæque nostræ extrema calamitate factum est ut de salute ei procuranda, quæ ex religionis catholicæ restitutione pendet, nulla ratione agere possimus nisi etiam de successore catholico cogitemus, dicam hac occasione R^æ V^æ quicquid animo conceptum habeo.

Ego ab anno octogesimo, quo primum in Angliam mandato superiorum appuli, Regis Scotiæ studere commodis omni qua potui ratione cœpi; et statim quidem Guilielmum Waytes[1] sacerdotem meis expensis in Scotiam ex Anglia misi. Patrem deinde Holt submisi. Et cum hæc initia non male succederent, scripsi ad Reverendissimum Patrem nostrum ut aliquot viri Societatis ex gente vestra in Scotiam mitterentur; cumque statutum esset ut R. V. experiendi gratia præmitteretur facile recordabitur qua animi alacritate Rotomago ei adfui, adeo ut socium[2] unicum quem habebam mihi ipsi detraxerim ut Reverentiam vestram in Scotiam sequeretur. Revertenti deinde Reverentiæ vestræ neque consilio neque opere unquam defui. Iter arduum ac difficillimum in Hispaniam, Olyssiponem usque, suscepi cum magno vitæ periculo; neque cum minori aliud deinde in Flandriam; ac tertium demum Romam usque. Atque hæc omnia post Deum Regis Scotiæ matrisque suæ in gratiam; quibus licet ad vota quæ cupiebantur non esset utilis opera mea, duabus tamen vicibus viginti quatuor aureorum millia a Rege Hispaniæ in eorum usum impetravi, et a Summo Pontifice Gregorio decimotertio quatuor millia. Cujusmodi nescio an alii præstiterint officia; horum tamen cogor mentionem facere ut eis opponam qui Regi me Scotiæ adversarium faciunt. Ad quos refutandos nemo testis locupletior esse potest quam Reverentia vestra quæ hæc omnia novit et meminisse potest.[3]

Tandem vero cum mortua Regina Regem vestrum obfirmatum hæresis cursum tenere animadvertimus, fateor tam Alanum quam me, cum nondum esset Cardinalitia dignitate præditus, languidiores animo in Regis hæretici negotio promovendo nos exhibuisse; cum tamen R^a V. Romæ dixerit anno opinor 86, sæpiusque repeteret, nihil certi statuendum esse quoad firmum aliquod experimentum de Regis animo haberemus,[4] quod se allaturam R^a V^a promittebat cum eo ipso tempore una cum aliis profectionem in Scotiam pararet. Expectavimus libenter R. V^æ reditum, qui cum aliquot deinde annis successisset omnem plane spem nobis omnibus de Regis reductione eripuit; omni enim asseveratione affirmabat R. V^a, tum alibi tum hic sæpissime in Hispania (quod et alii quoque viri pii prudentesque nationis vestræ confirmarunt) nihil esse quod quisquam de Regis ad fidem catholicam conversione expectaret; quod reliqua etiam deinde secuta vehementer comprobant. Itaque fateor ex eo tempore Cardinalem Alanum meque alia omnia quam de Rege Scotiæ cogitasse, idque unum atque solum cogita-

[1] Or Watts. [2] Ralph Emerson. Autobiographical Notes by F. Persons. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 230. [3] The whole of this paragraph is printed in Morus, Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Societatis Jesu, p. 122. F. Grene has not transcribed it, but simply refers to Morus.
[4] See p. 294 *supra*.

tionum nostrarum meta fuit, quis potissimum et præ cæteris competitoribus religioni catholicæ divinoque cultui in patria nostra restituendo atque stabiliendo opitulaturus videatur; cumque cogitando atque perscrutando eam prætensionum latitudinem prætensorumque varietatem perspiceremus, quoad ipsum etiam succedendi jus hæreditarium, amoto omni religionis respectu, quam R^a quoque V. ex edito nuper libro de hoc argumento vidit, quid viris bonis facere liceat vel etiam incumbat addita religionis ratione, id est, an debeant vel tuta conscientia possint prætensorem hæreticum vel dubium saltem sequi in prætensione quoque dubia, cum catholicorum prætensorum copia sit, nemo piæ mentis est qui non videbit.

Jam R^æ V^æ dixi, verissimumque sane est, vehementer me cupere ut hæc ipsa de terrenis regnis nihil quicquam ad nos pertinerent; sed cum nostra peccata id effecerint ut prostrata omni republica nostra res politicæ atque religionis adeo sint immixtæ atque perplexæ ut de unis restituendis sine aliis tractari non possit, neque de religione catholica restituenda sine Principe catholico, cumque tantum sit jam in priori laboratum ut non solum laboribus magnis sed copiosissimo etiam sanguine constiterit, non possumus de secundo quoque non esse soliciti, ex quo omnia pendent. Itaque quod R^æ V^æ præsenti sæpe præsens affirmavi (quod et piissimum Alanum nostrum fecisse quoque memini) id iterum in hac occasione repeto, id unum atque primo omnium loco me intueri in futuro nostro Principe ut vere sit catholicus, sit cujuscunque alioquin nationis, gentis vel linguæ sub cœlo, et si hoc in eo non sit, vel dubium sit, neque patriam ego respicio neque personam neque ullum aliud juris hæreditarii prætensi genus, quod contra Dei causam admitti non debebit etiamsi alias validissimum esset. In Regis vero Scotiæ prætensione quam sit infirmum vel cum aliis commune ex eo quem jam dixi libro edito apparet; atque hoc quoque sensisse R^ain V. aliquando bene memini; et certe mirari satis non possum adeo mutatam jam videre ut scribat se non esse ex eis qui precoces sunt ad Regem Scotiæ excludendum, cum nemo se neque precociorem neque maturiorem ea in re ostenderit, aut efficacius illud nobis et aliis idque infinitis prope testibus persuaserit, etc. Itaque stultos nos plane ac miseros si post tot exantlatos pro fide catholica sustinenda labores, tot emensa pericula perpessaque martyria velimus jam iterum in Regis hæretici vel dubii omnia nostra Deique ac reipublicæ bona manibus deponere. Hoc est judicium, hic sensus meus, Deo angelisque testibus, me nihil præter divinam gloriam hac in re quærere, neque minimæ mihi curæ esse quis hominum regnis terrenis fruatur, modo cœleste quæramus aliisque procuremus. R. V^a hæc æquo animo amicoque (ut solet) accipiat reliquisque amicis nostratibus ac vestratibus quibus videbitur communicet, meque divinæ misericordiæ in sanctis suis sacrificiis commendet. Hispali, 10 Maii, 1596.[1]

R. V^æ servus in Christo.

[1] "But howsoever these matters of tytles goe, which God only must determine, my conclusion shal be to your whole letter that among such variety and perplexity of pretenders as now are for that

CCXXX.

F. William Creighton, S.J., to F. Robert Persons, S.J. 20 August, 1596.

From a transcript by F. Christopher Grene, S.J., in the archives of Stonyhurst College. P. 318.

Crittonus ad Pers., 20 Aug., 1596.

Pax Christi. Accepi literas R^ae^ V. datas 10 Maii mihi pergratas. Omnia quæ commemorat R^a^ V^a^ erga Regem nostrum et nationem fateor esse vera. De libro Successionis parum habeo quod dicam. Quod scripsi fuisse precocem, de publicatione libri erat præcipue intelligendum, quæ mihi et multis visa est tempus non sine præjudicio multorum quibus R^a^ V. favet antevertisse. Quid fructus attulerit libri publicatio plane ignoro; quid vero damni certo scio, etc. Est proverbium Gallicum, leporem non esse capiendum tympano. In pulpitis tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ ministri pulsant.[1]

CCXXXI.

F. Robert Persons, S.J., to F. William Creighton, S.J. Madrid, 2 November, 1596.

From a transcript by F. Christopher Grene, S.J., in the archives of Stonyhurst College. P. 318.

F. Persons 2^d^ letter to F. Chritton.

P. X. Literas vestras 20^o^ Aug. scriptas reddidit mihi hesterno die colonellus Simplus, etc. Egi quoque apud Regem solicite seminarii vestri causam, etc.

Quod R. V^a^ addit tam copiose contra librum de jure Successionis regiæ, nollem hoc argumentum sæpius inter nos tractari literis; video enim dispari affectu oculoque rem hanc nos intueri. Si una essemus, facilius fortasse in unam eandemque veniremus sententiam. Existimat R. V^a^ precocem fuisse libri illius editionem dicitque ex proverbio Gallico non esse tympano capiendum leporem. Ad quod respondeo primum, librum illum antequam ederetur perlectum fuisse sæpius atque accurate a viris Anglicanæ nationis prudentissimis qui in Hispania, Italia, Belgioque reperiebantur, et fortasse

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crowne it is enough for a catholick sober man to have any Prince, admitted by the body of his realme and allowed by the authority of Gods catholick church and that will defende the religion of his old noble ancesters; and without this nothing is sufficient, nor should any reason in the world move us to yield him favour or obedience, though he were our father, son or brother." F. Persons to Mr Standen, Madrid, Sept. 8, 1595. Stonyhurst MSS. P. 311.

[1] The transcript ends thus abruptly in the middle of a sentence, half a page being left blank between the last line of this letter and the beginning of the next.

etiam in Anglia, neque illis precocem sed permaturam ac pernecessariam fuisse temporibusque accommodatissimam libri editionem visum est, adeo ut nihil hactenus scriptum fuisse utilius ad causam catholicorum promovendam censuerint: atque si virorum nomina hic apponerem nihil eis exceptionis opponi posset. Quod vero dictum est de tympano, si libri editionem tympanum esse R. V^a^ vult, dicerem tympanum hoc non esse positum ad capiendum leporem, sed ad lupum potius arcendum qui nocte cupit subingredi. Cum enim lex hæreticorum, qua sub læsæ majestatis prohibetur pœna ne quis aliquid decernat de successionis jure, eo pertineat ut hæretici suo tempore, cum omnium jura sint obscura, successorem nobis hæreticum, ignorantiæ hujus nocte usi, obtrudant, tympani hujus sonitu detegitur. Principes etiam Christiani ac catholici hoc tympano excitantur ut videant quid cuique juris competat, quid sibi, quid reipublicæ Christianæ expediat; præcipue vero omnium Summus Pontifex, qui præter universalem religionis tuendæ causa datam ei a Domino potestatem particulare quoque majestatis ac supremi dominii jus in Angliam habet, quo uti legitime saluberrimeque poterit ad litem hanc difficillimam dirimendam si omnium prætensionum jura actionesque intellexerit. Denique hoc tympano expergefient catholici Angli ut cogitent quid sibi faciendum sit cum necessitas impulerit ut in unam alteramve partem se dent, ne res prius ad arma quam ad disceptationem perveniant, et præcipitare se suaque cogantur antequam consilium de re tanta ineant. Itaque si tympanum liber hic appellandus est, non inconcinnum nec malesonorum videtur qui tot habeat utilitates publicas. Et quanquam R. V^a^ scribat de bono quod attulerit se penitus nescire, de multis damnis certam esse, ego tamen de commodis has attuli rationes, testes etiam afferre possem locupletissimos ex Anglia qui affirmant præ cæteris libris hactenus scriptis vehementer profuisse, quod copiosius postea docebit tempus. De damnis vero nescio quid R. V^a^ afferat; nam quod de persecutione aucta affirmat, contrarium plane cernimus in Anglia, ubi post libri editionem mansuetius multo actum est cum catholicis. De Scotia nihil amplius affirmare possum quam quod R^a^ V. scribit patres duos Societatis per Regem liberatos esse aliosque nonnullos benigne habitos; et res ipsa loquitur nam ante libri editionem Rex Scotiæ Baronem Fentrium religionis catholicæ causa capite mulctandum curavit, post editionem vero libri neminem quod sciam. Neque sane est cur Rex Scotiæ in catholicos Scotos hujus libri causa inhumanior fiat, qui eis non tribuitur, etc.

Fateor me cupere (regni) possessionem penes hominem notæ fidei atque constantiæ esse: hæreticos dubiosve pro omni mea virili parte aversor, etc. Satis calamitatum perpessi jam sumus ob eum errorem quo Anglicani catholici, Maria Regina mortua, Elizabetham istam ob eam solam causam quod natione esset Angla (dubiæ licet fidei) Mariæ, Franciæ Reginæ, catholicæ, quod patria esset Scota, prætulerint; quam postea tamen Reginam Scotam vel capitum suorum periculis cum Angla hac commutare cupiebant. Itaque ne iterum in eundem errorem incidamus, et ne juxta Evangelium posteriora fiant pejora prioribus, nullis lenociniis, nulli spei dubiæ credendum judico hac tanta in causa,

sed quod summum ac præcipuum est primo loco intuendum. Sit vere catholicus, sit fidei probatæ Princeps, et quacunque ex mundi parte veniat parum refert, modo vires habeat tum adipiscendi tum etiam tuendi ac conservandi regni, Summusque Pontifex (cujus maxime omnium interest) calculo suo rem approbet. Ejus enim judicium in re adeo dubia nobis regula præcipua esse debet quid nobis, quid reipublicæ etiam Christianæ ad majorem Dei gloriam expediat; ad quam rem non exiguam puto lucem allaturum librum illum de quo jam diximus, neque amplius habeo quod hac de re scribam. R^se V. precibus, etc. Madriti, 2° Novemb., 1596.

CCXXXII.

F. Robert Persons, S.J., to Don Juan de Ydiaquez. [Rome] 30 June, 1597.

From a transcript, endorsed by F. Persons, in the archives of the see of Westminster. VI., 153. *Also in part printed in Tierney's Dodd. Vol.* III., *Append. p.* lix.

Que la parcialidad de Carlos Pagetto y de Tomas Morgano aya sido y sea muy preiudicial al servicio de su Magestad para las cosas de Ynglaterra.[1]

No ha sido poco daño a la causa publica de todos los catolicos Yngleses y a las cosas de su Mag^d tocantes aquel reyno que algunos ministros suyos no ayan entendido bien o no tenido la cuenta que convenia con la parcialidad y faction de los dichos dos hombres; y muchos mayores daños seguirse han, si de aqui adelante no si mira con mas atencion en ella, como por lo que aora se dira cada uno entendera.

La primera origen desta disunion fue en el año de 82, quando en una junta que se hizo en Paris del Nuncio Apostolico y del embaxador de España, Juan Baptista de Texis, y del Duque de Guysa y del arzobispo de Glasco, embaxador de la Reyna de Escocia, y de otros se concluyo que en la reducion de los reynos de Ynglaterra y de Escocia se avia de tomar el arrimo del Rey de España y no otro camino. Por confirmacion de lo qual fueron embiados a Lisboa y a Roma el padre Personio y el padre Critonio para pedir cierto socorro para Escocia. Y porque avian sido excluydos desta junta los dos dichos Pagetto y Morgano, que se llamavan criados de la dicha Reyna de Escocia y tenian corespondencia con dos secretarios suyos, Nau, Frances, y Curle, Escoçez, que residian con ella en Ynglaterra y tenian las cifras y podian mucho con ella, hizieron tanto con ellos estos dos discontentos que residian en Francia, y todos quatro juntos con la disdechada Reyna, que la divertieron de todo affetto y confianza deste camino comenzado por via de España.

De todo esto es testigo hasta oy el padre Henrico Samerio, Frances, de la Com-

[1] This memorandum was enclosed in a letter from F. Persons to Dôn Juan de Ydiaquez, dated 3 July, 1597, a copy of which is in the Westminster archives (VI., 157) bearing an endorsement in F. Persons handwriting "Copia de mi carta al señor Don Juan de Ideaquez a 3 de Julio" [1597].

pañia de Jesus, el qual vive en Flandes y en esta sazon se hallo con la dicha Reyna en Ynglaterra con nombre de medico y veya las cosas que passavan. Tan bien el Duque de Guysa era testigo desto mientras que vivia, el qual dixo con mucho sentimiento a muchas personas y particularmente al padre Claudio Mateo, Loranes, de la compañia de Jesus su confessor y al padre Personio y mas, que los dos dichos Pagetto y Morgano havian puesto en disconfianza con la Reyna a el mismo en cierta [cosa] por demas[i]ado confidente de España y de los padres de la Compañia.

Tras esto se sabe que los dichos dos tratavan algunas vezes con el dicho Duque de Guysa para que tomasse en si de librar a la Reyna de Escocia y de metterla en el reyno de Ynglaterra y Escocia con las fuerças de Francia y de sus amigos Franceses sin admitter a Españoles, y quando el Duque no queria consentir a esto, si nō que se resolvio de nuevo en el año de 83 de pedir otra vez soccorro de su Mag^{d} de España, Carlos Pagetto no podiendo impedir esta resolucion offreciose de andar a Ynglaterra para juntar tan bien el Conde de Nortumberland con el Duque. Pero el llegando por alla hizo officio contrario, divertiendole para que no se juntasse, como el mismo Duque de Guysa lo dixo despues a muchos. Y el mismo Pagetto lo avia dicho en secreto a Guilelmo Wattis, sacerdote Yngles, quando estava para embarcarse para yr a Ynglaterra, que tenia esta intencion. Y mas se sabe por el testimonio del sobre dicho padre Samerio y de otros que Pagetto y Morgano avian por cartas divertido a la misma Reyna de Escocia y hecho que escreviesse al dicho Conde che en ninguna manera se juntasse con el Duque de Guysa ni con los Españoles en esta empresa. Y esto hezieron Pagetto y Morgano en Paris despues de reconciliados con el Duque de Guysa y con el doctor Alano y con el padre Personio; los quales por el deseo que tenian de paz y union y para que estos dos no esturbassen mas las cosas les avian admittido a la participacion de todos los secretos. Pero estos nunca despues les fueron fieles, como parecera por las cosas seguientes.

Passada esta primera traycion de la diversion del Conde de Nortumberland, la cual fue causa tam bien de la perdicion del Conde, andavan cada dia los dos opponendose en secreto por todas vias possibiles (pero principalmente por via de la Reyna de Escocia, la qual ya tenian muy ganada) a todo quanto la otra parte yva haciendo en beneficio de la dicha Reyna y de la causa publica por via de España, quexandose y dando por causa, como oy dia tam bien lo hacen, que los dichos Alano y Personio y Ynglefildo y otros sus parciales no communicavan con ellos las cosas de la Reyna de Escocia que les toccavan para ser criados della. Por lo qual los dichos Alano y Personio el año 84 vinieron otra vez a Paris a renovar amistad con los dos y communicarles de nuevo los negocios con la occasion que el Baron Pagetto, hermano de Carlos, avia venido de Ynglaterra, y avia speranza que por su medio se podia ganar a los dos, aunque succedio al reves, pues los dos ganaron a el Baron a su bando; y hecieron otra traycion que fue que mientras que estavan tratando con el Duque de Guysa y con Alano y Personio de procurar y aguardar algunas fuerças de España, de las quales ya

avia mucha probabilidad que vendrian presto, los dos embiaron secretamente a Ynglaterra un cierto espia que avia sido muchos años de la Reyna de Ynglaterra en Italia y otras partes, llamado Guilelmo Parry; el qual descubrio lluego a la Reyna todo lo que passava, come se save por sus confessiones que estan impresas, y mas, la dixo como tenia commission para matar tam bien a ella a su tiempo para llevantar a la Reyna de Escocia y para prevenir la invasion Española, la que los Jesuitas pretendian: y aunque por entonces la Reyna le agradecio y le regalo, toda via despues le hizo ahurcar; y este fue el fin del doctor Parry.

Despues desto los dos attendian por mucho tiempo a hazer odioso para con todo genero de humbres el nombre de invasion Española y a los que a su parecer la procuravan o la favorecian, dando nombre de invasion Española a todo genero de ayuda o soccoro que se pretendia por via de España. Tam bien llamavan a Alano, Personio y Ynglifeldo y a los demas que seguian este camino de España o favorecian a este pensamiento confederados de los Españoles y desyosos de la conquesta y de la perdicion de su patria. Con lo qual les hazen odiosos, y de la otra parte acrecentavan su parcialidad. Pero mas que por otra via ninguna tiravan muchos a su bando con dezir que la misma Reyna de Escocia aborrecia tan bien de esta invasion y de los que la tratavan, y que queria mas presto qualquier otro genero de remedio que no por las fuerças de España, como los Jesuitas pretendian; y a este effecto escrivia la dicha Reyna una carta al Duque de Guysa en el año 85, diziendo que mirasse bien a los andamentos de los dichos Jesuitas en su causa en quanto que tratavan por via de España, reprehendiendo juntamente al dicho Duque y al arzobispo de Glasco por que no avian acudido a entregar una cierta summa de deneros a peticion de Morgano y Pagetto a un cierto cavallero mozo[1] en Ynglaterra, el qual avia prometido a los dichos dos de matar a la Reyna de Ynglaterra para la dicha summa de deneros, como ellos hacian creer a la Reyna. Pero por entender el Duque y el arzobispo que el dicho cavallero era un perdido y que no haria nada, como en effetto seguio (ni se pone aqui su nombre por ser aun vivo) no quesieron entregar el denero, por lo qual los dichos dos les procuravan una reprehencion como se ha dicho.

Seguio el año de 86 en el qual los dos, viendo que se yva aparejando una armada de España para el remedio de Ynglaterra, trataron con un cierto clerigo disviado, llamado Barlardo,[2] persuadiendole que para devertir este enconveniente de la invasion andasse a Ynglaterra y tratasse con algunos cavalleros mozos catolicos de mattar a la Reyna; y por otra parte que el mismo tratasse con Walsingamo, secretario de la Reyna, como lo hizo; y no se save las cosas que tratasse, pero el fin fue, que los cavalleros catolicos fueron presos y hechos quartos, quatorze dellos, y tam bien la Reyna de

[1] The initials I. G. are in the margin of the MS. opposite to these words. With reference to this story, see the more accurate account of it given by the Nuncio at Paris to the Cardinal of Como, 2 May, 1583, from which it appears that the Queen of Scots refused to have anything to do with the proposed assassination of Queen Elizabeth (p. 413 *infra*).

[2] Ballard.

Escocia fue muerta, y escaparon solamente los dos secretarios, el Frances y Escoces, que eran los corespondentes de Pagetto y Morgano, y avian tratado todas las cosas por cifras.

Al mismo tiempo trato Morgano con otro clerigo Yngles, llamado Gilberto Giffordio, en Paris, y le persuadeo que andasse a Ynglaterra y tratasse con Walsingamo, y se offreciesse a su servicio contra Jesuitas y Españoles; y al mismo Giffordio persuadeo despues y a otro clerigo de su humor Grateleo,[1] que, en confirmacion deste offrecimiento hecho al secretario, escreviessen dos libros contra los dichos padres de la Compañia y contra los Españoles; y asi lo hecieron, y los libros quedan hasta oy, y estan llenos de mil mentiras y calumnias contra la nacion Española y contra las intenciones de su Mag^{d} en particular: y dieron los dichos libros escrittos de mano a Walsingamo, como por las confessiones del dicho Giffordio se hezo despues manifestamente en el año 88°.[2]

Muchas cosas an succedido despues por las quales se ha ydo descubriendo de tiempo en tiempo el mal affetto que estos dos y los de su parcialidad an mostrado a las cosas de su Mag^{d}, tirando a todos discontentos y tentados a su bando. Pero en ninguna cosa se a visto mas esto, que en lo que an dicho y escritto y travajado contra el libro de la Succession de Ynglaterra, el qual aunque se a escritto con toda la moderacion y indifferencia que se pu[do][3] usar en tal materia prejudicando a nadie, toda via porque allega el dicho libro muchas razones en favor de las pretenciones que su Mag^{d} y sus hijos por differentes vias pueden tener a la dicha corona entre los demas pretensores, los desta parcialidad no lo han podido tragar; sino con su Santidad y con otros Principes y con los que han podido de la nacion Ynglesa, tanto en Ynglaterra como fuera, an procurado disacreditar y calumniar al dicho libro, como todos saven, y de llevantar faction en favor del Rey de Escocia para contradicer mas por esta via a las cosas de su Mag^{d}. Y ultimamente para abrevi[a]r las cosas, los desta faction se han conjunto manifestamente con los estudiantes Yngleses llevantados y rebeldes en Roma,[4] los quales han mostrado publica aversion y malissimo affetto a las cosas de su Mag^{d} tanto por palabras y escritto a su Santidad y a otros personajes, como tam bien por hechos, abominando del dicho libro de la Succession y de lo que lo[5] favorecian, y parlando siempre mal de las cosas de España, y mostrando mucho pesadumbre de qualquier buen successo dellas y gusto y allegria de lo contrario.

En una carta de 7 de 9^{bre} del año 96, la qual estos inquietos de Roma escrivieron al doctor Guilelmo Giffordio Yngles, dean de Lila[6] en Flandes, de la faction de Pagetto y su intimo secretario y consejero en todas estas cosas, va escritto en esta manera, y son las primas palabras de la carta. "Nos otros vemos y sentimos tanto de sus prepara-

[1] Edward Grateley, a priest educated at the English college in Rome.

[2] See F. Persons 'Briefe Apologie, &c.,' fol. 4, verso.

[3] MS. worn away.

[4] The students in the English college at Rome who, being dissatisfied with the method of government and administration pursued by the Jesuit fathers, sought to obtain their removal from the college.

[5] *los?*

[6] Lille.

ciones para la monarchia, de la qual vos aveis dicho mucho y muy a proposito, que tenemos ya por comun proverbio entre nos, *qui habet tunicam vendat et emat gladium et certet pro justitia usque ad mortem*, y tenemos esperança que todos los demas de nuestra patria que no han degenerado, no solamente diran, pero tam bien haran, lo mismo."

Esta carta se escrivio para encender y animar a los clerigos y a algunos otros que los sediciosos de Roma con el apoyo de la autoridad del Cardinal Toledo [1] avian embiado a Ynglaterra para hacer parcialidad de su humor, y divertir la gente de la devocion del Rey de España y de la union con los padres de la Compañia, y se pensava que los dichos agentes quedavan aun en Flandes, pues se avian entendido que el Serenissimo Cardinal Archeduque,[2] avisado por el Duque de Sessa [3] de la mala entencion desta negociacion, les avia negado el passeporte para andar a Ynglaterra por los puertos de Flandes. Pero Pagetto y este Giffordio y algunos otros desta parcialidad, aviendoles regalado mucho y animado a que perseguiessen sus intentos, les avian procurado entrada por otras partes de Germania; y ansi Giffordio les embio lluego esta carta añadiendo la postilla que sigue de su letra. "Mirad bien lo que haceis. La vuestra esperanza consiste en el secreto, en la brevidad y en la perseveranza. Haced y acavad presto. Los enimigos vuestros embian y reembian, van a Roma, dan preesa, enforman, travajan, escriven, transladan. Consolad vuestros hermanos; haced lo que aguardan de vos otros; no les dexeis uerphanos y desamparados; os sean por exemplo y incitamiento los vuestros inimigos."

Este mismo Giffordio, en una carta que escrivio a 19 de 7^{bre} de 1596 a los sediciosos de Roma para que la mostrassen a su Santidad y a los Cardinales contra los padres de la Compañia, les pone estas dos accusaciones entre otras muchas calumnias: *Discordiarum inter summos Principes per libellos famosos sine nomine authoris seminatio, et antiquissimi et quondam florentissimi regni Angliæ in provinciam reducendi conatus.* Estas son las palabras en Latin, y lo mismo se ha de presumir que el y sus complices an scritto al Papa, pues se save que han escritto muchas cartas y muy largas desta materia, usando del medio del monsignor Malvasia [4] para tratar lo mismo. Y queren dezir en el primero de los dos cargos que el libro de la Succession es un libello enfamatorio, y que tira a discordia contra el Rey de Escocia: lo qual manifestamente es falso, pues no habla contra la persona de algun Principe, y tiene el nombre de su autor.[5] En lo segundo dan a entender que los padres Yngleses de la Compañia tratan de hacer al Rey de España Rey de Ynglaterra, y por esta via redu-

[1] Vice protector of the English college at Rome, a member of the Society of Jesus and a Spaniard. [2] Governor of the Low Countries. [3] Spanish Ambassador at Rome. [4] Some time Apostolic nuncio in the Low Countries.

[5] This assertion is not true. The book of the Succession bore the name of 'R. Doleman' on its title-page; but this name was only a pseudonym, signifying 'A man of sorrows,' as F. Persons, the chief (if not the sole) author of the book, expressly states in his letter to King James I., dated 18 October, 1603. See Tierney's Dodd, Vol. III., Appendix, p. lxxiii., note, and *ib.* p. 34, note. The charges which F. Persons brings against his opponents must be received with caution.

cirla a provincia: la qual cosa aunque sea tan bien muy falsa, toda via los desta faction lo andan publicando por todo, para hacer a los dichos padres y a los demas catolicos que estan unidos en la dependencia de España odiosos: y con todo esto los dichos parciales y factiosos andan quexandose, diziendo que se les hace aggravio en pensar que no favorecen a las cosas de su Mag^{d}.

Y aunque estas differencias con la nacion Ynglesa parecen por ventura a algunos de poco momento, por ser de pocos respeto de todo el cuerpo de los catolicos, toda via se halla por experiencia que los effetos son muy dañosos y de grande importancia y consequencia, porque tienen dividida y inquietada grande parte de la nacion; y mucha gente moza, saliendo de Ynglaterra con buenos intentos y caiendo en manos destos sediciosos, embeven tales impressiones que nunca despues se les pueden quitar hasta a ruynarles, y no tanto a si mismos sino tam bien a otros; y muchos se hacen finalmente enimigos, espias, apostatas, hereges por esta via, como se a visto, y cada dia se vee, cayendo de un mal a otro. De manera che conviene sumamente que su Mag^{d} y sus ministros miren con attencion en esta liga de inquietos y contrarios, antes que cresca y se confirme mas, porque otramente se veran tantos inconvenientes que no se podran facilmente remediar despues; y a la reducion de Ynglaterra se hara mucho mas difficultosa por la disunion de los catolicos que estos procuran. Y no a sido poco daño a la causa publica de Ynglaterra y al servicio de su Mag^{d} el no aver hecho caso hasta agora desta parcialidad; y quanto mas se delatara, tanto mas daño seguira. Con apartar uno o dos de las caveças de Flandes, o quitarles los entretenimientos publicamente por inquietos, estubieren ya los demas escarmentados y otros avisados de no unirse con ellos: y si esto no se hace o alguna otra demostracion de la parte de su Mag^{d} y de sus ministros, no veo fin que se puede esperar del negocio. Haga nuestro Señor lo que mas convenga. A 30 de Junio, 1597.

Endorsed in F. Persons handwriting.

De la parcialidad de Pageto y Morgano en la nacion Ynglesa. 1597.

CCXXXIII.

F. Robert Persons, S.J., to Mr Charles Paget. Rome, 20 December, 1597.

From a contemporary copy in the archives of Stonyhurst College. P. 453.[1]

. . All Inglishe men knowe that those aversions and disagreements of yours are no new things, but of many years. . . . For you will remember your self that about

[1] The whole of this letter, which is a very long one, is in the Stonyhurst archives; but I have printed that part only which relates to Mr Charles Paget's proceedings during Cardinal Allen's lifetime. The historical value of the statements which it contains is considerable, and as the charges made by F. Persons are addressed by him immediately to the person concerned in a private letter, we may rely upon their general accuracy with greater confidence than if they had been made in anonymous and partisan pamphlets, or even in private memoranda drawn up many years after the events referred to in them had taken place.

fourteene years agoe when you and I dealt togeather first in the cytie of Roan in Fraunce[1] you shewed your self no lesse disgusted then now, when yet neyther F. Holt

[1] F. Persons relates in his Autobiographical Notes that the original cause of Paget and Morgan's division from Dr Allen and himself was that they were excluded, by desire of the Duke of Guise and the Archbishop of Glasgow, from the consultation held in Paris in 1582 relative to the deliverance of the Queen of Scots and the restoration of England to catholic unity by means of a foreign invasion. "When" he adds "I returned to Paris [from Spain in the spring of 1583] I found Mr Paget and Morgan wholy aversed. But Dr Allen and I sought all meanes to regayne them againe. I went first to Roan where Mr Paget lay and made peace with him, and after went to Paris and called D^or^ Allen thither from Rhemes to doe the same. We went and lay in the same lodging to performe the matter better, but all would not serve. After this we imparted all our affaires with them, and upon a new agreement Mr Paget was sent into England and I went to Rome (1583) and Mr Brinkly with me, whence returning againe in few weekes, I found Mr Paget come from England and to have brought contrary answer to that which was expected by the Duke and promised by him, which the priest, Mr Watts, that had bin [in] Scotland (whither he was sent by me out of England together with F. Holt, anno 1581) declared to the Duke and to F. Claudius and me that it was procured of sett purpose by Mr Paget, as he had told Mr Watts before his departure that he would. . . . . The said Mr Watts told us that walking upon the strande or seaside with Mr Paget, at what time he expected his barke to passe into England with promise to draw the Earles of Northumberland and Arondel to joyne with the Duke of Guise for delivery of the Q. of Scotts, [he said] that he coming into England would in few daies dissolve all that had been treated therein by Jesuits, and soe it ensued. At this very time came from Lions to Paris D^or^ Parry, Morgan's countryman; which Parry, having bin a spye for the Queen some yeares before in dyverse places of Italy and France, was now become a catholick, as he sayd, and Mr Paget and Morgan desiring to bring him into dealings with D^or^ Allen and me by this meanes they refused it, so as Paget and Morgan sent him away into England secretly without taking his leave of any of us, and that with commission (as he tould the foresaid Mr Watts, being his contryman, at Roan as he passed to Diepe) to make a parte against the Jesuits: but Parry coming into England revealed all and more to the Queene and Treasurer Cecil, and soe had favour for a time; but a little after, being accused by Nevel Lord Latimer to have practised with him about killing the Queen, he was hanged." Stonyhurst MSS., P. 230. These Notes were begun by F. Persons at Rome, 8 May, 1601. See also F. Persons letter to Don Juan de Idiaquez, 30 June, 1597, p. 386, supra. Compare, however, with this narrative two letters from F. Oliverius Manareus, S.J., provincial of Germany, to F. George Duras, S.J., assistant of the Society of Jesus, written from Belgium, 18 Sept. and 12 Oct., 1597, and printed from the originals, now in the archives of the see of Westminster, in Tierney's Dodd, III., App. pp. xciv and xcviii. The following extract from the first of these letters is especially noteworthy. "Quod cum Pater noster [i.e., the Father General], tum reverentia vestra aliquoties, tum denique pater Personius scripserit jam certis documentis constare qui sint authores factionis, ego tamen tam rudis sum, fateor, ut hucusque nihil omnino perspicuum et manifestum viderim: puto tamen me vidisse eadem quæ vos istic vidistis, saltem præcipua: et [quamvis] literas viderim, et, dum mihi legerentur, ostenderim me sentire vobiscum propter debitam reverentiam quantum veritatis candor passus est, non acquievit tamen intellectus: nam historia illa quæ prætendit declarare originem primam discordiarum, relatam ad congressum quendam Parisiis habitum aliquot præstantium virorum cum oratore Regis nostri, a quo se exclusum fuisse Pagettus questus sit, et inde moliri cœperit contraria continenter magis ac magis, videtur habere debile fundamentum; et pater Personius in ea contexenda potuit facile errare ex vetusto illo suo præjudicio in magna parte narrationis." Ib., p. xcv. Archives of the see of Westminster. VI., 195.

nor Mr Owen were neare you or gave you any molestation, but that then all your complaynt was agaynst preists in generall and agaynst Mr Doctour Allen (after Cardinall) in particuler and by name, about whom you and I had longe disputes why hee or other preists or religious men should meddle in publique matters of our conntrie and not you gentlemen, meaninge your self and Mr Morgan, for that other gentlemen of worshipp then present in Fraunce, as Mr Charles Arundell, Mr William Tressam, Mr Thomas Fizherbert, Mr Fulgiam, Mr James Hill, Mr Hopkings, Mr Timstead, and others complayned not of that poynt, but tooke rather part agaynste you in that verie quarrell which you endevred to rayse betweene gentlemen and preists, repeatinge often (as I well remember) why preists did not meddle with their breviaries onlie, and the like. And I answeringe you that if preists besides ther breviaries or with ther breviaries or by ther creditt in catholike Princes courts, where breviarie men were esteemed, could holpe and assiste and serve you gentlemen also towards the reduction of our countrey, why should not you be content to use ther labours to your and the publique commoditie without emulation? Upon this you cannot but remember also how carefull Mr D. Allen and I did endeavour at that tyme to yeald satisfaction both to my Lord Paggett, your brother, then newlie come over and to your self and to Mr Morgayne, makinge a jorney of purpose for that cause to Paris, and lyinge in your owne house and impartinge all our affares and secretts with you, and how you brake from us agayne by your secrett sendinge of D. Parry into England without our knowledge, though wee were present; which Parry revealed all (as the world knowethe) and more unto the Queene (though, as I presume, not by your wills or commission in this poynt) and yeat how after this wee made a newe composition and attonement agayne with you in the same citie of Paris, wher it was concluded that you should goe to Ingland and I to Rome, and that this league was broken agayne by you and not by us upon the defeat of all the designements by that your jorney, and especiallie upon the relation and othe of Mr Watts, the preiste, who bothe affirmed to the Duke of Guise, to F. Claudius Matheus his confessor, D. Allen and to my self that you had told him in secrett at the seas syde, when you weare to embarke, that you ment in England to overthrowe all our endeavours, and so the effect shewed; and yett you knowe that notwithstandinge all this our desires of peace and union were so great that in the yeare 86, a little before our goinge to Rome togeather,[1] Mr D. Allen and I made a third accord with you and Mr Morgan and desired the continuance of that same, as amonge others Mr Ligons, which was the last man which brought us in our way from the Spaw, can partlie testifie with what mynds we departed in this behalfe, whom wee desired to do his best also to the same effecte

[1] "D. Alanus et R. P. Personius sunt in itinere jam a tredecim diebus. Deus conducat eos et reducat incolumes. . . . . D. Baileus fuit cum D. Alano usque ad ejus discessum: Leodi autem cum constituerat relinquere; atque sic ille Romam, iste Rhemos discessit." Dr R. Barret to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. Paris, 29 September, 1585. Stonyhurst MSS. Anglia, vol. I., p. 64.

with you in Flaunders after our departure. But wee beeinge in Rome, you can not forgett how you and your freinds continewed your treatyes with Salomon Aldred,[1] that came in and out from England to Paris from the counsaile and professed him self oppositt to our proceadings. The sendinge also into England of Ballard and Savage without our privities or ever wrytinge one sillable therof unto us, thoughe the one were a preiste, therby subjecte to D. Allen.[2] Afterwards in licke manner your dealings with Guilbert Gifford and Grattley, other two preists, were kept secrett from us, as also thear treaties in England with the enemie, their wrytinge of two infamous books agaynste D. Allen, Jesuits and Spaniards, wherof insued the generall and particular hurts that all men knowe, those matters (I say) and others like passed in Paris amonge you and your secrett freinds alone without any knowledge of ours, or rather any participacion (I dare say) of any of those noble and gentlemen that now you name participant of your affayrs and disagreements agaynste us. And after this agayne the seditious proceadinge of Mr Morgan, as appeareth by his letters to the bishopp of Dublayne[3] the yeare 89, and of the prior Arnold[4] in Spayne agaynst our Lord Cardinall, as is evident by the priors owne letters to the said Morgayne in the same yeare, wherof you could not be ignorant, or at leastwise cannot be so presumed in reason, your intrinsecall conjunction with them beeinge such as it was: which dealinge my Lord Cardinall in his letters to your self[5] yett extant in the yeare 91 affirmeth playnlie to be traytorous to the publique cause. . . . . From Rome, this xxth of December, 1597.

CCXXXIV.

F. Robert Persons, S.J., to the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia. [Rome ?] 10 June, 1601.

From a transcript by F. Christopher Grene, S. J., in the archives of Stonyhurst College. P. 420.

Lettera di Personio all' Infanta di Spagna, 10 Giugno, 1601.

Serenissima Señora; Con Tomas Jaymes que se embio de aca en el mes passado para dar cuenta a V. A. y al Serenissimo Archiduque[6] de las cosas de Ynglaterra escribi brevemente lo que avia en aquel negocio.[7] . . . .

[1] Solomon Aldred proved to be a spy in the pay of the English government. See p. 234 *supra*.

[2] Dr Allen was then prefect of the English mission.

[3] Dr William Chisholm, bishop of Dumblane in Scotland, administrator of the bishopric of Vaison near Avignon, resigned his see into the hands of Pope Sixtus V. and entered the Carthusian order at Grenoble in 1586. He was made prior of the Certosa in Rome, where he died in 1593. See "Briefe Apologie" by F. Persons, pp. 31 seq.

[4] Prior of the English Carthusians in the Low Countries. See p. 322 *supra*.

[5] P. 319 *supra*.

[6] The Archduke Albert of Austria, governor of the Low Countries, some time Cardinal, married the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (by proxy) 15 November, 1598.

[7] The dots indicate omissions in F. Grene's transcript.

Mucho consuelo ha sido por aca a todos los buenos entender con quanta devocion VV. Alteças andubieron a visitar la yglesia de Nuestra Señora, y todos esperamos . . que Dios, Nuestro Señor, por la intercession de su Santissima Madre de a V. A. hijo y heredero. . . . Y al presente yo escribo tanto a los superiores de los sacerdotes y religiosos que viven en Ynglaterra quanto a los rectores de todos los seminarios que para el dia della gloriosa Assuncion de Nuestra Señora y para quatro meses despues digan todos missas y rosarios cada dia y hagan oraciones . . a esta entencion. . . .

Y para mas mover a su Divina Majestad a concedernos esto supplico a V. A. de haçerle un voto y a su Santissima Madre de que se en algun tiempo dieren a V. A. la corona de Ynglaterra (la cuya yglesia antigamente se llamava *Dos Maricæ* por aver sido el primero reyno que se convertio entieramente a la obediencia de su hijo Jesu Christo) que V. A. restituera la dicha yglesia a la antiga libertad y splendor y privilegios que tenia quando el Rey Henrico VIII. la desamparo y commençó a perseguirla . . en el año 1531.

Este voto dicen que la buena Reina Maria, hija de Henrico VIII., hiço quando se hallo en medio de aquellas grandes tribulaciones que tuvo, y quando la quiseron[1] privar del reyno y de la vida, y Dios la libero y la hiço Reyna: pero porque no se complio[2] despues la santa intencion de la dicha Reyna ni se hiço la reformacion que convenia, antes por artificio de los herejes y de muchos politicos que entrava se entroduxo una grandissima confusion, y los clerigos casados se admitian a celebrar sin reconciliacion alguna, y mil otros males se permitian con grande indignidad y contra la voluntad y deseo de aquella santa Reyna, Dios se la llevo muy presto para si, y el buen Rey, que esta en gloria, padre de V. A., por ser estrangero y absente la mayor parte de su reynado no lo pudo remediar. Pero yo confio en Nuestro Señor que su divina Providencia aya reservado esta empresa gloriosa para V. A. . . .

Y si V. A. quisiesse veer los puntos mas principales que se an pensado para la buena, facil y mas suave y perfeta reformacion de la yglesia Anglicana, quando Dios sera servido de bolverla a la religion catholica, . . . a V. A. un librillo o memorial[3] destos puntos puesto en lengua Española, antes que V. A. saliesse de España, y yo tenia entencion muchas veces de presentarlo a V. A. quando estava por alla, pero no osava entonçes, y por ventura sera mejor occasion aora, pues se ha tenido siempre el libro con secreto para quien Dios quieresse encaminar a esta grande empresa; y porque tengo esperança que esta sera la persona de V. A. no me parece mala conjontura esta para presentarlo a V. A. para que por algunos ratos lea las cosas de Ynglaterra y las grandes faltas que ay y los remedios que se desean; y supplico a V. A. que me perdone esta tan larga carta. . . .

[1] *quisieron?* [2] *cumplio?*

[3] There is a MS. copy of this work in English in the archives of the see of Westminster. It is entitled "A Memoriall for the reformation of England conteyninge certayne notes and advertisements

CCXXXV.

Dr Thomas Worthington to Mr Thomas Allen (alias Hesketh). Douay, 18 Dec., 1601.

From the original holograph in the archives of the see of Westminster. VII, 307.

Right worshipfull Sir; Though I am most assured that my good Lord Cardinall your deare uncle (of b. m.) his honour and estimation is most carefully respected and diligently defended by you; yet for discharge also of my owne dutie towards his Grace I thought good, either in testimonie of that you know, or to put you in mind of it, if you have forgotten, that when his Grace finally after manie earnest dissuations condescended to the desired mariage of Mr Tho. Throgmerton and your cosin,[1] he precisly by his letter of his owne hand written to me willed me (which was to me a commandement) to advertise and from him to assure his old fast freindes (meaning Sir William Stanley, F. Holt, Mr Hugh Owen, Mr Freeman, Mr Fen, and others) that they should nothing at al feare that Mr Tho. Throgmerton or other men linked with him in familiaritie should make him to runne or folowe anie other course then that which he had alwayes kept, adding these express wordes, that they should still see him the same man without change; that a new nephew in law nor all his coherents should not draw him byas, nor incline him to change his tipett (for all these are his owne termes) but that his new nephew should conforme him selfe to him in al points concerning the common cause of our countrie, and either bring others to do so likewise, or els leave them, or if he should not, he should then drink as he brewed. And after concludeth that no nephew nor nece nor sister nor brother nor anie flesh nor bloode should alienate

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which seeme might be proposed in the first parliament and nationall councell of our country, after God of his mercie shall restore it to the catholique faith, for the better establishment and preservation of the said religion; gathered and set downe by R. P., 1596." The MS. ends with the following attestation in F. Persons handwriting:—"This I had to suggest to the honor of Almightie God and good of our countrye. Rob. Persons." In the "Manifestation of the great folly and bad spirit of certayne in England calling themselves secular priestes, etc., by priestes lyving in obedience. Superiorum permissu, 1602," fol. 56-62, F. Persons, the real author of this tract, discourses at length concerning the "Memorial," its origin and subject-matter, "wherof," he says, "we have procured a true copy out of the original, though with great difficulty, for that no copyes are given abroad but only to some few confident frends to have a sight therof and give their judgement of the matter." It was first made public in 1690 by Edward Gee, a protestant minister, who printed it with the title of the "Jesuits Memorial for the intended reformation of England under their first popish prince, published from the copy that was presented to the late King, James II." The Public Library of Douai possesses another MS. copy of the "Memorial," which probably once belonged to the English college in that town.

[1] Mary, the youngest daughter of George and Elizabeth Allen. Mr Thomas Throgmorton died, 16 October, 1595, before the marriage took place, and Mary Allen subsequently married Mr Thomas Worthington of Blainscowe in Lancashire. See p. 372, note 6, *supra*.

him from those his old fast freindes. It was the last letter that I received from his Grace He writt it with his owne hand, and withall subscribed to an other much longer contayning manie great reasons to diswade your aunt and your cosin to breake of that desired mariage, willing me not to send my letter but to go my selfe and reade it unto them; which I did, but they went forward for al that, and so his Grace yelded, with all these forewarnings to behave them selves well, for els he would leave them to them selves. This matter I here repete, because our trublesome bretheren in their new bookes strive to perswad the world that my Lords Grace disliked of the fathers of the Societie and of such as best agreed with them, and that he was more confident with Mr Charles Pagett, Mr Tho. Throgmerton and their most familiar freindes then with Sir William, F. Holt, F. Parsons, Mr Owen and the rest. And their principall or only argument is that intended mariage, which, as you know and I know and will sweare it and can prove it, was not of his election, nor desired by him, but after long pressing with much ado he condescended to let wemen have their liking, because he could not otherwise content them, nor him selfe be at rest from continuall molestation for his consent. Yea, and I thinke if I had not truly and sincerly related unto his Grace the manie infirmities of the mother and daughters mindes and that I thought it unpossible to content them but by graunting them their owne will, certaynly his Grace had never consented; for none els but my selfe durst, nor could so conveniently informe his Grace the whole truth. This may suffice to cause you also to call to mind what you can for the true decision of this new coyned question, whether his Grace liked better of Mr Pagett, Mr. Throg. and their felowes proceding, or of F. Parsons, F. Holt, Sir William Stanley, Mr Owen and us all that ever folowed our Superiors designments. Their other arguments others can answer and solve better, though I also know some thing; but about the intended mariage no man, except it be your selfe, can solve better then I. Nor no man living except your selfe, with whom being his nephew I will not compare, can be more carefull to avouch the truth and defend his honour then I. And to this end I write it that you may produce me in this matter, when nede may require, for a witnes. And so I commend you most hartely to God and me to your good prayers. From Doway, this 18 of December, 1601.

Your owne most assured ever,

THO. WORTHINGTON.

I besech you commend me most hartely to Mr Swete and Mr Price.

Addressed.

To the right Worshipfull Mr Alane[1] at Rome or Perugia.

Endorsed.

Dr Worth. letter to Mr Heskett, the 18 of December, 1602,[2] about Card. Allen.

[1] Mr Thomas Hesketh, nephew of Cardinal Allen, took the name of Allen after his uncle's death

[2] The date 1602 in the endorsement is an error, as the letter itself bears unmistakeably the date 1601

The following letters have come to hand for the most part during the printing of the work, so that they could not be placed in their chronological relation to the other documents. They will, however, occupy their proper position in the Table of Contents.

CCXXXVI.

F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J., to Dr William Allen. Rome, 13 June, 1579.

From a copy of the letter by F. Christopher Grene, S.J., in his transcript of "A story of domestical difficulties, &c.," by F. Robert Persons, S.J., in the archives of Stonyhurst College. P. 384.

Admodum R^de^ et Mag^ce^ D. Alane.

Pax Christi. Significavi jam antea reverendæ Dominationi tuæ de principio bonoque progressu hujus collegii, idque facere sæpius in posterum videor debere, cum sciam te maximam istorum juvenum, qui partus tui sunt et filii in Christo, curam et solicitudinem habere. Nunc autem fere aliud non habeo quod scribam nisi ut præpares nobis novum subsidium, hoc est, novos scholares pro locis quæ vacua sunt, de quibus jam antea ad te scripsi, et ut optime speres de universo hoc seminario, quod eo jam loco constitutum per Dei gratiam videtur ut magnum brevi tempore progressum et certissimum Angliæ subsidium videatur. Intus enim tanto fervore scholares omnes sese præparant ad illud Anglicum certamen, sicque anhelant quotidie ad tormenta et mortem pro fide catholica, ut impossibile videatur quin Deus vehementer adjuvet tam pios et tam sanctos conatus. Foris autem tanta est bonitas, tanta liberalitas tam mirabilis affectio suæ Sanctitatis erga hoc collegium, illustrissimi etiam Protectoris tam solicita et tam paterna cura, ut zelus fervorque scholarium cum per se (ut dixi) maximus sit, tum hac insigni patronorum suorum bonitate atque benevolentia augeatur indies et crescat magis.

Nunc autem, domine mi Alane, omni diligentia, studio et cautela providendum nobis est in his initiis ut quo spiritu cœptum est hoc collegium eodem perseveret, et ut zelus fervorque horum juvenum, quem habent nunc insignem ad juvandam Angliam et universam ecclesiam, non minuatur in posterum, sed conservetur et roboretur potius. Quæ res ea mihi sola ratione videtur fieri posse et nulla alia, videlicet, si erit recta subordinatio illius vestri seminarii Belgici ad hoc Romanum, ita ut in eorum loca qui hinc in Angliam discedent nova semper suboles, i.e., selecti et probati juvenes istinc per vos tanquam ex quodam novitiatu et probationis domo successione perpetua nobis subministrentur. Hoc enim nisi fiat, cum spiritus præsens hujus collegii singularis sit et qualis forte in ecclesia vix alias auditus, professio scilicet publica et juramentum[1]

[1] The oath taken by the students to go upon the English mission at the command of superiors.

ad martyrium vel saltem ad martyrii manifestum periculum, videtur vix fieri posse ut diu conservetur, si cogamur ad implenda hæc loca homines vagos et incognitos admittere,[1] . . . qui, cum sine spiritu et devotione sint et pleni plerumque ambitione, perverterent facile aliorum animos et ab altissimo quem nunc habent fine ad alia vanitatum sæcularium desideria successu temporis dimoverent.

Hoc ego cum cogito, fit sæpe ut cupiam præsentiam tuæ Dominationis, ut cum ea loqui possim coram de hac re prolixius, et ut ipsa apud suam Sanctitatem et illustrissimum Protectorem, Principes per se zelosissimos conservandi hunc spiritum, . . . serio et diligenter ageret de modo quo tantum bonum conservari possit. . . . Certe sua Sanctitas, cum paucis abhinc diebus loqueretur me præsente de his et similibus rebus et de toto spirituali statu hujus collegii, significavit se cupere ut ad aliquot menses tua Dominatio hic adesset ad hæc et similia sibi suggerenda. . . . Sed utcunque fuerit, sive præsens sive per literas hæc negotia tractet, non dubito quin optimum successum habitura sit, primo quia causa Dei est, deinde quia post suam Sanctitatem et illustrissimum Protectorem, quos propensissimos habet, alios etiam opinor Cardinales habebit faventes, maxime illustrissimum Comensem, qui et per se et magis etiam fortasse propter illustrissimum Moronum[2] semper huic collegio visus est favere. De illustrissimo Paleotto[3] non opus est dicere, qui, si Anglus esset, magis amare Anglos non posset quam omnium sermone dicitur eos amare, maxime autem horum duorum seminariorum alumnos. Atque hic scribendi finem faciam, summopere rogans ut particeps fiam sacrificiorum et orationum vestrarum. . . . Romæ, Idibus Junii, 1579.

Tuus in Christo totus,

* * *

Rector collegii Anglicani.

CCXXXVII.

The Cardinal of Como to Dr William Allen. Rome, 10 July, 1579.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Arm. 44, Vol. 28, n. 234).

Reverendo D. Guglielmo Alano.

Admodum reverende domine, amice charissime; Non dubitabam te animo vehementer commotum iri cum de importunis nonnullorum hominum motibus et turbis hic excitatis[4] inaudisses, sicut tuis literis pridie Kal. Junii ad me datis significasti. Sed bono animo sis; jam enim conquieverunt, et R. Archidiaconus[5] ea usus est patientia, pietate et prudentia, quæ peropportuna fuit ad frangendos hujusmodi Sathanæ im-

[1] The omissions indicated by dots occur in the MS. [2] Cardinal Moroni Protector.
[3] Cardinal Paleotti, archbishop of Bologna. See First and Second Douay Diaries, pp 150, 342.
[4] The disturbances among the students of the English college at Rome. [5] Dr Owen Lewis.

petus, cujus (ut nosti) proprium est illuc machinas suas omnes admovere ubi opus aliquod Dei surgere animadvertit.

Cæterum ab exemplo literarum quas Decuriones Duacenses ad te scripserunt libenter intelleximus eos de facto expulsionis excusare sese conatos fuisse, et tuum collegiique reditum exoptare, propterea quod indicio hæc sunt apud eos sanioris consilii hominibus non nihil loci esse. Quod tamen ad redditum attinet, videtur non esse properandum, sed subsistendum potius donec pacatiora et tutiora illinc nuntientur, ne rursus periculum cum dedecore subeundum sit. Quod si (ut speramus) bellum restinctum fuerit et res Belgicæ quoquomodo compositæ, tunc poteris de reditu deliberare, et Sanctissimus Dominus noster cum quo hæc omnia communicavi libenter viaticum subministrabit, teque ac collegium ipsum qua cœpit charitate ac liberalitate prosequi non desinet, sicut nec ego ullum quod quidem a me proficisci possit officium desiderari patiar. Vale in Domino. Romæ, die 10 Julii, 1579.

CCXXXVIII.

Dr Thomas Goldwell, bishop of St. Asaph, to Pope Gregory XIII. Bologna, 23 April, 1580.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Epist. Principum, Vol. 42, pag. 151).

Beatissimo Padre.

Quì in Bologna mi è stato riferito da un gentilhomo che quel pseudo vescovo il quale hebbe in custodia Mons^{or} R^{mo} di Lincolnia[1] sia mortuo et che il detto Mons^{or} sia hora in Londra in assai libertà. Io pur continuarò il mio viaggio, et trovando che questo sia vero et che li catholici non haveranno bisogno del fatto mio, io penso di ritornar a Roma, se da V. S^{tà} non havero altro commandamento per Mons^{or} R^{mo} suo Nuncio in Parigi. A. V. S^{tà} bascio humilmente li piedi. Di Bologna, alli XXIII. d' Aprile, 1580.

Di V. S^{tà} deditissimo servo,

Il vescovo ASAPHEN.

Addressed.

S^{mo} D^{no} N^{ro}, Gregorio XIII., Pont. Max.

[1] Dr Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln, after having been in the custody of the protestant bishop of Ely and then of the protestant bishop of Rochester, was imprisoned at Wisbeach Castle, where he died, 25 September, 1584.

CCXXXIX.

The Nuncio in France (Dandini) to the Cardinal of Como. 18 June, 1580.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 14).

Il Nuntio di Francia al Cardinale di Como. 18 Giugno, 1580.

Hebbi tre giorni sono una lettera dal dottore Alano, con la quale m'avisò l'arrivo in Rens del vescovo Asaphense,[1] et mi diceva che ò per un poco d'indispositione che hebbe o per timore che gli sopragiunse pareva raffredato nel proposito co'l quale s'è partito di Roma; et perchè lui l'haveva consigliato di non fare altra deliberatione senza saputa di N. S^re^ ò almeno senza parlarne prima meco, haveva risoluto di venire a trovarmi. Questa mattina è comparso, et m'ha detto che, se bene ha inteso da alcuni che sono venuti d'Inghilterra che quella Regina è stata minutissimamente avisato della partita sua di là, del viaggio suo, et di ciò che deve fare, et che perciò può temere; nondimeno che ne questo lo rimove ò spaventa, ne fa che muti pensiero, nel quale tanto più si conferma havendo inteso da me quello che V. S. Ill^ma^ con la sua di 2 del passato m'ordinò di dirgli, et veduto la partita medesima della lettera; ma che s'è trattenuto dopo il male, perchè havendo visto che i Brevi con le facoltà che N. S^re^ vuol concedergli, promessigli da Mons^r^ Datario alla sua partita et sollicitati da uno in suo nome, non gli sono ancora stati mandati, non è certo che S. S^tà^ trovi hora buono che passi più oltre, et che non può anche senz' essi far cosa alcuna di quelle che ha in commissione et in intentione. Per il che io gli ho detto che darò aviso a V. S. Ill^ma^ et del suo buon animo et di quello che l'ha fin'a quest' hora trattenuto et la supplicarò (come faccio) a farmi sapere la mente di N. S^re^, et, se vorrà che egli seguiti il suo viaggio, a mandarmi i Brevi con le facoltà che vuole concedergli, et l'ho eshortato fra tanto che si trattenghi in luogo dove creda di poter stare più secretamente, et egli ha detto di tornarsene domani ò l'altro a Rens, et m'ha detto che quelli Giesuiti che lo seguitavano già devono essere in Londra.

CCXL.

Dr Thomas Goldwell, bishop of St Asaph, to the Cardinal of Como. Reims, 3 July, 1580.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 14, fol. 292).

Ill^mo^ et R^mo^ S^or^ mio oss^mo^; Alli XVIII del passato io fui a Paris con Mons^or^ R^mo^ Nuncio di N. S^or^, il quale mi monstro un capitulo di una lettera di V. S. Ill^ma^ che sua

[1] Dr Thomas Goldwell, bishop of St. Asaph.

Santita voleva ch'io continuassi il mio viaggio. Il che haverrei fatto molto volentiere un mese fa, se io havessi havuto il Breve delle faculta, le quali sua Santita al mio partir mi concesse; senza lo quale il mio andar in Inghilterra saria indarno. Quando io presi licentia da Mons^{or} R^{mo} Datario, S. S. R^{ma} mi promise che fra III ò IV giorni il detto Breve saria stato expedito, et io diedi ordine come saria stato mandato a Rhemis; si che io speravo di trovarlo al mio rivar' qua. Et non solamente non lo trovai ne qua ne a Paris, ma al contrario mi fu data una lettera che Mons^{or} R^{mo} Datario non monstrava haver voluntà d'expedirlo. Io spero che Dio mi dara gratia di preferir sempre la volunta di sua Santità in queste sante imprese a la mia propria vita. Supplico adunche V. S. Ill^{ma} che si degni favorirme che in me non sia notata negligentia. Et a lei humilmente bascio la mano. Di Rhemis, alli III di Luglio, 1580.

Di V. S. Ill^{ma} et R^{ma} humill^{mo} servitore,

Il vescovo ASAPHEN.

Addressed.

Il' Ill^{mo} et R^{mo} S^{or} mio osser^{mo}, Mons^{or} il Car^{le} di Como. A Roma.

CCXLI.

The Nuncio in France (Dandini) to the Cardinal of Como. 12 July, 1580.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 14).

Il Nuntio di Francia al Cardinale di Como. 12 Luglio, 1580.

Il vescovo Assaphen. con una lettera che mi scrive da Rens mostra poca volontà di stare in quelle bande per il timore che ha della peste et de soldati Ugonotti; et se bene dubito che l'impresa sua gli paia hora più difficile che da principio, credo però si fermerà fino che io havrò da V. S. Ill^{ma} risposta di quanto le scrissi sopra il suo particolare, la quale egli desidera grandemente. Ho alcune sue lettere per lei, per Mons^{r} Ill^{mo} Morono et per Mons^{r} Datario; ma perchè non m'assicuro del buon ricapito di questa, mi risolvo non mandarle se non con solito mio pachetto, che suole esser portato dall' ordinario.

CCXLII.

The Cardinal of Como to Dr William Allen. Rome, 25 July, 1580.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Arm. 44, Vol. 28, n. 274).

G. Alano, rectori collegii Anglorum.

Admodum reverende domine, amice charissime; Quod de discessu illorum hominum qui in Angliam trajecturi erant tuis literis 25 Junii datis significasti, id

S^mo D. N. et mihi longe fuit gratissimum; ac de eorum illuc appulsu nuncium avide expectabimus, interimque precabimur Deum ut illis adesse dignetur. D. episcopus Asaphensis scripsit S^mo D. N. quamobrem et ipse non discesserit, præcipuamque causam obtendit quod Breve facultatum non acceperit: quæ quidem excusatio, cum frivola sit et nullius momenti propter rationes abs te commemorantes,[1] satis ostendit aliam potius causam, scilicet timoris, obstitisse quominus proficisceretur cum aliis. Quod ad Breve attinet, scribimus ei responsum D. Datarii, ex quo illud intelliges. Æquum autem erit ut deliberet velit necne trajicere, ne diu vobis oneri et impedimento sit. Audoenus[2] noster est Mediolani apud Ill^mum D. Card^lem S^tæ Praxedis,[3] ut te puto ab aliis intellexisse. Spero familiaritatem hanc maximo illi fructui et ornamento futuram. Quoniam vero is a nobis abest nec potest ostendere literas tuas, recte facies si ad nos ipse quæ cognitu digna fuerint significabis; vereri enim non debes ne nobis molestus sis. Vale in Domino. Romæ, die 25 Julii, 1580.

CCXLIII.

The Nuncio in France (Dandini) to the Cardinal of Como. 14 August, 1580.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 14, fol. 359).

Le lettere che V. S. Ill^ma mi mandò con l'ultima sua di 25 del passato per il vescovo Assaphen. et per l'Alano mi vennero molto opportunamente, perchè nell' istesso punto che io le inviai ricevei da lui l'alligata[4] per N. S^re, et da quel dottore aviso che egli era di già così pentito di passar oltre et talmente risoluto di tornare in Italia, considerando i pericoli della peste et del paese ancora fatti molto maggiori per il bando che nuovamente la Regina d'Inghilterra ha publicato, del quale ho havuto la sostanza che hora le mando, che ne per sue persuasioni voleva pure aspettare più la risposta che hora havrà della mente di S. B^ne, et allegava la dilatione per segno certo che ella anche si fusse mutata: *di che egli mi mostra dispiacere,*[5] se ben giudica che men male è finalmente ch'il vescovo hora ceda al timore che ha[6] che lo faccia su'l luogo con scandalo di molti, et mi prega di darne conto a V. S. Ill^ma.

[1] *commemoratas?* [2] Dr Owen Lewis. [3] St. Charles Borromeo.
[4] There is a letter from the bishop of St. Asaph to the Pope, dated Reims, 13 July, 1580, in Theiner, Ann. Eccles. III., 700. [5] The words in italics are underlined in the transcript. [6] "1580. Aug., die 8, discesserunt rev. in Christo pater, D. Assaphensis, et doctor Mortonus cum Edovardo dni episcopi famulo." First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 169.

CCXLIV.

The Nuncio in France (Dandini) to the Cardinal of Como. 11 September, 1580.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 14).

Hoggi ho ricevute lettere del dottore Alano con l'alligata per V. S. Ill^ma^, et con quella sua, che gli mandai per il vescovo Assaphense, il quale mi scrive che a quest'hora deve essere in Roma.

Il medesimo m'avisa havere qualche avertimento et sentirsi in Rens voce che questo ambasciatore Inglese fa istanza in nome della sua Regina che quel collegio sia scacciato da questo regno, il che io cercarò di penetrare per fare quelli offitii a bene fitio di esso che trovarò necessarii.

CCXLV.

The Nuncio in France (Dandini) to the Cardinal of Como. 25 September, 1580.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 14).

Co'l vescovo Assaphen. già havrà V. S. Ill^ma^ conosciuto ch' io non posso operare cosa alcuna, essendo partito per Italia, come le scrissi per aviso dell' Alano, a chi inviarò domani la lettera ch' ella m' ha mandata per lui.

CCXLVI.

The Nuncio in France (Dandini) to the Cardinal of Como. 6 November, 1581.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 14).

Diedi conto al dottore Alano dell' offitio ch' io feci i giorni passati con queste MM^ta^ a beneficio del collegio di Rens, et egli me ne ringratia come di cosa molto necessaria et fatta in tempo, essendo (come scrive) assicurato d'Inghilterra che di là si fa ogni cosa per anihilarlo, et che per certo nel Parlamento che deve farsi in Londra vi si farà qualche ordine contro, et almeno che sia impedito il comertio che ha con cattolici di quelle parti et prohibito che figliuoli de nobili ò altri non vadano a educarsi in quel luogo. Il che m'è parso bene di far sapere a V. S. Ill^ma^, parendomi bene che

N. S^re^ sia informato del termine in che quel luogo si trova, al quale io di quà non mancarò mai di quelli offitii che potrò per parte di S. S^tà^, finchè da lei non mi vien commissione in contrario.

CCXLVII.

The Nuncio in Franee (Castelli) to the Cardinal of Comó. 8 May, 1582.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 15, fol. 472).

Cifra del Nuntio di Francia, di 8 di Maggio, 1582.

Il Duca di Guisa due volte si è trovato meco, facendomi sapere che parendogli trovar dispositione ne li cattolici d'Inghilterra vuol egli stesso far impresa in Inghilterra, assaltandola improvisamente da certi suoi luoghi che sono sul mare, de quali in sei o sette hore si può sbarcar in Inghilterra; et per la parte che tocca a se non ha bisogno di cosa alcuna, che havendo la intelligenza di cattolici d'Inghilterra spera haver ancora a l'improviso tanto numero et qualità di persone che basteranno a fare quanto bisogna. Ma è necessario a far poco para sollevar i cattolici di Scotia, quali sono preparatissimi a farlo; et il Duca di Lenos, qual è Mons^r^ d'Abigni, che ha la guardia della persona del Rè, con molti altri signori sono sopra modo desiderosi di far alteratione; et quel padre Jhesuita,[1] che andò, è tornato di Scotia et ha portato lettere a Mons^r^ di Guisa, *et ancora a me, di Mons^r^ di Lenos, di quanto essa vedrà per l'istessa lettera che le mando, si come anco giudica bisognar*[2] che si dia caldo a li Hiberni, che ancor guerreggiano con la Regina d'Inghilterra, acciochè sentendo lei questi moti sia necessitata a voltar le navi et le genti che ha in quelle parti, lasciando la frontiera verso Francia sprovista, qual si potrà assaltar quando i cattolici che stanno verso quella frontiera, de quali è grande il numero, saranno sollevati. Per far questo par' a Mons^r^ di Guisa esser necessario haver per Scotia et Hibernia sei sin a 8^m^ fanti almeno per 4 ò 5 mesi, et haver alcuni corsaletti, picche et archibusi per armar qualche numero di quelli Inglesi che si solleveranno, poichè sono disarmati, et li par' esser come necessario que questo si comunichi da N. S^re^ col Rè Cattolico, l'Agente del quale in Inghilterra promette molto aiuto. Questo è parso al Duca di Guisa che io significhi a N. S^re^ per hora, no potendosi passar più oltre per la infirmità del padre Roperto,[3] Giesuita, che è venuto d'Inghilterra, dove è stato dui anni[4] trattando questo negotio; il quale ha in se tutto quello che si debba fare, et verrà quà da Roan[5] dove è con febre

[1] F. William Creighton, S.J. [2] The words italicised in this letter are underlined in the transcript at the Record Office. [3] F. Robert Persons, S.J. [4] F. Persons was only about fifteen months in England, but he had been connected with the English mission for two years. [5] Rouen.

fra pochi giorni, et aggravandolo la febre se gli manderà quel padre Giesuita che è tornato di Scotia, et alhora più pienamente scriverò a N. S^re^ tutto il disegno che si ha et il modo che si vorrà tenere per porlo ad effetto. Sperano questi signori che N. S^re^ non vorrà perdere così bella occasione di ritornar' a la fede di Christo dui regni *con non molto danno temporale; et io non dubito che Sua Santità non sia per la parte sua per abbracciare questa gloriosa impresa; che se Gregorio Primo è molto lodato per haver guadagnato quel regno a Christo, di molto maggior merito appresso Dio et laude appresso il mondo sarà di Gregorio XIII. ritornando dui regni a Christo* et liberando tanti miseri Christiani, che giornalmente sono stratiati, maxime in Inghilterra, et levando con questo mezzo il sussidio che hanno tutti gli heretici del mondo da quel regno. *Onde saria bene che N. Sig^re^ andasse pensando* l'aiuto che vorrà dare a questa impresa et quel che vorrà fare col Rè Cattolico, poichè tolto la carica da così prudente et valeroso capitano come Mons^r^ di Guisa si può stare sicuro di non essere ingannato, et che il negotio sarà guidato con molta prudenza. Dirò ancora che questo signore giudica sin' ad hora che l'aiuto del Rè Cattolico debba essere meglio in denari che in gente, ma circa a li particolari si rimette a le lettere che scriverò poi.

CCXLVIII.

The Nuncio in France (Castelli) to the Cardinal of Como. Paris, 22 May, 1582

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 15., pag. 477). Printed also in the Appendix to the First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 337.[1]

Cifra del Nuncio di Francia. 22 Maggio, 1582.

Venne il padre Roberto, Gesuita d'Inghilterra, quale a me par huomo molto prudente; ma sin ad hora non so che il Duca di Guisa sia venuto, col quale si deve resolver minutamente il disegno trattato. Il detto padre mi ha dato il Memoriale del quale mando copia. So che non occorre a dire che il vescovo del quale si tratta nel Memoriale non bisogna espedirlo per concistorio, perchè scopriria facilmente il maneggio, e però non lo dirò. Questo padre presuppone che VI^m^ fanti bastino in Scotia per passare poi in Inghilterra, ma venuto che sia il Duca si risolverà meglio. La spesa mi pare poca a dui si gran Principi, maxime dovendo durar pochi mesi, et il guadagno di ridurre a Christo dui regni non si può stimare, et il non attendere a questa impresa porrebbe in estrema disperazione li cattolici dell' uno et del altro regno. Fra pochi giorni verrà a Roma il padre Critone, Scozzese, che poco fa é tornato di Scotia con il

[1] The great importance of this despatch both in itself and in its relation to Dr Allen's political life seems to furnish a sufficient reason for reprinting it in this volume.

discorso pieno del stato d'Inghilterra et Scotia; et per quello che conosco, se si possono condurre a l'improviso queste genti in Scotia, et di qua andar parimente a l'improviso in Inghilterra, parmi che il negotio sia facilissimo: quel sangue delli martirii fatti in Inghilterra farà pure la sua oratione a Dio per quel che credo. Il Memoriale segue:

È cosa necessaria à l'impresa di crear secretamente un vescovo di Dnuelmi;[1] est enim[2] episcopus Dunelmensis è di grandissima importanza tanto per il seguito grande di genti chi haverà, quanto ancora per governare et levar differenze fra gli altri signori di quelle bande: onde bisogna che questo vescovato sia dato ad un huomo di credito et reputatione appresso al popolo di queste bande d'Inghilterra; quale huomo troviamo nissuno adesso de la natione Inglese fuor del S^r Alano, presidente del seminario di S. S^tà in Rhms, il quale è di tanta autorità et rispetto appresso tutta la natione, che la sua presenza sola, benchè fusse huomo privato, farà più appresso gli Inglesi che alcuni milliari di soldati, et non solamente il Conte di Westmerland, il che altrimenti è assai difficile a governare, ma tutti gli altri Signori sbanditi gli portano tanta riverenza che per una sola parola sua farebbono ogni cosa; ma molto più se fusse in qualche dignità o prelatura appresso di loro. Tutto questo dico acciocchè V. S. R^ma sappia la dispositione de li Inglesi hoggidì tanto di dentro quanto di fuori, li quali si riposano tutti nella confidenza di Alano, et tutto quello che gli verrà raccontato da lui li sarà gratissimo et risolutissimo; onde in tutte queste attioni è necessaria la persona sua. Sono molti altri vescovati in Inghilterra più ricchi et grandi che questo vescovato di Dnuelmi, ma per la commodità del sito a le frontiere, et per l'autorità et giurisditione regale che tiene in queste bande, ancora ne le cose temporali, è di più importanza a questo negotio solo che molti altri vescovati insieme. Bisognerà che il S^r Alano sia avvisato presto de la intentione di S. S^tà acciocchè lui disponga di alcune persone, per averle in ordine in quel tempo, ancora per scrivere et stampare alcuni libri secretamente, che scriviamo a quell' istante per dar sodisfattione al populo d'Inghilterra, et per far altre moltissime preparationi necessarie tanto per la persona sua, perchè è necessarissimo che lui si trovi lì in persona, altrimenti le cose d'Inghilterra non anderanno bene a me, ancora per altri Signori, li quali bisogna che lui trovi modo, come farà, di mandar secretamente et travestiti in Scotia. Ancora al tempo saranno avvisati li principali cattolici in Inghilterra de la cosa per via de' sacerdoti; ma questo non si farà se non pochissimo innanzi l'impresa istessa per il pericolo che sarebbe di palesare la cosa, perchè l'anima di tutto questo negotio è il secreto. Sarebbe ancora molto utile come pensiamo, se S. S^tà volesse chiamare a Roma il dottor Odveno Ludovico, arcidiacono di Cambrai, Inglese, che sta a Milano et è assai prattico ne le cose d'Inghilterra. Questo huomo se fusse mandato da Roma in Spagna sotto qualche altro pretesto, et così di là andasse in Scotia con l'esercito a ricontrarsi con Alano, il quale potrebbe partirsi di quà, saria grande aiuto alla

[1] Durham. [2] *etcnim?*

causa; perchè questo dottore Odoeno, benchè per le differenze che nuovamente sono state fra Wali et Inglesi, essendo lui Walo, non sia in troppo buon conto appresso la maggior parte de li Inglesi, tuttavia essendo lui huomo grave et prudente et congiungendosi con Alano, il quale possiede li cori di tutti, sarebbe assai d'aiuto, maxime appresso li Wali suoi paesani, i quali potranno aiutare assai in questo negotio, et voranno ancora per la affettione grande che portano a la fede cattolica; et quando sarebbe arrivato l'esercito in Inghilterra, questo dottor Odoeno si potrebbe mandare in Walid, con quelli Signori grandi di quel paese che già favoriscono a noi, per sollevar più la gente in quelle bande. Tutta la importanza di questo negotio è nel secreto et ne la celerità; perchè se non si spedisce presto, non ci è speranza che durerà questa occasione, nè manco servirà più per l'avvenire, ma pigliandola adesso non è dubbio nissuno per la grazia di Dio che non habbia quell' effetto che desideriamo, perchè tutte le cose sono già più che dispostissime. Questo ancora ho da ricordare a V. S. Rev^{ma} come cosa di grandissima importanza, che (per esser punti grandi et emulatione naturale fra le due nationi di Scotia et d'Inghilterra per innanzi, le quali se si risuscitassero, come speriamo che non faranno, darebbono assai impedimento) bisognerà provedere che nelle cose o ammissioni che veranno da S. S^{tà} tutte le due nationi siano ugualmente unite; il che si potrà fare, se vederanno gli Inglesi che il S^{r} Alano o qualche altra persona Inglese simile, benchè gli Inglesi adesso non hanno altro capo a chi rimettersi se non ad Alano solo, sia congiunto come per la parte d'Inghilterra insieme col reverendissimo arcivescovo Glascuense per parte di Scotia in quelle cose che tocheranno al stato di tutti dui i regni insieme. Finalmente, ho da offerire a V. S. R^{ma} a nome de li cattolici d'Inghilterra la vita, li beni et tutto il poter loro al servizio di Dio et di S. S^{tà} in questa impresa, de la quale lor restano tanto desiderosi, che promettono, se Dio N. S^{re} gli darà la vittoria, et pregano V. S. R^{ma} di promettere a nome loro, honorevolissima consideratione a tutti quelli che aiuteranno il negotio, o travagliaranno in quello, o che faranno qualche cosa o favore in servizio di questa impresa.

Di nuovo è stato da me il Duca di Guisa, l'ambasciatore di Scotia, il dottor Alano et il padre Roberto, et dopo essersi letto il discorso sopra le cose d'Inghilterra et di Scotia che il padre Critone, Scoto, porta seco, et a la ricevuta di quanto [1] sarà forse stato con N. S^{re} et con V. S. Ill^{ma}, et lasciatoglilo, quale fu molto commendato del Duca, il quale si risolse che innanzi ad ogni cosa altra io replicassi a N. S^{re} che S. E. persisterà in andare in persona a questa impresa con tutti li suoi amici et parenti, et che, stando le cose come le stanno, lui non dubita che questa impresa non sia riuscibile: quanto al modo a lui pare che si doveriano haver x^{m} fanti per farla sicura, ma che poichè a li Scozzesi par che basti minor numero, si rimette a loro. Ci vogliono almeno 3^{m} archibusi forniti et 1000 corsaletti, et da 3^{m} picche et qualche pezzo piccolo di artiglieria da campagna, et denari per pagar qualche soldati Scozzesi et Inglesi. La spesa, se

[1] *questo?*

dovesse esser lunga, saria gravissima; ma il Duca presuppone, che in un mese o si sarà vincitori o tutti saranno morti, onde la brevità del tempo potrà farla tollerabile. Questa gente pare al Duca che si debba fare in Italia in nome di N. S^re^, per non dare ombra al Rè Christianissimo, sotto qualche pretesto che parerà a S. S^tà^ più a proposito, et bisogna proveder di capo Italiano prudente, di autorità. Questo è il senso di S. E. A me pare che questa impresa sia tanto honorata et utile per la Chiesa di Dio, che credo non solo non se ne possa far, ma nè ancora immaginare, alcuna maggiore nè più fruttuosa: et io non posso se non supplicare V. S. R^ma^ ad inanimare N. S^re^ a questa impresa degna del Vicario di Dio; poichè con capo così prudente, et che sarà ancora approvato dal Rè Cattolico, come promettono li Agenti suoi, si può sperare ogni felice successo.

CCXLIX.

The Nuncio in France (Castelli) to the Cardinal of Como. Paris, 22 May, 1582.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 15, pag. 474).

Ill^mo^ et R^mo^ Signore, patron mio colendissimo; L'aportator della presente sarà il padre Crittone Scozzese della Compagnia di Giesu, del quale ho scritto per altre mie a V. S. Ill^ma^. Quanto udirà da lui degnesi udirlo volentieri et darle piena fede et farlo introdur' a N. S., poichè vien solo per trattare cose in honor di Dio, come pienamente intenderà da lui, et com' io per l'altro ispaccio et per quello d'hoggi ho scritto al lungo. Bacio reverente le mani di V. S. Ill^ma^, et le prego da N. S. Dio augumento della sua santa gratia. Di Parigi, alli 22 di Maggio, MDLXXXII.

Di V. S. Ill^ma^ et R^ma^ devotissimo servitore,

GIO. BATTISTA, vescovo di Rimini.

Addressed.

All' Ill^mo^ et R^mo^ Signor et patron mio colendissimo, il signor Cardinale di Como.

CCL.

The Nuncio in France (Castelli) to the Cardinal of Como. 17 July, 1582.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 15, fol. 499).

Il dottore Alano mi scrive che molti catolici in Inghilterra timidi desiderano che S. S^tà^ le faccia sapere la sua volontà circa a questi doi punti, cioè se S. S^tà^ voglia che per diffendere con parole la sentenza di escomunicatione et privatione de la Regina d'Inghilterra proferta da Pio V. di santa memoria devono patire la morte, ò come

devono respondere sopra ciò quando ne sono interrogati da giudici in poter de quali sono.

Et parimente se S. S^tà vuole che essi catolici patiscano la morte per diffendere, quando sono prigioni, la propositione che il Papa possa deponere un Principe et comandar al populo che pigli l'arme contro il Principe deposto.

In questo preme la Regina sopra tutto, et se ben li sacerdoti che sono in quel regno non hanno mai fatta parola sopra detta Bolla, tuttavia la Regina vuole che tutti siano interrogati sopra questi punti; come V. S. Ill^ma vedrà piu espressamente per gli alligati articoli[1] che sono stati mandati al padre Alano d'Inghilterra.

Mi avvisa il medesimo che ha prigione in Rhems un che fu già de suoi,[2] et era andato per amazzarlo, et con certi modi destrugere quel collegio Rhemense, del quale quella Regina mostra più temere che nè di Francia nè di Spagna.

CCLI.

The Nuncio in France (Castelli) to the Cardinal of Como. 6 November, 1582.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 15, pag. 567).

Cifra del Nuntio di Francia del 6 di Novembre.

Diedi al Duca di Guisa: la risposta sua fu che restava molto obligato a N. Sig^re per la confidentia che sua Santità mostrava in lui, ma che hora non poteva dar risposta risoluta, poichè dovendo lui essere capo di questa impresa voleva molto ben prima assicurarsi di quello che poteva fare et promettere, perocchè quando havesse promesso, se poi dovesse andar con dui soli, vi anderia et moreria: ma che fra 8 o 10 giorni aspetta un padre Giesuita, quale dopo questo travaglio di Scotia ha mandato sconosciuto a la Regina di Scotia, che è di ritorno di Londra, et da esso si saprà quello che si possa promettere la detta Regina de li suoi amici in Inghilterra et Scotia, et si saprà quello che questo padre havrà trattato con li signori d'Inghilterra per il negotio che si tratta et in che stato sia; intorno al quale negotio dice che l'Agente di Spagna le ha detto in nome del Rè Cattolico che il suo Rè è per porvi tutto quello che può; il che il padre Roberto[3] scrive che non manca al Rè Cattolico voluntà ma denari. Mi ha ancora detto che ci sono lettere di Scotia che contro quel Principe non si sono scoperti se non gl'istessi che sono stati nemici a la Regina sua, et che il detto Principe haveva commandato al Duca di Lenox che venisse in Francia a dimandare aiuto, et che il Rè Christianissimo desidera la venuta sua et mostra inclinatione ad aiutar quel Principe; nel qual caso crede il Duca di Guisa con l'aiuto di N. Sig^re si potrà condurre a buon fine il tutto; ma per hora non sa dir altro. Ha ben soggiunto che crede esser bene che qualche parte del denaro che vuol dare N. Sig^re fosse in alcuno luogo di dove non si

[1] See p. 146 *supra*. [2] Richard Baynes. [3] F. Robert Persons.

potesse movere senza me quì, acciò venendo qualche opportunità, subita occasione, non si havesse a ritardar per scrivere et haver risposta, et che trattanto l'occasione fugisse; ma gli ho risposto che in questo caso io spedirei corriere in diligenza. Tuttavia esso mostra questo desiderio; ma più d'ogni altra cosa dubita che non si rompa la guerra fra Spagna et Francia, di donde ne risulti la distruttione di questo negotio; et dimandandogli su quello che credesse di questa rottura, rispose che credeva che si dovesse rompere se la Regina Madre non moriva in questo mezzo, perocchè lei gli haveva detto che non havea se non dui figli, et che per mantenerli concordi era necessario che questo Rè rompesse la guerra con Spagna, et che lei vi faria tutto il possibile per ridurvelo; onde essendo lei posta tutta in questo desiderio tiene per fermo che vi tirerà questo Rè, se ben non n'ha voluntà: che ha bene per sicuro che si habbia armata a tempo nuovo per condur forse X^m^ fanti, et che Mons^r^ di Gioiosa [1] come ammiraglio di mare vi debba andar per capo. Et domandandole se vi sariano denari per far due armate per mare et per terra, rispose che sì, et che il Rè Christianissimo dovea haver più di 20 millioni di scudi, et che se gli può credere che non se le discosti molto per quello che si vede in stampa; onde, come non vorrà pagar niuno a che sol dare provisione, haverà denari più del bisogno.

CCLII.

[The Cardinal of Como] to the Nuncio in France (Castelli). [Rome] 14 February, 1583.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 16).

In cifra al Nuntio di Francia. 14 Febr., 83.

Poiche al Duca di Ghisa pare di non poter far altra deliberatione intorno le cose di Scotia sinche non ha l'informatione che aspetta, N. Sig^re^ aspettera d'intender a quel tempo la risolution sua; tra tanto se al predetto Duca pur paresse di mandar qualchi denari al Duca di Lenox accio non si perda d'animo, si potra farlo, et de la quantita et del modo di mandare potrete consultarlo fra voi tre, cioe, V. S., il Duca di sopradetto et l'Agente di Spagna, il quale gia ha havuto il denaro dal suo Re et la commissione di sborsarlo a nostra requisitione. Et il sborso gia V. S. sa che havera a essere per li tre quarti il Re Cattolico et noi per l'altro quarto. Hor Dio vi consigli a quel che sia meglio a farsi in questo caso: poiche del far altra cosa di meglio mi par di vedere che le speranze si vadano ogni [di] allungando da tutte le bande. È carissimo a N. Sig^re^ che il Re si trovi alieno da rottura di guerra, ma non per questo resta la Santita sua di pensar di mandar persona a far gli officii che convengono a la persona di sua Santita.

CCLIII.

The Cardinal of Como to the Nuncio in France (Castelli). [Rome] 28 February, 1583.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 16).

In cifra al Nuntio di Francia, ultimo Feb°, 83.

Ne le cose di Scotia aspetta N. Sig^re^ d'infender la risolutione che fara Mons^r^ di Guisa dopo che havera parlato col Duca di Lenox, qual essendo venuto in Franza dara al predetto Duca di Guisa tanta informatione di quelle cose di Scotia che non occorrera aspettar per questo conto il ritorno del huomo che esso Duca di Guisa ha mandato in Scotia. Per quel che noi intendemo, le cose di quel regno sono in peggior stato che siano state sin' adesso, et piaccia a Dio che si trovi la strada di rimediarle. Fratanto so che V. S. non si lascera uscire il denar di mano senza buon consiglio et consideratione, se ben io le scrissi ultimamente che poteva sborsarlo.

CCLIV.

The Nuncio in France (Castelli) to the Cardinal of Como. 2 May, 1583.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 17, pag. 141).

Del Nuntio di Francia al Cardinale di Como, del giorno 2 Maggio, 1583.

Cifra del Nunzio di Francia.

Il Duca di Guisa et il Duca d'Ulmena[1] mi hanno detto haver maneggio di far amazzar la Regina d'Inghilterra per mano di un cattolico che sta appresso lei, se ben non mostra esser cattolico, qual' e mal sodisfatto di lei per esser fatti morire certi suoi parenti cattolici. Havera costui mandato a la Regina di Scotia,[2] ma lei non ha voluto attendervi; ma e stato mandato qua, et sono convenuti di dargli se campa o a li suoi figlii 100^m^ franchi, de' quali si contenta haver per sicurta il Duca di Guisa per 50^m^, et gli altri si contenta veder che siano depositati in mano di Monsig^r^ Glasquense in un coffano del qual esso tenga una chiave a fin che si diano a lui o a li suoi figlii succedendo il maneggio, qual Duca di Guisa reputa riuscibile; ne per questo fatto esso Duca dimanda alcuno aiuto a N. Sig^re^, ma quando sara il tempo andera a un suo luogo vicino al mare aspettando il successo per passar subito in Inghilterra. In quanto al far morire quella mala donna le ho detto che non ne voglio scrivere a N. Sig^re^, come faccio, ne dico a V. S. Ill^ma^ che gli lo dica; pero che, se bene io credo che a N. Sig^re^ fusse di contento che Dio per qual si voglia modo castigasse quella sua nemica, tuttavia non con-

[1] Duke of Mayenne. [2] See p. 368 *supra*.

verebbe farsi che il suo Vicario lo procurasse per questi mezzi; et esso si quieto, ma soggiunse poi che per l'impresa d'Inghilterra, quale in quel caso sarebbe molto piu facile, bisognerebbe haver qui pronti denari per assoldar qualche gente che lo seguitasse, pero che lui disegna di entrare subito in Inghilterra a fin che li cattolici habbino capo; ma per questo suo passaggio lui non dimanda aiuto; ma dovendo il Duca d'Ulmena restar in terra per adunare qualchi soldati per seguitarlo, essendo verisimile che gli heretici che hanno in mano il thesoro, l'armata et li porti non mancheranno a sestessi, onde bisogna fargli contrasto, per questo effetto desidera per qui sin a 100 o almeno 80^{m} scudi. Io gli ho fatto sapere la conventione che e tra N. Sig^{re} et il Re Cattolico circa la contributione, et gli ho detto che per la parte di N. Sig^{re} si puo promettere ogni aiuto possibile quando il Re Cattolico facci la parte sua. L'Agente di Spagna crede che il suo Re dara volentieri questo aiuto, et pero sara bene, in conformità di quanto gia piu volte se le promesse, andar pensando come si dovra proveder di questa somma, che sara per N. Sig^{re} di 20^{m} scudi quando il Re Cattolico dia i 60^{m}. P[i]acesse a Dio che con questa poca somma si guadagnasse questo cosi gran regno. La Regina di Scotia scrisse piu giorni sono che haveva guadagnato il Conte che la custodiva,[1] et che e sicura di potersi liberare quando vorra, ma che vuol aspettare buona occasione. Fuori di questo maneggio il Duca di Guisa fra pochi giorni aspetta avviso da 4 principali signori d'Inghilterra, et mi avvisera del seguito: tratanto ne d'Inghilterra ne di Scotia mi sa dire cosa alguna di momento.

CCLV.

The Cardinal of Como to the Nuncio in France (Castelli). Rome, 23 May, 1583.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 16).

In cifra al Nuntio di Francia. 23 Maggio, 1583.

Ho riferito a N. S^{re} cio che V. S. mi scrive ne la cifra circa le cose d'Inghilterra, et perche la S^{ta} S. non puo se non sentir bene che in qual si sia modo venghi levato d'oppressione quel regno et restituito a Dio et a la religione nostra santa, S. S^{ta} dice che in evento che il negotio habbi effetto non ha dubbio che li 80^{m} scuti saranno (come V. S. dice) molto bene impiegati. Pero S. S^{ta} non fara difficulta di sborsare il quarto suo, quando sara il tempo, se li Agenti del Re Catholico faranno il medesimo de li lor tre quarti, sopra che doveranno quei Signori di Guisa pigliar buono et saldo appuntamento con l'Agente Catholico costi: et per li nostri ventimille, poiche V. S. gia ne tiene in mano 4^{m}, et il mandar il resto senza saper certo che l'effetto habbi a seguire potrebbe esser opera gettata, et in non mandarli potrebbe nocere al negotio, quando per sorte venesse il bisogno di sborsarle, S. S^{ta} ha pensato esser meglio che, se il bisogno verra,

[1] The Earl of Shrewsbury.

V. S. li pigli a cambio o tutti o parte col credito di qualche mercante Italiano o altro personaggio, et si tragga qua, perche S. S^{ta} non manchera di farli subito satisfare. Et dico tutti o parte, perche non e verisimile che habbino a bisognar tutti in un colpo, essendo piu verisimile che si habbino a spendere in dui o tre mesi che in un solo, nel quale caso V. S. supplira facilmente a la prima mesata con li 4^{m} che gia tiene in mano et havera tempo di scrivir qua per il resto. Tuttavia se il bisogno richiedera altrimenti, V. S. pigli l'espediente che ho detto di trarli qua, et non si resti per questo di far bene: ma Dio voglia che questa non sia simile a tante altre promesse che non hanno havuto mai effeto.

Quanto a la pratica di nuovo ricordata da V. S. di pacificare Alanzon con il Re Catholico e molto da dubitare che al Re Christianissimo et a la Madre non piacerebbe questa pratica, se ben in apparenza mostrassero altrimenti. Imperoche non e credibile che lo desiderino in Francia; et semper impediranno che non segua l'accordo, con poca dignita et derisione di chi se ne impaccera. La vera via era che l'accordo seguisse tra il detto Alansone et il Principe di Parma, sicome e stato vicino a seguire et forse seguira un giorno; perche la societa d'esso Alansone con quei Stati si conosce esser troppo infida, et un giorno prorompera a maggior disordine che non e stato il passato.

CCLVI.

The Nuncio in France (Castelli) to [the Cardinal of Como]. 30 May, 1583.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 17, pag. 167).

Dal Nuntio di Francia. 30 di Maggio, 1583.

Dopo haver scritto quanto ho scritto ne le altre lettere, il Duca di Guisa, stimolato molto da la Regina di Scotia et da Milort Seton, Scozzese, ha risoluto di voler' attendere a l'impresa et cominciarla per Scotia, et sta in pensiero di mandarvi um *(sic)* de' i signori del suo sangue et dargli Mons^{or} di Menevil[1] luogotenente; et lui stara qua alle frontiere d'Inghilterra secondo l'ordine gia dato. Credo che gli debbano bastar per Scotia 4^{m} fanti, et per Inghilterra fara secondo l'occasione. Fanti pensa havera qui senza molto rumore, et il Re Cattolico gli ha fatto sapere che ogni volta che vorra gli mandera nuovi armati; ma perche ci vogliono denari in maggior somma di quella che ci e, piaccia a V. S. Ill^{ma} far officio con N. Sig^{re} che mandi ordine che ci siano denari, accio per la parte di sua Santita non vi sia causa di ritardare. Qua (come sa) ci sono li 4^{m} scudi, quali non paghero se non a proportione di quello che sara pagato da Spagna, come faro del restante che si mandera. Dopo la venuta di Mons^{or} di Menevil il Duca di Guisa si trova molto riscaldato a questa impresa. Quel disegno sopra la persona de la Regina d'Inghilterra credo che andera in niente. Con le p^{e} si dara piena istruttione di tutto il fatto.

[1] Monsieur de Menainville, the French ambassador to the Scottish King.

CCLVII.

The Nuncio in France (Castelli) to the Cardinal of Como. 11 June, 1583.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 17, fol. 193).

Cifra del Nuntio di Francia, de li XI di Giugno, 1583.

Del negotio d'Inghilterra si è intorno a far un discorso come si debba guidare; perochè essendo morto il Duca di Lenox habbiamo perduto il fondamento di Scotia, et bisogna far nuovo disegno per quel regno al quale si è intorno. Si per detto regno come per Inghilterra fussimo insieme a casa mia à Parigi, dove andai a posta, il Duca di Guisa, l'Agente del Rè Cattolico,[1] l'ambasciatore di Scotia,[2] Mons^re^ de Monevile,[3] il padre Claudio,[4] con il quale tutti confidano, et havendo il Duca di Guisa letto un discorso ne fece dare una copia Francese a l'Agente di Spagna et una Italiana a me; et l'Agente et il padre Claudio vennero poi a trovarmi quà a S. Clù,[5] ove è ancora il padre Roberto,[6] et mutassimo alcune cose, et il detto Agente restò di distendere in Franzese quanto gli era parso bene; ma fin' hora non mi è tornato in mano, che subito lo manderò a V. S. Ill^ma^ in cifra. Questo solo per hora posso dire che questo negotio per la morte di Lenox è molto peggiorato et le difficoltà sono cresciute et vi bisognerà altro che 80^m^ scudi se si verrà al effetto di quanto si disegna. Quanto a li denari che N. Sig^re^ haverà a provedere, le dirò che non è molto che, trattando con quello che deve sborzare à me i 4^m^ scudi, se per non dire quello che non è non affirmai quello ch'io diceva, tuttavia parlai di modo che esso s'indusse a credere che N. Sig^re^ disegni fabricare o aiutar fabricar un collegio a Scozzesi; onde se per la medesima via mi si mandasse maggior somma di denari forse sarìa più secreta et serìa certa: però che non mi assicuro poter trovare quel credito che ci potrìa bisognare ad un punto quasi improviso,[7] et tengo per fermo che non mi riuscirìa, tuttavia V. S. Ill^ma^ potrà farmi sapere a chi io potrei indirizzare le mie lettere per pagare il denaro, se un caso insperato ricercasse che si pagasse.

Dopo haver scritto fin quì ho havuto il discorso dal' Agente di Spagna, ma perchè non è fermato non lo mando. Questo dico che se bene il Duca di Guisa dice quanto a

[1] John Baptist Tassis. [2] The Archbishop of Glasgow. [3] M. de Menainville.
[4] F. Claude Mathieu, S. J., provincial of France. [5] St. Cloud. [6] F. Robert Persons.
[7] "Io penso che troverei quì a cambio sino a 3 o 4000 scudi, ma non già maggior quantità, onde credo esser necessario di haver quì lettere di credito a bastanza . . . . . Et in quanto a le lettere di credito, o a trovar denari quì, ho provato nel mio particolare, et nel riscotere quelli 3000 scudi, che li mercanti devono essere avvertiti molti giorni inanzi, perciochè non essendo questa piazza ordinaria di cambio molte volte li mercanti non hanno li denari pronti, et quelli 3000 sc. mi furon dati in molte volte et in varie monete et tutte non buone." The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. Paris, 27 April, 1584. Theiner, Ann. Eccles. III., 813.

se farà l'impresa d'Inghilterra, però a l'Agente di Spagna et a me pare impossibile che si possa far questo Settembre; et il Duca lo conosce, ma fa sapere che sarà pronto quando sia in ordine quello che bisogna. La Regina di Scotia prega che non si rinovi cosa alcuna sinchè il suo figliolo non sia in libertà, et confirmata la parte sua in Scotia; onde credo che non si farà niente questo anno. Tutti habbiamo risoluto che si mandi in Scotia il nipote del ambasciatore de la detta Regina con denari per confirmar gli amici et acquistarne de gli altri. Ad instanza del Duca di Guisa l'Agente di Spagna dara v^m scudi per questo effetto, et io, se bene sono stato ricercato a dar il mio quarto et che sapeva haverlo in poter mio per le cose di Scotia, tuttavia, perchè l'hebbi per trattenimento del Duca di Lenox, non ho voluto consentirvi senza nuovo avviso. Et perchè guadagnandosi li Scozzesi ò il Principe per suo interesse et di sua Madre favorevole saressimo su'l primo disegno, credo esser bene che non si neghi al Duca di Guisa questa piccola somma per principio di questa impresa, per la quale già Spagna ha dato 10^m scudi, et io ho promesso di dar' sempre a proportione di quanto darà il ministro del Rè Cattolico. Questo nipote del ambasciatore di Scotia, persona molto prudente, anderà in Scotia sotto pretesto che il padre lo richiami per lassargli come a primogenito la roba sua andandovi, ò darle al minore non andandovi.

CCLVIII.

The Nuncio in France (Castelli) to the Cardinal of Como. St. Cloud, 30 June, 1583.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 17, pag. 207).

Del Nuntio di Francia al Cardinal di Como, del giorno 20 Giugno, 1583.

Ill^mo et R^mo Signore, patron mio colendissimo; Non ho ch' altro scrivere più di quello ch'è nell' incluso foglio. . . . Di S^to Clu, li XX di Giugno, MDLXXXIII.

Di V. S. Ill^ma et R^ma devotissimo servitore,

GIOBATT^A VESCOVO

Addressed.

All' Ill^mo et R^mo Signore, patron mio colendissimo, il sig^r Cardinale di Como. Roma.

Disegno per l'impresa d'Inghilterra.[1]

Che si manderà quanto prima una persona in Scotia con mezzi et denari per dispor quelli del paese ad imbracciare questa impresa, che havea cominciata il Duca di Lenox et che è stata assai migliorata per l'ambasciatore di Francia che vi è stato;[2] et

[1] See p. 195 *supra*.

[2] Monsieur de Menainville.

si farà ogni opera che esso ambasciatore vi torni quanto prima per continuar questa prattica in quel regno et disporre il Rè acciochè si faccia capo di questa impresa sul primo piede; et quando non volesse, si spera guadagnarvi presto tante corrispondenze et farsi sicuro di tanto soccorso in quel regno che il detto Rè sarà constretto d'accomodarsi; per lo manco non potrà dar alcuno impedimento a l'impresa.

Che quanto prima si potrà si mettino in ordine due armate, una in Spagna che venga in Scotia, se le cose vi saranno disposte, ò vero in Inghilterra a la frontiera di Scotia, onde sarà facile impatronirsi di qualche porto con l'aiuto de li partiali cattolici che vi si trovano in gran numero periti ne le armi; oltre che in Inghilterra tutti li porti sono aperti et sicuri per mettervi su le ancore una armata, et doverà questa armata di Spagna essere di X ò XII^{m} huomini ò più, se sarà possibile, cioè 4^{m} Alemanni, altri 4^{m} Italiani et 3^{m} Spagnuoli. Che questa armata venga provista di vettovaglie per 20 giorni dopo essere in terra: che porti seco denari per pagar essa gente et levar altri 20^{m} Scozzesi et Inglesi, et insieme quantità d'armi per armare soldati del paese: et doverà questa armata essere la prima ad arrivare in Inghilterra, et venir per capo qualch' uno che sua Santità et il Rè Cattolico eleggeranno, non potendo esser' alcuno de li dui fratelli,[1] non essendo ragionevole che ambidue eschino di Francia. L'armata seconda sarà di Franzesi condotta da uno de li due fratelli, la qual armata non si puol mettere in terra che a Susez[2] per la poca commodità che si trova altrove, et sarà ivi questa smontata molto commoda per far il traghetto di mare in una marea secura et brevissimamente; ma non doverà questa armata esser la prima a mettersi in terra, essendo quella di Spagna così lontana che non si potrà giudicar il giorno certo che doverà arrivare; oltre che il sforzo principale d'Inghilterra si trova ne la banda di Susez per esser vicina a Londra una giornata, non potendosi fare de la parte di Francia più di quello che fù offerto da principio, ne la cui essecutione non sarà fallo ò mancamento alcuno. Queste due armate stando in Inghilterra non si possono unire se prima ambidue non habbiano combattuto, per che fare sarebbe necessario che traversassero l'Inghilterra, et per ciò è di mestiere che siano forti, tanto più che non essendo in Inghilterra torri serrate saranno astretti gli Inglesi combattere quanto prima, non potendosi salvare se non con una battaglia. Bisognerà ancora far havere mezzi a li cattolici et mal contenti che fanno il maggior numero in Inghilterra per unirsi; il che si va procurando, et con che si operà[3] il conquisto di quel regno in breve tempo; massimamente essendo impossibile che Inghilterra sia soccorsa fra due o tre mesi, se si piglia a tempo che li nemici non siano risoluti, et non habbino cominciato a prepararsi oltre che per soccorrerli haveranno per concluderlo molti diversi, del che non si deve temere.

Quanto al tempo de la essecutione di questa impresa, quanto più presto sia sarà meglio, et non si troverà mai mancamento dal canto di Francia. Questa armata di Francia et il capo di essa pensa di poter ovviar la gelosia che il Rè Christianissimo

[1] The Dukes of Guise and Mayenne. [2] Sussex. [3] *opererà?*

potrebbe pigliare di questa impresa, et però si potrà far sicuramente; oltre che ne l'armata di Spagna sarà gran quantità d'Italiani et Alemanni et il capo suo posto da sua Santità, di che il Nunzio di Francia avertirà il Rè Christianissimo, assicurandolo che la intentione di sua Santità è di usar solo di quel potere che Dio gli dà per la sua gloria et augumento de la fede cattolica. È necessario far in Parigi buona provisione di denari tanto per li bisogni di detta armata che di Scotia et d'Inghilterra. Si farà sapere al Duca di Baviera, il qual si è offerto a questa impresa, questa risolutione, acciochè si tenga in ordine conforme a gli avvisi che gli darà di continuo colui che menerà i Franzesi in Inghilterra, poichè sua Santità et il Rè Cattolico si saranno risoluti circa l'essecutione di questa impresa, quali forse troveranno espediente che il fratello del Duca di Baviera sia capo del armata di Spagna. Si manderà ancora subito uno in Inghilterra a la Regina di Scotia et a l'ambasciatore di Spagna per avvertirli di questa risolutione et saperne il lor parere, et che conto si può fare de le forze de cattolici Inglesi, quali si avviseranno ordinariamente di quello che sarà di bisogno acciochè à suo tempo piglino le armi. Quanto à Irlanda pare che sarà bene che di Spagna vi si mandino 2^{m} huomini insieme con quelli signori Irlandesi che stanno in Spagna dimandando soccorso. Sarebbe bene che questa gente arrivasse in Irlanda qualche giorni prima che le altre armate in Inghilterra; et per fortificare più questa gente sarebbe espediente mandar denari al Conte di Arguil[1] et Macovil in Scotia, acciochè mandassero ancora loro contra gli Inglesi come sogliono ogni anno.

Che li cattolici fuorusciti d'Inghilterra non ritornino al loro paese prima che le armate stiano in Inghilterra acciochè il disegno non si scopra, ma si avvertischino che stiano pronti per congiungersi con le armate quando vi andranno: et servirà a questo molto il consilio del signor Bernardino Mendozza per esser persona esperimentata ne i fatti di guerra et che sa quello che si possa promettere de li cattolici et partiali de la Regina di Scotia in Inghilterra. L'Agente di Spagna oltre li primi v^{m} scudi hora ne ha dati altri vi^{m}, et sono in mano del padre Claudio[2] per spenderli secondo che il nepote del ambasciatore di Scotia ricercherà; et essendo io ricercato come sono di dar la parte di N. Sign^{re}, non vedo che si possa restare, acciò il Duca di Guisa non dica che se gli diano parole. Il dottore Alano è venuto quà, et pensa che questo sia troppo apparato; però bisogna stare à li soldati ne le cose di guerra. Uno che per hora non vuol esser nominato mi ha due volte fatto sapere per un padre Jhesuita che lo ambasciatore d'Inghilterra d'ordine de la sua Regina ha fatto diligenza di haver piena informatione de le persone di auttorità in Polonia et che ne ha fatto una lista; onde pare che questa Regina voglia provar di fare qualche profitto per la sua setta in Polonia.

È stato preso dal governatore di Gravilingo quello Sciartrier, pessimo huomo et secretario di Mons^{r} d'Alansone, uno de i tre che fecero l'inventione di Salzedo,[3] il

[1] Argyll. [2] F. Claude Mathieu, S.J. [3] Salcedo, a Spaniard, and Basa, an Italian, were accused of having attempted to poison the Duke of Alençon and the Prince of Orange. Basa died in prison: Salcedo was executed at Paris.

qual' è tornato da la Regina d'Inghilterra al detto Alansone con 43m scudi et lettere di essa Regina, et tutto si è havuto a man salva, et si spera che si scopriranno molte cose, et si potrà saper se è vero quello che si è detto alcuni giorni, che Alanzone con l'aiuto de la Regina d'Inghilterra voleva suscitar travaglio in Francia.

CCLIX.

The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. 12 December, 1583.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 17, fol. 264).

Cifra del Nuntio di Francia.

Scrive l'ambasciatore di Spagna residente in Inghilterra al Duca di Guisa con sue lettere de li 19 del passato che erano poco prima stati posti prigioni di quella Regina sette nobili, de' quali 4 sono cattolici et 3 heretici, ma tutti molto confidenti de la Regina di Scotia. Dipoi il medesimo ambasciatore scrive a l'istesso Duca con altre sue lettere de i 26 del detto mese che uno di quei prigioni cattolici chiamato Trhot Morton [1] era stato posto in Torre, et si ragionava di tormentarlo, essendosi trovato in casa sua una nota con tutti i porti di quell' Isola et nomi de principali nobili cattolici di quel regno; il qual Trhot Morton intendo quì dal padre Claudio,[2] Giesuita, esser così in genere consapevole del trattato che è fatto in aiuto de cattolici. Soggiunge detto ambasciatore dubitare assai che non si sia già scoperto o non si scopri esso trattato. Il medesimo dubbio che non si scopri mi è parso che habbi l'ambasciatore di Spagna residente quì, il quale anco mi ha detto che in ciò si ha troppo fretta et conviene aspettar la commodità del Rè Cattolico. Ho mandato una copia simile al Nuntio di Piacenza [3] adoperando la zifra che ho trovato quì ne le scritture di Monsig^r di Rimini [4] usarsi con li Nuntii.

CCLX.

The Cardinal of Como to the Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni). Rome, 14 February [1584].

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 16; lettere da Roma).

Al Nuntio di Francia, in cifra, a 14 di Feb. 1583.[5]

N. S^re ha veduta la scrittura che V. S. mi ha mandata in cifra, datagli dal padre Alano et dal padre Roberto intorno a le cose d'Inghilterra; et poiche n'e stata man-

[1] Throgmorton. [2] F. Claude Mathieu, S.J. [3] Mgr Sega, bishop of Piacenza, Nuncio in Spain. [4] Mgr Castelli, bishop of Rimini, the preceding Nuncio in France.

[5] The date 1583 is clearly incorrect; for F. Persons did not return from Spain to France before

data una simile in Spagna, non occorre dir altro se non che dal canto di S. S^ta^ non si e mancato ne si manchera di continuo di favorir vivamente appresso S. M^ta^ il buon exito di questo negotio, et di far quanto sara possibile accio se ne venga al desiderato fine; et se in man nostra fusse l'executione, il padre Alano l'haveria vista un pezzo fa. Il che servira per risposta di quanto il detto padre scrisse a S. S^ta^ et a me.

CCLXI.

The Cardinal of Como to the Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni). Rome, April, 1584.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 16; lettere da Roma).

Al Nuntio di Francia, in cifra. Aprile, 1584.

Il padre Alano mi raccomanda quelli dui signori Inglesi, che V. S. mi raccomando ancor lei, cioe, Arondel et Paget, accio N. S^re^ dia loro qualche intertenimento.[1] Ho fatto l'officio, et S. S^ta^ mi ha risposto che se si fara di presente l'impresa d'Inghilterra potranno li detti signori andar a servir in essa, perche cosi non solo haveranno intertenimento, ma ricupereranno anche tutte le cose loro: se poi l'impresa non si facesse, bisogneria far un altro conto, il quale per hora e superfluo et fuor di tempo. V. S. potra far intendere tutto questo al detto padre Alano in risposta de la lettera sua, non scrivendogli io se non quattro righe in credenza di V. S.

CCLXII.

The Cardinal of Como to the Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni). Rome, 9 April, 1584.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 16; lettere da Roma).

In cifra al Nuntio di Francia. 9 Aprile, 1584.

S'e visto il Memoriale dato a V. S. dal Duca di Guisa con l'altre copie tutte aggiunte: et primieramente ho da dire che cose si fatte non si doverebbono mai mandar attorno senza cifra, perche vanno con troppo pericolo, oltre che anco il mandarcele cosi in idioma Francese et di cattivo carattere non e senza gran molestia di chi le ha a

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May, 1583. See p. 194 *supra*. He could not therefore have written in conjunction with Dr Allen the memorandum referred to in this despatch. The true date is doubtless 1584, and the Cardinal alludes to the paper given by Allen and Persons to the Nuncio, 16 January, 1584, and printed at p. 222 *supra*.

[1] See p. 228 *supra*.

legger qui et non sa la lingua. Quanto poi a la sostanza del negotio a N. S^re^ è gratissimo che il Duca habbi preso si nobile e si santa resolutione, et vorebbe volentieri poterlo aiutare a bastanza con la borsa sua sola; ma la tenuita del erario di S. S^ta^ non lo comporta in conto alcuno, et sarebbe pazzia se noi pensassimo o dicessimo altrimente, et ad altro non servirebbe che ad imbarcare il Duca, et poi lassarlo nei pericoli senza poterlo lungamente sostenere; et cose si fatte non bisogna ingannarsi, perche l'inganno risulterebbe in troppo preiuditio et publico et privato. E adunque necessario che per voler aiutare da dovero l'animo et l'impresa del Duca si stia ne li medesimi proposti che furono trattati et appuntati da Mons^r^ di Rimini[1] di bona memoria, cioe, che il tutto si faccia con gli animi, consigli et forze congionte tra li ministri di S. S^ta^ et del Re Catholico. Et pero sicome noi havemo comunicato qui ogni cosa con l'ambasciatore di S. M^ta^ catholica, accio ne scriva costi al Tassis et in Spagna al proprio Re, cosi V. S. si abbocchera subito con il predetto Tassis, et discoreranno insieme sopra questo motivo et risolutione del Duca, et trovandola buona et riuscibile parleranno poi col proprio Duca, et gli mostreranno la buona volunta del Papa et del Re di voler per ogni modo aiutarlo accio possa venir quanto prima a l'executione; per la quale hieri scrivessimo gagliardamente in Spagna con un corriere espresso con ordine che la risolutione sia subito mandata a Parigi per non perder tempo in farla prima venir qua. Pero se il Duca vorra di buona volunta aspettar quella risposta sara forse meglio; ma quando non volesse, overo il negotio non lo comportasse, si potra vedere se il Tassis ha ancora in mano il resto di quelli 30^m^ scuti che gli furono mandati l'anno passato per questo istesso effetto, che devono essere scuti 18^m^, non sapendo noi che ne fussero spesi piu che 12^m^. Et havendoli, questo ambasciatore Catholico gli scrive che li debba sborsare al Duca, et se li sborsera, N. S^re^ vuole che V. S. sborsi lei ancora il suo quarto, che saranno scuti 6_m. Et se il Tassis non li havesse tutti 18^m^, sborsera almeno quelli che ha, et V. S. similmente il quarto di quello che lui sborsera; che se bene non sara grossa somma, non sara pero ancor tanto tenue che non possa servir a molte cose per dar principio a l'impresa. Ma se il Tassis non havesse alcun dinaro, o vero al Duca paresse che in nissun modo questa somma possa bastare, bisognera in tal caso che s'aspetti la risposta di Spagna; et allhora se il Re Catholico fara provisione di maggior somma, come speramo, V. S. ancora sborsera tutta la portion nostra contingente. Et perche V. S. non ha in mano piu che scuti 3^m^ et qualche cosa meno, potra pigliar da mercanti in Parigi tutto quel che gli bisognera per questo conto et trarlo qua al signore Bernardo Olgiato, depositario generale di S. S^ta^, che subito si fara il rimborso a chi li detti mercanti di Parigi per lor lettere ordineranno. Et non e gia da dubitare che V. S. non habbi credito con loro per una somma si piccola come sara questa. Pero faccia hora il Duca quel che gli pare circa il mover presto o tardi queste arme benedette, che questa e la final risolutione che da S. S^ta^ puo aspettare: se ben noi non sapemo ne cercamo

[1] The preceding Nuncio.

sapere da qual banda voglia entrare in Inghilterra, et crederessimo che miglior consiglio sarebbe stato l'andar personalmente in Scotia, si per la buona sicurezza della persona di quel Re, come per entrar poi da quella banda in Inghilterra, facendo fondamento non tanto nel exercito che potesse condur seco, poiche non potrebbe condur gran numero, quanto ne la commotione delli catholici d'Inghilterra, maximamente in questo tempo che sono si rabiosamente perseguitati.

Havemo ordinato a questi dui gentilhuomini Hibernesi che sono qui che vengano quanto prima a Parigi, conforme a l'avviso del Duca; et cosi partiranno fra dui o tre giorni, et con loro verra un altro pur Hiberno, sacerdote et huomo di negotio. Procureremo ancora che un altro che sta a Napoli et e provisionato dal Re Catholico venga similmente in Franza. Ma per non scoprir ad alcuno fuor di tempo che il Duca habbi le mani in questo negocio non diremo altro a costoro se non che l'arcivescovo Glasguense desidera che vadano a Parigi per qualche buon rispetto, et gli commetteremo che faccino quanto il detto arcivescovo et V. S. gli diranno, et le lor provisioni gli saranno continuate come se fussero in Italia. Pero quando bisognera, V. S. dira poi loro che obediscano al Duca.

Quel che il Duca dice di sperare circa il far accordar che in Scotia possano liberamente vivere tutti li catholici et di far rimandar in Scotia l'ambasciatore di Francia che hora sta in Inghilterra saranno due cose di grave servitio a Dio et a la causa publica. Pero S. S^{ta} desidera che S. E. lo faccia quanto prima.

CCLXIII.

The Cardinal of Como to the Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni). Rome, 23 April, 1584.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 16; lettere da Roma).

Cifra al Nuntio di Francia, a 23 d'Aprile, 1584.

Le[1] copie de la lettera che il padre Alano ha scritto a V. S. in credenza di quel sacerdote Inglese et de la scrittura che egli le ha lassata et che V. S. mi manda in cifra, N. S^{re} ha a pieno inteso la risolutione che Joanne Dovisio[2] ha fatta di rubar a gli heretici d'Inghilterra le tre navi et 4 navilii che tengono preparati per mandarle a infestar le riviere di Spagna et impedir al Re Catholico le flotte che vengono de le Indie, et l'absolutione che percio il detto Joanne ricerca da S. S^{ta}. Et parendo a la S^{ta} S. che la detta risolutione sia santa et buona si contenta di concedergli l'absolutione che dimanda, et cosi V. S. gli la potra dare, sempre che ne sera ricercata, che in virtu de la presente S. S^{ta} le da facultà di poterlo fare. Et perche S. B^{ne} non ha occasione

[1] *Da le?* [2] Captain John Davis. See p. 226 *supra*.

alcuna dove impiegar il servicio che il detto Joanne offerisce di fare con le presenti navi, si potra trattar con li ministri del Re Catholico accio procurino che S. M^ta^ se ne serva lei, et riceva questo gentilhuomo sotto la sua protettione, accio come S. S^ta^ gli assicura la conscienza cosi la M^ta^ S. gli difenda la vita et le faculta che delibera di portar seco.

Da le mie precedenti V. S. havera a pieno inteso quel che S. S^ta^ puo fare per servicio del impresa d'Inghilterra, che il S^r^ Duca di Guisa disegna di far in persona, et pero per questo conto sara superflua la venuta qua del padre Alessandro Setone. Pur non si mancherà di ascoltarlo et di dargli ogni possibile satisfatione.

CCLXIV.

The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. Paris, 28 May, 1584.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 16).

Cifra del Nuncio di Francia. Parigi, 28 Maggio, 1584.

Il Duca di Guisa ha giudicato esser bene che li dui gentilhuomini Hibernesi, che vennero qua ultimamente di costa, vadano hora in Scotia ad aiutar quel Re; onde io lodando questa sua deliberatione gli ho detto che vadino, et che percio non cesseranno le provisioni che hanno da la S^ta^ S. Non sono ancor giunti i 12^m^ scuti che il Re Catholico promise di mandare per pagar la guardia del Re di Scotia, ne di la si ha ancora alcuna risposta per l'impresa d'Inghilterra.

CCLXV.

The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. 25 June, 1584.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 17).

Cifra del Nuntio di Francia. 25 Giugno, 1584.

Ogn'uno afferma che il Re Christianissimo e piu allegro dopo la morte d'Alansone[1] che non era prima. Di Spagna ho lettere del primo del presente di Mons^r^ di Lodi,[2] senza nissuna risolutione del negotio d'Inghilterra; ma questo Agente del Re Cattolico ha detto al padre Claudio[3] di haver esso nuova, che su M^ta^ Cattolica non si contenta che sua Santita conferisca il quarto de la spesa. Mi scrive detto Nuntio di Spagna che

[1] The Duke of Alençon, or Anjou, the last surviving brother of King Henry III., died 10 June, 1584. [2] M^gr^ Ludovico Taberna, bishop of Lodi, Nuncio in Spain. [3] F. Claude Mathieu, S.J.

ivi non si credeva che il Duca di Guisa fusse per allontanarsi di questo regno, stante la malattia di Alansone; onde molto meno doveranno crederlo dopo la morte, et poiche il Re di Scotia non e piu in alcuno pericolo, il che pare che movesse piu che altra cosa esso Duca a quella impresa, de la quale questi Inglesi et Scozzesi consapevoli di essa mostrano di non sperar piu.

CCLXVI.

The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. 23 July, 1584.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, [Vol.] 17).

Dal Nuntio di Francia. 23 Luglio, 1584.

E stato stampato in Inghilterra in lingua Italiana quel libro che mandai gia a V. S. Ill^ma^ in Francese, composto in deffensione de le crudelta usate in quell' Isola a cattolici. Dubito che saranno mandate in Italia molte copie di detto libro, il quale ha questo titolo:—"Atto di giustitia d'Inghilterra esequito per la conservatione de la commune et christiana pace contro alcuni seminatori di discordie et seguaci di rebelli et de nemici del reame et non per niuna persecutione che fusse lor fatta per cagione de la religione, si come e stato falsamente publicato da diffensori et da sostentatori de la costoro rebellione et tradimento. Stampato in Londra appresso Giovanni Wolfio, 1584." La risposta di qual libro presa a fare dal padre Alano,[1] come gia scrissi a V. S. Ill^ma^, non e ancora uscita, ch'io sappia.

CCLXVII.

The Cardinal of Como to the Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni). 13 August, 1584.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 16; lettere da Roma).

In cifra al Nuntio di Francia. 13 Agosto, 1584.

Gia che V. S. mi scrive che il Duca di Guisa et Mons. Glasguen. restano satisfatti de l'oblatione da lei fattagli a nome di N. S^re^, dopo che l'hebbero date le scritture da lei mandate, non occorre a S. B^ne^ dir altro per hora intorno quelli particolari, se non che li piace che il Re di Scotia vadi a la giornata avantaggiando li affari de la religione catholica nel suo regno.

[1] See p. 239 *supra*.

CCLXVIII.

The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. Paris, 3 September, 1584.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura, Vol. 17, pag. 476).

Cifra del Nuntio de Francia. Da Parigi, alli 3 di Settembre, 1584.

Fecero poi morire in Inghilterra quel gentilhuomo di casa Framurtone,[1] per le confessioni del quale fu licentiato di quel regno Don Bernardino di Mendozza; et hora e uscito fuori un libro in lingua Inglese nel quale e narrata la confessione fatta nel tormento dal detto Fragmortone, che contiene (si come mi ha detto il padre Ruberto[2]) tutta quasi la historia del trattato per l'impresa, et tocca principalmente il Duca di Guisa; il che non e dubbio che sia venuto a le orecchie del Re Christianissimo; et dice esso Fragmortono di haver inteso tutto questo dal sopradetto Don Bernardino. Li 12[m] scúdi di Spagna per le cose di Scotia non sono comparsi ancora.

CCLXIX.

F. William Creighton, S. J., and the proposed invasion of England. 4 September, 1584.

From a contemporary paper in the archives of the see of Westminster. III., 373. *Also in part printed in Strype's Annals, Vol.* III., *pt.* 1, *p.* 602.[3]

4 September, 1584.

An enterprise founde about a Scottish Jesuite taken on the seas for the invation of the realme.

There are these partes or divitions contayned in it.

The first is the end that the conspirators do pretend by the enterprise they have in hande.

The opportunitie invitinge them to undertake the same.

The fowndation and grownde worcke whereuppon they have to builde.

[1] Throgmorton. [2] F. Robert Persons.

[3] There is another contemporary copy of this document at the Record Office, London. State Papers, Domestic Elizab. 173, 4. It is less complete than the one printed above; for besides some lesser differences it omits most of the passages which refer to the tyranny of Queen Elizabeth and her ministers and the intolerable oppression of the Catholics. It is headed, "These are the partes or divisions of the discours in Italian fownde about the Scottish Jesuite taken on the seas in his way to Scotland." There is no pretence of giving more than the substance of the discourse. Thus the compiler says in one place:—"The pretext or cover to this preparation is set downe, but so torne and wantinge as it can not be deciphred. But (as I gesse by this place and another) should come from Spaine": and again:—"Then there is specified some authoritie the Pope should give, or create (as I gesse by this place and another) a bishop of Durreme, where they be all Catholicks." The copy, from which Strype printed his extracts, is still among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, Julius, F., vi., 58. But the first part is wanting, as it begins with "The reasons to shew the easiness

The meanes to conducte the enterprise to effect.

The facilitie of the enterprise.

The laste division entreateth of the disposition of the estate of this realme as a fit matter and subject to receave that alteration and conquest they pretend.

It doth not obscurelie appeare by the whole course of the declaration of the enterprise that it was the same whereunto Throgmorton and Charles Paget were privy and that the Spanish ambassador had his parte in it: and that it was not a discourse onelie or device how such a thinge might be brought to passe, but the plott and desseignement set downe and agreed uppon to be put in execution, whereunto the Scottish Queene was made privy, as is confessed and as it appeareth further by a litle peece of paper of instruction in the Latin tonge geven by the Scottish Queene to that effect to one sent to the Pope in her and her sonnes name, whose instructions the Jesuite had at the tyme of his apprehension and tare quite asonder.

Touching the firste parte, of the end which is pretended, there are these thinges set downe.

First the restitution of Romish religion both in Englande and Scotlande.

Next the deliverie of the Scottish Queene out of prison.

The preservation of the younge yeares of the Scottish Kinge from perils and from beinge confirmed in heresies, as they tearme it.

The releefe of the papists in England and other places.

The peace and quiet of other kingdomes in travayle and disquieted by the malice (as he saithe) of the protestants.

Lastelie and especially to depose her Ma^{tie} and set up the Scottish Queene, which indeede is the scope and white whereto all this practise dothe level.

Opportunity.

With greate instance it is pressed to advaunce the enterprise with all expedition for these reasons followinge.

That the tyme doth serve, offeringe dyvers opportunityes, for the intelligence they have in England and Scotlande.

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of the enterprise," and even what it gives is not quite complete. Sir Francis Walsingham evidently refers to this document in the following passage of his letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, 16 September, 1584:—"Of late one Creichton, a Scottish Jesuite, was taken by a shippe sett forth by the admiral of Zeland, and sent hither by him unto hir Majestie, about whom was found a very daungerous plott sett down abowt two yeares past in the Italian tongue for the invading of this realme. And although it was torn in peeces, and divers parts thereof lost, yet have we gathered the sense thereof, which I send you hereinclosed. Your charge there was made acquainted withall, and the young King hir sonne, and, as we are enformed, gave their allowance thereof, which had been executed if Lennox had lived; and as by the same Creichton is confessed there is an intent and meaning when the King of Spain shalbe ridd of his Low cuntryes trowbles to procead to the execution therof." Sadler's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 400.

While the D. of Lenox is in credyt, and, as by a peece of a Frenche discourse dothe appeere, while Mendoza was in England.

Lest the enterprise should be discovered; for in one place he saithe, if it were not executed the laste yeare there would be no hope hereafter to set it on foote.

In September, or at the latest in October, the enterprise is to be undertaken; for if it be deferred another yeare, there is no hope in the worlde that it should take effecte for the reasons ensuinge.

That the catholicks in Englande are reduced to so harde a straight as they shall not be able to houlde out and would be contente of anie alteration; who, if the enterprise be defferred, will by the execution of penall statutes be reduced to that povertye, and by imprisonment kepte in soche sorte, as they neither can nor shalbe able to afforde hereafter that helpe they nowe maie doe.

Lest the Kinge growinge in yeares shoulde come to be established and confyrmed in religion.

Leaste he shoulde marrie with some protestante, whereby likewise the hope were taken awaie to alter him in religion.

Leaste the King should be slaine or made awaie by his ennemyes.

The foundation of the enterprise.

That not onely the catholicks of Scotlande but divers of the protestants desire the delyvery of the Scottishe Queene, and all in generall for the reason of succession.

The title of the Scottishe Kinge to whom also divers protestants in England are well enclyned for the same respecte that they favor the mother. But in Scottland all will followe him in the enterprise of the conquest of England, savinge a fewe who easely maye be kepte under by the forraine power which they shall have.

The title of the crowne is of greate efficacy with the Englishe nation: for whersoever anie Prince did governe evill, if the successor did take uppon him to remedie the same, as by the histories it dothe appear, never anie to whom the succession dyd belonge did at anie tyme take armes to reforme the governement but he had good successe.

This enterprise particulerlye hathe ben imparted to the Scottish Kinge and Queene the D. of Lenox, the Erle of Huntley and L. of Seton who canne carrie the greater parte of all Scotlande.

The enterprise shalbe done in the name of the Scottishe Kinge, who shalbe in person amongest them.

Dombarton, one of the strongest holds in all Scotlande, shalbe the landinge place for the forraine powers: which standeth well to receave shippes out of Spaine and Italie; and all in those partes are catholicks, where the E. of Cassells, of Morton and the L. of Lochinvar and dyvers other which shall be in a readynes to joyne with them so soone as they shall sett on lande.

That two of the greatest and moste mightie factions in Scotland are broughte so lowe at this present as they can not hinder them; which is the Hamiltons and the Dowglas; and all those familyes ronne not one course.

That a nomber are most desirous of this enterprise; some for religions sake, others for hatred they beare to those that are in authoritye, hereticks and suche as for their evill life and great covetousnes are growen into hatred almoste of all men; which will greately serve to this purpose.

This disposition of the estate, as it will yeeld greate helpes in Scotland, so they make reckoninge, if the Pope and Spanishe Kinge afforde the desired forces, that so soone as the soldiers are embarked forthwith with the Scottish Kinge in person to marche towardes Englande, where assisted with the catholicks of that realme, which are manie in nomber, they maye be able to prevaile.

Of the meanes to conducte the enterprise to effecte.

Firste they demaunde 8000, or at the least 6000, good and trayned soldyers of strangers and money to entertayne 8000 of the lande for sixe monthes or fower at the leaste: in which tyme and lesse after the arryvall of the forraine powers the matter maye be broughte to passe. For the soldiers so soone as they arrive, are to make noe staye in Scotland, but presentlye to passe into Englande, before the Queen maye suppresse and overthrowe the catholicks army.

The pretexte or cover to this preparation is set downe, but so torne and wantinge as it can not be deciphered, but that they shoulde come from Spaine.

Of the catholicks they assure themselves; which is often repeated. Next of soch as are colde and indifferent in matter of religion. Thirdlie they make accoumpt of those that are miscontented, and that with some assurance; whereof some they name for example, and gather argument that some likewise for hate they beare to some principall person in the courte will take parte with them.

Then they make an argument that her Ma^{tie} is not beloved; againste whom, to bringe her Ma^{tie} into sclaunder, they have most infamous and sclaunderous libels ready made, but not yet printed, which then shall be published with other proclamations; to which end they appoynte to have a printer with them.

The enterprise was to beginne in September laste paste or October for the furthest.

There must be armour for 3000 footemen brought with them to arme, as it shoulde seeme, Scots.

There is a bishope to be created by the Pope to come with them to make preists, absolve and excommunicate. This shoulde be created bishopp of Dunelme;[1] for that in those parts they are catholicks, and the greate authority which that bishoppe hathe.

The E. of Westmerlande and other Englishe noble men and gent of the land shall come secreetely into the realme and remaine in private howses, untill the armye

[1] Durham.

entreth the realme, and then shall joyne with the army which shall come out of Spaine.

Money to be provided in Paris for their charges in their journey and other thinges necessary.

This seemeth to inferre that the E. of Westmerlande shoulde passe that waye.

The cause why the Scots should arme is for the title to the succession of the crowne of England by the saide Kinge.

To have proclamations readie for suche purpose and againste the E. of Huntington and the E. of Leycester, because they goe aboute not only to take awaye from the Kinge the right to the succession, but also to take from him his owne kingedome: and so to publishe them at the tyme. There is to be added in this proclamation (if it shall be thoughte expedyent) somwhat againste the tyrannie of those in authority, who are growen to that pride that they doe not only offer injuries to the nobilitye but oppresse the people of the lande, and that they be of the faction afore named.

When they enter into Englande the Popes excommunication is likewise to be proclaymed, which shalbe renued declaringe her Ma^tie^, &c., and that all suche as beare armes in her behalfe shalbe guiltie of treason and shall be held for soch, unlest they come to joyne with the army of the Scottish Queene in England by suche a certaine daye, and they shall not only loose their lyves, but also all their possessions, lordshipps and lands shall be geven to the nexte of their bloode.

These and soche other like thinges maie be published accordinge to the occasions of tyme and place and other circumstances; for which purpose it shall be verie necessarie to have a printer with them.

It is moreover verie needfull that the Pope doe againe sende forthe his Bulls of excommunication againste her Ma^tie^, signifyinge that albeit his Holines hathe forborne all this while under hope of amendment, how be it now, seinge her tyrannie breake forthe, &c., which shalbe donne by the bishoppe.

On the borders they make accompte of certaine noble men, as the erle of Westmerlande nowe in the Kinge of Spayne his service. The erle of Northumberland, whose eldest sonne was in Fraunce, maie have perhapps good meanes to employe himselfe in this enterprise. There is mention of another they thinke to fynde the meanes to get to their side, who was forbidden the court by the Q. Ma^tie^. The L. Dacres, L. of a greate contrie and people, very desirous to retorne home, is with the rest requested by his freindes so to doe; who shall be able to make 3 or 4000 men, as it was seene in the army that was levied by the erle of Westmerland against the Quene, where he alone gathered together 6000 men in a fewe dayes. Theire are in those frontyers divers other noble men and gent of lesse power then the afore named.

When they are paste the frontier, the army shall enter into a large champion contry verie fruitfull and plentifull of all kinde of victualls, and all affectioned to the faithe, even almoste unto London.

The greate and riche cittyes for the moste parte, as Newcastle, Yorcke and soche like, are all full of catholicks, who will repaire to the army, so as they shalbe victorious without drawinge sworde; and all the catholicke lords and gent of those sheeres will unite themselves unto them: which wee saye not by conjecture, but knowe assuredly that they will doe yt, althoughe they dare noe more truste anie bodie in the worlde but onely their preists, who are alreadye dispersed thorowe out all the sheeres of the realme. From the place in Scotland where the army shall enter unto London is not paste nine or tenn dayes journey. Another place of the realme is noted, where he saithe there be sixe or seven provinces which are all affectionate to the catholicke religion and to the Scottish Queene; and that neere unto Scotlande they are moste catholicke and warlicke, because they have daylie exercise in armes againste the Scots of the frontyers.

That there be stoare of horsemen which they use in those warres, as likewise in tyme of peace againste the inroads of those that come to robbe them.

In this contrie neerest unto Scotland there are onlye fower greate lords, who keepe the straights and passages of England and possesse the parte on the west sea, which all will take our parte.

There is like wise specifyed some authority the Pope shoulde give to the bishop of Dunelme, as is saide in another place before, to denounce excommunication to all save to soche as shall repenting them selves with purpose to be confessed joyne to the army. It shall serve to the purpose likewise soche as the preists in England have confessed.

To appointe to the generall two choice men of both the nacyons to take awaie and appease soche differences as may rise betwene the two nacyons.

That one likewise have ecclesiasticall power to declare the excommunication againste the Queene and doe other ecclesiasticall matters, which shalbe put in vulgare Englishe, partely to declare to the people the force of excommunication against hereticall Princes, partelie to let them understand the cruelty and [1] of the Queene nowe rayninge and to manifest to all men the right of the Queene of Scots. These bookes are allready written, thoughe not printed, and staie the awnswere from Roome.

Reasons to shewe the easines of the enterprise.

As for the contrie of England, easie to overcomme with a fewe forces.

Fewe fortresses or stronge holdes in the lande; so as one army woulde suffice to end that warre.

The people gyven to change and alteration cheifly when they see some beginninge or assurance.

For our stories doe declare howe a fewe and weake have overcome a greate manie, as it is evident in the victorie of Henry the VII[th] Kinge of Englande, who with a fewe

[1] Blank space for a word in the MS.

strangers and some intelligence with, &c. And to set forthe this pointe more cleerly, in the tyme of Queene Mary, wife to the Catholicke Kinge yet lyvinge, a private man[1] risinge up againste her led his armye even unto London. Of other tymes wee have likewise manie examples of base men, vid. poore artisans and people, beinge discontentid have overrun the greater parte of the realme, &c.

Of the disposition of the realme for this enterprise.

Firste the catholicks without anie exception doe favor or rather doe greately desire some soche enterprise: firste and cheifely, for the greate desire they have of the restitution of the catholicke faith: secondly, for the righte and interest which the Queene of Scots hath to the kingdome, and to deliver her out of prison, where thus manie yeares againste the lawe of nations she remayneth to the offence of the dignity of Ma^tie royall: thirdlye for the greate trouble and miserie which they endure more and more, the which in deede is intollerable. Besides this the Queene of England havinge made nue lawes dothe beginne to execute those lawes, for so moche as toucheth the confiscation of their goods, in soche sorte as in shorte tyme she would reduce the catholicks to extreame povertie.

The faction of the catholicks in England is greate and able if the kingdome were devided into three partes to make twoe of them. But because there is no fortresse in all the contry where they maye remayne in suertie while they gather forces together, and that there are officers of the Queenes alwaies which have eye over them that they can not moove without beinge seene and taken, allthoughe they are the greater parte of the realme, notwithstandinge they dare not rise without some beginninge of forraine forces. For firste all the catholicks and knowen for soche in England remaine despoiled of all the offices, magistracies, favors, honors and other commodityes of the estate, which have ben graunted them in other Princes dayes, and have ben all waies duringe this tyme and raine so kepte under, and dishonored in their contryes and sheeres that they have no kinde of authority beside the love of the people, which they can not take from them by all the injuryes offred them. Moreover in publique justice and in soche matters as they have in the lawe they are used with greate disfavour and intollerable partiallity for the disgrace of the Queene most greevous which they sustaine, which is to be subjecte to punishmentes, tormentinge and condemnation to unjuste deathe, confiscation of their goods, the barbarous separation of the wives from their husbands, the extreame povertie of very manye servaunts and greate misery of their masters and lords, all which thinges make the catholicks desirous of this enterprise for their delyverance out of this bondage.

Then there followeth a devision of the realme into twoe partes: the one of earles, barons, knightes and esquiors, the which are able all of them to conducte and bringe men of theire owne charges: the seconde is of yeomen, the which (he saithe) for the

[1] Sir Thomas Wyat.

moste parte are catholicks. Moreover there are not a fewe banished men for religion which woulde retorne to seconde this enterprise. And concerninge the heretickes, they are devided into two or three factions in respecte of succession to the crowne, and verie manie of them doe favor the righte of the Scottish Queene, and a greate nomber are discontented with the present government, partelie for the [1] , partly for the unworthines of the cownsailors, men of base sorte, which have already drawne unto them selves the whole government excludinge from the same all the nobilitye of England; besides that there are a moste infynite nomber of those which have and doe receave particuler offence and oppression of the favorites of the Queene.

The credyt of the D. of Lenox is set forthe. The state of Scotland is at this presente subjecte to sodaine mutation, whereby the D. of Lenox and the L. Seton, the principall foundation of this enterprise, maie be made awaye; which importeth them more then the person of the Kinge himselfe.

The catholicks of Englande are broughte to that straight, and wilbe reduced to that povertie that they shall not be able to houlde out.

Wherefore nowe is the tyme, if ever it be the pleasure of God to reduce these two kingdomes under one empire, which wolde be a moste happie thinge. Wherefore his Hollines shoulde, &c., whereby should ensue the fynall peace of the churche, &c.

Finally the said Queene (as it were to accomplishe her tyrannie) did cause to be published the 4th of Aprill laste paste,[2] and so hathe declared to the people, that they should holde the catholicks for capitall ennemyes unto her person and state; and so declareth and commaundeth to all her subjects by that proclamation so to accoumpte and reporte them, that is, all those that are of the catholicke religion or which within the realme of England shall receave Jesuits or priests or which in anie sorte shall shewe themselves to be catholicks. By the which proclamation and others published before to that effecte the catholicks are proclaymed to be ennemies and traitors to the Queene without anie cause, and by the same meanes are every day in danger of their life. Whence it is come to passe that they are allready resolved rather to take armes to attempte their delyverance by anye other meanes that they maie then thus to become the praye of hereticks which stande over them every daye to cut of theire heads.

CCLXX.

The confessions of F. William Creighton, S.J., in the Tower. 1584.

From a contemporary document among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum. Galba, C. X. 322.

William Creytons confession what he had hard spoken.

It was determined at Rome, the D. of Lenox should attempte the deliverie of the Scottishe Queene.

[1] A blank in the MS. [2] This proclamation was given at Greenwich, 1 April, 1582. See Strype's Annals, Vol. III., pt. 1, p. 120.

The plott set downe by the B. of Domblaine touchinge Scotland, and by an English gentleman concerninge England.

The Pope and King of Spaine should furnish the Duke with x^m men, Spaniards and Frenche. They to land at Dumbarton: on the borders of Scotland to joine with the banisht lords of England.

The D. of Lenox would have with him the greatest part of the realme.

The D. of Guise should invade the sowth of England with 4 or 5000 men. He should be receaved theare and should passe to London; her Ma^ties forces beinge occupied in the northe.

That the matter pleased the Pope, but the enterprise to great for him alone. He would willingly joine with the Spanish Kinge. The King answered he would concurre, when time should serve.

The enterprise failed by the deathe of the D. of Lenox.[1] He supposeth the intention remainethe.

Plottes presented to the D. of Guise to land in the partes of England nearest France, to passe with fissher boates. Others of opinion he should begin neare Scotland. The English confederates, that he should attempt on the coast of England to deliver the Queen, being assured of her religion. The Scottish King being constant in his religion, no trust to be put in him. Neither would they make this expense to advance him.

That the Pope should contribute the 4 part of the chardge and the Sp. the rest. The King continued an imposition uppon the clergie of Spaine for that 4th part.

William Creitons second confession.

That he received the discourses, Latin, Italian and French of his superior at Paris.[2] He supposeth his superior had them of the D. of Guise, whoe used him familiarlie. The Latin discourse did conteine a condolencie of the Scottish Queenes longe imprisonment and sickness, &c. Hir constancie in the catholicque faithe. What diligence she should use to restoare that faithe, rentes and liberties ecclesiastical. And the like for the conversion of her sonne, the King, to that faithe. If he should persist obstinat, to give him her malediction.

The effect of Creitons third writinge.

His conference with the Pope was onelie as followeth.

That theare was no catholique service publique in anie part of Scotlande. How little hope theare was of the reduction of that realme. Of the Kings education in religion. The best waie for his Holines was to norish gentlemens sonnes in catholique schooles and to augment the rentes of the seminaries.

That at his retorne to Lions he was visited by an English gentleman called Arundell.

[1] See p. 415 *supra*.

[2] F. Claude Mathieu, S.J., provincial of France.

That the author of the Italian discourse shall hardlie be fownd out; but in the margin he noteth George Golbert.[1]

That at his first retorne into Scotland he had in charge by his Generall to sownd the disposition of the nation for the receivinge of Jesuites. At his retowrne he declared he found noe entertainment for men of his order and profession.

CCLXXI.

The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. Paris, 10 March, 1585.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 17).

Cifra del Nuntio di Francia. Parigi, 10 Marzo, 1585.

Questo Thomaso Morgano e tenuto qui da molti, et massimamente da nostri padri Giesuiti, per un tristo; et nondimeno la Regina di Scotia si fidava piu in lui che nel suo proprio ambasciatore, si come esso stesso ambasciatore mi ha detto piu volte. Ragionando alcuna fiata con esso Morgano ho compreso che egli sa tutte le cose, se ben da me non ha mai inteso cosa alcuna; et ho ancora conosciuto che egli era molto intrinseco di Guglielmo Pary, et sapeva il disegno che egli havea. Alcuni di questi Inglesi vorebbono che io aiutassi appresso il Re Christianissimo detto Morgano, ma io andero in cio molto trattenuto per non mostrare di esser partecipe di quel che gli e apposto.[2] Il padre provinciale de Giesuiti mi ha detto hoggi che il padre Critone e stato interrogato in Inghilterra se sa che S. S^{ta} habbia depositato 12^{m} scudi in mano del padre Claudio, Giesuita, per far ammazzare la Regina di Inghilterra; la quale interrogatione e stata fatta dopo la prigionia di detto Guglielmo Parry.

CCLXXII.

The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. 18 April, 1585.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [Vol.] 18).

Mi riferisce un amico mio Inglese, buon cattolico, d'haver nuova ultimamente da Rens ch'erano state intercette alcune lettere de la sopradetta Reina d'Inghilterra scritte al Duca di Boglione,[3] segnalato heretico, per le quali lo pregava strettissima-

[1] George Gilbert is probably meant. He died at Rome, 6 October, 1583.

[2] Thomas Morgan had been arrested and imprisoned by order of the French King at the solicitation of Queen Elizabeth of England, who had claimed that he should be delivered over to her on the ground that Parry had accused him of being a partner in his plot, real or pretended, to assassinate her. The French King refused to give up Morgan, and after a time released him from prison.

[3] Bouillon.

mente a far opera perche fosse ammazzato il signor Alano, dottore, di quel collegio Inglese.

CCLXXIII.

The Nuncio in France (Ragazzoni) to the Cardinal of Como. 7 October, 1585.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (Archivio Vaticano, Gallica Nuntiatura [*Vol.*] 18).

Il vescovo di Bergamo, Nuntio, al Cardinale di Como. 7 Ottobre, 1585.

Sara presentatore di questa lettera il dottor Guglielmo Alano, Inglese, prefetto del seminario degli Inglesi a Rens. Il qual dottore e tenuto qui, et e veramente conosciuto da me, per huomo di ardentissimo zelo verso la fede cattolica, per amor anco de la quale ha lasciata la patria, et e in queste parti como il porto di rifugio di tutti li cattolici che partino da quel regno. E poi di vita innocentissima et di esquisita dottrina, come a me pare. Le quali tutte cose io, perche mi truovo qui, ho voluto scrivere a V. S. Ill^{ma}, non perche credi che questo buon servo di Dio habbia bisogno di questo mio testimonio, ma per satisfar in cio a me stesso et a la verita.

CCLXXIV.

Pope Sixtus V. to Philip II. Rome, 25 July, 1589.

From the Roman transcripts in the Public Record Office, London (*Archivio Vaticano, Ottoboni MSS.*, 2640, *fol.* 578).

Copia de carta escrita del Papa Sisto V. al Señor Rey Don Felippe II. en la ocasion de armar contra Inglaterra.[1]

Sisto Papa V.

Carisimo in Cristo hijo, salud y Apostolica benedicion. El Señor Conde de Olivares, embasador de V. M^d, me a propuesto en su nombre tres cosas.

La primera, que quiriendo V. M^d continuar la impresa de Inglaterra si tengo la misma resolucion que tenia el anno 1587 de dar el ayuda que prometi. Respondi que Si.

La segunda, si queria anticipar la paga. Respondi que No. Porque V. M. con-

[1] Although according to the testimony of Count de Olivares Sixtus V. had a good knowledge of Spanish (p. 251 *supra*) it seems unlikely that the Pope would have written to a sovereign in any other language than Italian or Latin. Moreover he undoubtedly used Italian in his letter to Philip II. when announcing Allen's promotion to the Cardinalate (p. 298). Perhaps therefore this document may be a translation and not a copy of the original letter.

sume tanto tiempo en consultar sus impresas que quando llega la hora de executarlas se a pasado el tiempo y consumido el dinero.

La tercera, si prosperando Dios, nuestro Señor, la impresa si segnase aquel regno, si daria yo algun cosa de mas de lo que tengo ofrecido. Respondi que Si. Y en buena cantidad, porque tengo con que poder lo haçer. Yo lo e procurado solo para acabar la impresa. A me pedido al[1] Señor Conde escriva estos renglones a V. M., y asi lo hago de mi propria mano, y de Dios a V. M. todo bien, y en[2] le inbio la bendicion Apostolica y la mia. De Roma, dia del glorioso Santiago Apostol. 1589.

CCLXXV.

Philip II. to Pope Sixtus V. Aranjuez, 10 November, 1589.

From a copy in the archives of the kingdom of Belgium.[3]

Extrait du volume intitulé: "Patentes ecclésiastiques, 1588—1596," fol. 12.

Nomination à l'archevesché de Malines pour le Cardinal Alanus, Anglois: de Aranjuez, le 10e de Novembre, 1589.

Sanctissimo in Christo patri, domino Sixto Quinto, divina Providentia sanctæ Romanæ ac universalis ecclesiæ Pontifici Maximo, Philippus Dei gratia Hispaniarum, utriusque Siciliæ, Hierusalem, etc. Rex; Archidux Austriæ; Dux Burgundiæ, Lothrici, Brabantiæ, Limburgi, Luxemburgi, Geldriæ et Mediolani; Comes Habspurgi, Flandriæ, Artesiæ, Burgundiæ, Tirolis; Palatinus et Hannoniæ, Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, Namurci et Zutphaniæ; Princeps Sueviæ; Marchio Sacri Romani Imperii; Dominus Frisiæ, Salinarum, Mechliniæ, civitatis, oppidorum et territorii Trajectensis, Trans-Issulanæ et Grœnighæ, necnon Dominator in Asia, et Africa, salutem, felicitatem et filialem observantiam.

Sanctissime Pater; Quum tam jure regaliæ, quod prædecessoribus nostris et nobis ad ecclesias nostrarum ditionum in Inferiori Germania sive Belgio sitas, præcipue vero ad ecclesiam Mechliniensem, specialiter et antiquitus competere dignoscitur, quam ex indulto et concessione nobis facta per Paulum Quartum felicis memoriæ Pontificem Maximum, Beatitudinis vestræ in ista Sancta Sede prædecessorem, nobis concessum datumque sit ad archiepiscopatus et episcopatus in iisdem nostris ditionibus et provinciis Germaniæ Inferioris et Belgii personas idoneas nobis acceptas et gratas (prout in Bulla desuper expedita continetur) Beatitudini vestræ nominare et præsentare ut de illis ad nominationem et præsentationem nostram provideatur:—ne diutius ecclesiæ illarum provinciarum pastorum solatio careant, hisce præsertim deplorandis temporibus et rerum fluctuatione in qua eorum præsentia et vigilantia imprimis est necessaria quo dominia illa nostra patrimonialia in avita nostra catholica religione

[1] *el?* [2] *en* seems to be superfluous.

[3] I am indebted for a transcript of this document to the kind courtesy of M. Gachard, archiviste général du royaume de Belgique.

Romana sine labe et scandalo conserventur; ad archiepiscopatum Mechliniensem, qui jam pridem vacat *per obitum quondam Johannis Henchin*,[1] ultimi possessoris, admodum reverendum in Christo patrem, nobis amicum charissimum, Guilielmum Alanum, natione Anglum, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ Cardinalem, cujus merita in Sanctam istam Sedem et pietatem zelumque et studium in nostram religionem catholicam Romanam habemus perspecta, necnon vitæ ac morum integritatis et literaturæ contemplatione, Sanctitati vestræ ut personam idoneam nobis acceptam per has literas præsentamus et nominamus; ab eaque qua decet humilitate et reverentia petimus ut supra dictum Cardinalem Alanum ad hanc nostram nominationem et præsentationem eidem Mechliniensi ecclesiæ præficere et providere velit, necnon diplomata prout in similibus fieri consuevit expedire jubeat. Quod et Deo erit gratissimum et Sanctitas vestra et nos officio nostro satisfecisse videbimur quum ecclesiæ Mechliniensi talis præficiatur vir, qualis ad ejusdem administrationem poterat desiderari. Deus Optimus Maximus Beatitudinem vestram regimini, conservationi et incremento suæ sanctæ et universalis ecclesiæ diu et felicissime servet incolumem. Datum in villa nostra de Aranjuez Castellæ regni, die decima mensis Novembris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo nono.

CCLXXVI.

Testimonial from Dr Owen Lewis, bishop of Cassano, to Mr Thomas Morgan. Cassano, 24 February, 1590.

From the original[2] *in the archives of the see of Westminster.* IV. 88 *bis.* *Printed also in Dodd, Vol.* II., *p.* 267.

Audoenus, Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia episcopus sanctæ ecclesiæ Cassanensis, omnibus et singulis Christi fidelibus ad quos istæ nostræ literæ pervenient attestamur et in verbo prælati notum testatumque facimus et affirmamus nos Romæ, die 23 mensis Septembris, 1586, recepisse literas notis secretis seu signis, quæ cyphræ vocantur, idiomate Anglico exaratas et ad nos scriptas per serenissimam claræ memoriæ Mariam nuper Scotiæ Reginam ex Charteley, loco captivitatis ejus in Anglia, die ultimo mensis Aprilis ejusdem anni 1586, quæ explicatæ et scriptæ characteribus vulgaribus verbatim hujus inferius sequentis sunt tenoris. 'Trustie and welbeloved friende, by my servant Thomas Morgan I have understoode the contynuency of your good will towardes me and the restablishing of myne estate: wherupon, confyrming in my selfe the assurance which heretofore I have hadd of you, I have made choise of you in speciall to imparte and yelde in my name my obedience unto our Holye Father,' etc. Et inferius.

[1] The words in italics are underlined in the transcript.

[2] The document is a draft with corrections in the handwriting of Dr Owen Lewis, bishop of Cassano, with the exception however of the part containing the extract from the letter of Mary Queen of Scots and the translation of the same, which is in a different hand.

'I can not omytt to recomend most effectuallie unto his Holynes good helpe the povertie and neede of the Inglishe and Scottishe seminaries, as also diverse gentlemen of this realme for God his cause and myne, whom it greeveth me to the bottome of my harte that my owne meanes maye not reache to supporte according to ther deserts and my obligation towardes them; amongest the which is the sayde poore Morgan, unto whom as all readie you have shewed no smale frendshippe, and therefor obliged me to geve you noe smale thankes, soe I praye you contynue in his behalfe and for his fidelitie and integritie to answere in my name particularlie, wher soe ever it shalbe requisite, upon the right good experience I have thereof and wolde be unthankefull yf I shold not geve testimonie of the same against his adversaries and calumniators who ever they be,' et cætera. Quæ verba Anglica Latine pene verbatim ita reddi possunt:—'Fidelis et admodum dilecte amice; Ex meo servitore, Thoma Morgano, intellexi continuationem tuæ erga me benevolentiæ et erga restaurationem hujus mei status; unde, confirmata in illa assecuratione quam hactenus de te concepi, te nominatim elegi ut impertias et reddas meo nomine meam obedientiam Sanctissimo nostro Patri,' etc. Et inferius:—'Interim non possum omittere quin pro Dei causa et mea suæ Sanctitatis auxilio commendem paupertatem et necessitatem seminariorum Anglicorum et Scotorum et plurimorum quoque virorum nobilium hujus regni, et ex intimo corde doleo quod meæ propriæ non suppetunt vires ut eos ita juvem uti et eorum requirunt merita et mea erga eos debita postulat obligatio: in quorum numero est ille superius nominatus pauper Morganus, erga quem quemadmodum ostendisti non parvam hactenus benevolentiam, et eo nomine me tibi ad non parvas gratias referendas obstrinxisti, ita ego te rogo ut in te officium suscipias respondendi meo nomine de ejus fide et integritate nominatim, ubicunque opus erit, ex maturo et securo experimento quod ego de eo feci; atque ingrata plane forem si id ego non testarer liquido contra omnes ejus adversarios et calumniatores, quicunque sint illi,' et cætera. Proinde ut eidem [*nobili, probo et catholico viro*][1] D. Thomæ Morgano [*nostro conterraneo charissimo*][1] suæ probitatis et integritatis hæc honestissima [*hæc et debita ejus meritis*][1] commendatio et regium serenissimæ et præstantissimæ illius Reginæ testimonium [*ad perpetuam ejus laudem et*][1] ad ejus defensionem apud omnes et ubique perpetuo conservetur, nos optima fide superiora omnia ex ejusdem serenissimæ Reginæ ad nos literis extraximus, traduximus et hic inseri fecimus, et ad majorem omnium probationem istis nostris publicis tabulis nostra propria manu signatis nostrum sigillum imprimi jussimus. Datum Cassani in Calabria ex nostro palatio episcopali, sexto Calend. Martii, 1590.

AUDOENUS, EPISCOPUS CASSANEN.

[1] Cancelled by a line drawn through the words.

CCLXXVII.

Reply to M^gr^ Pegna regarding the affairs of England.[1] 27 January, 1597.

From a contemporary copy in the archives of the see of Westminster. VI., 29.

Tre soli modi sono per la recuperatione d'Inghilterra, ciò è, per forza, per arte o per accordo. Delli dui primi ho già dato in scritto il mio parere al sign^re^ Duca. Resta adesso l'ultimo modo, il quale veramente è il più desperato, per ciò che con quelle arme che saranno da bisogno per facillitare un honorato accordo con restitutione della fede catolica, con quelle, giungendosi un poco d'arte, si potrebbe disponere del regno senza accordo. Et dell' altra banda per far accordo senza toccare il negotio della fede, o vero con semplice libertà di conscienza solo, parirebbe cosa indegna del sangue già sperso de tanti martiri. Nondimeno dirò realmente quello che mi corre in mente in torno a questo terzo modo, per esser cosa da me domandata.

Il trattare dunque un tal accordo si può intendere in dui modi, o apertamente con la Regina, o secretamente con quelli che governano le facende sue; et questo poi o con la parte contraria a Cecilio o vero con esso Cecilio.

Per trattare accordo aperto con la Regina entrano tutte queste difficoltà:—la restitutione delli luoci usurpati, il riparo delli danni fatti per mare et per terra, il non agiutare più li ribelli Holandesi, il stabillimento del regno dopo la sua morte a un Re catolico, la sicurezza delli catolici per il presente, et il modo come s'haverà de stabilire le cose sudette con buona sicurtà. Alle quale conditioni, quando ella si trovasse in alcun pericolo, la necessità la potrebbe sforzare de condescendere piutosto che di perdere il regno, ma senza tal necessità poco effetto si può sperare de tal trattato.

Dell' altra banda per trattare accordo secreto con li ministri della Regina, questo bisogna che habbia relatione o al tempo presente o al futuro: si al presente, haverà d'includere la depositione della Regina; si al futuro, la dispositione del regno dopo la morte sua; et nel uno et altro modo bisogna per forza che entra la subornatione, et che entri ancora per sicurezza delli subornati la conseguente morte della Regina quanto prima, altramente scoprendosi il negotio il trattato divetarà[2] vano.

Di modo che pigliando per fondamento di tal trattato la subornatione parirebbe che la parte contraria a Cecilio, il capo delli quali è il Conte d'Essexa, non meno potente apresso la Regina per la sua persona che Cecilio per l'ingenio, sarebbe la più facile a subornare;—per esser il detto Conte sottoposto a grandissima spesa et carico de grandissimi debiti; per esser egli novo consigliere et che non abbracia le cose cominciate dal Cecilio come sue; per haversi egli già scopertosi contrario a tutti li modi de governo de Cecilio con haver più volte anteposta la via di pace a quella della guerra; per trovarsi egli in grand pavura, si morisse la Regina, della tiranide de Cecilio et li

[1] See Tierney's Dodd, Vol. III., Append. p. lxvii.

[2] *diventerà?*

suoi; et per havere egli già proposto al serenissimo Archiduca Herneste[1] (se sia vero quello che in questa materia è stata scritta alla bona memoria del Cardinale Alano) d'accettare provisione del Re di Spagna. Che sono tutti inditii de speranza de potere cavare da lui qualche servitio; il mezzo del quale potra esser un Inglese, chiamato Antonio Standeno,[2] altre volte servitore del Grand Duca morto, poi de sua Ma^tà Catolica, et adesso sta con il detto Conte in Inghilterra, et facilmente haverà intelligenza tuttavia con alcuno di quelli politici Inglesi che stanno in Fiandra per la longa amicicia che hebbe con loro et per esser stato semper egli di quella fattione.

Hora per vedere dell' altra banda che partito ancora si potrebbe sperare da Cecilio, non è dissimile, per esser egli anco politico, che lui sarebbe secondariamente contento d'havere qualche dependenza sotto mano con qualsivoglia Principe catolico che potesse succedere alla corona d'Inghilterra, per supportar così la casa sua in evento che li suoi altri dissegni non andassero bene. Et di questo habbiamo alcun inditio per mezzo d'un matrimonio già proposto tra un suo parente et una nipota del Cardinale Alano, al che il Cardinale non diede orechio, dubitando qualche fraude in quello che lo propose, che morì poco fa in Fiandra. Era este certo Moody.[3]

Ma ch' il Cecilio volesse mai mettere realmente nel primo luoco tutta la sua fortuna, havendo egli come archiheretico fatti tanti ingiurii alla parte catolica et da loro anco ricevuto molti, sopra qualsivoglia accordo con alcun Principe cattolico non è da credere per le seguenti ragioni: cioè, per non voler egli periclitare il presente suo prosperoso stato alla sorte d'esser scoperto tal trattato alli suoi nimici avanti che fosse maturo; per havere egli già maritata la più propinqua sua parente[4] con un heretico principe Inglese del sangue regio, con dissegno (come s'imagina) de seguitare dopo la morte della Regina la fortuna sua, il quale con consenzo de Cecilio si da d'intendere alli cattolici sotto mano ch'egli, morta la Regina, vuol esser catolico, quantumque li principali catolici stimano la restitutione della fede per una marcantia tropa pretiosa d'esser venduta così a credito; per che egli s'oppose più in tempo della Regina Maria contra l'havere un Re forastiero che nessun altro, del che segui una grand ribellione con pericolo d'havere deposta quella Regina; et per haver egli già gabbato sotto questi pretesti d'accordo con li catolici et l'Imperatore et il Grand Duca et il Cardinale

[1] The Archduke Ernest, governor of the Low countries (1594—1595).

[2] "Severall letters of Fa. Persons, anno 1604, concerning Sir Antony Standen, who had been sent by K. James to severall Princes of Italy to inform them of his cominge to the crowne, and without or perhaps against his masters order came also to Rome to have the blessing of the Pope, who gave him severall things of devotion for the Queene; for which cause he was putt in prison in London, Feb. 1604." Stonyhurst MSS. F. Grene's Notes, P. 476. F. Persons wrote thus to him, 6 Oct. 1603: 'The much good you have spoken and imprinted every where of our niew King doth comfort us all, and hath made great motion in strangers harts, and so much the more, for that of many yeares they know you for a catholic." Ib. 421.

[3] *era este certo Moody* is in darker ink. See First and Second Douay Diaries, p. 404.

[4] Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Earl of Oxford by Ann his wife, daughter of William Cecil first Lord Burleigh, married William Earl of Derby, 26 Jan., 1594-5. Stow's Ann., p. 769.

Alano, a chi si mandò in tempo di questo Papa uno in secreto per proponere un tal negotio, ma tutto finto, et però come dice il grand eloquente Latino *ex fraude, fallaciis et mendaciis constare toti videntur.*

Nientedimeno, quando alcun altro che sa in questi negotii più di me sarà d'oppinione che sia cosa conveniente cominciare con Cecilio alcun tal accordo, all'hora il meglior modo di trattarlo parirebbe questo, di metter la spia a un suo nipote che sta adesso (come si dice) in Fiorenza per pigliarlo, quando partirà da là, in alcun stato del Re Cattolico o verso Napoli o verso Milano, dove si potrebbe tenerlo fin a tanto che il vechio Cecilio mandarà alcuno per trattare la sua liberatione, et con essi dui insieme si potrebbe trattare il sudetto accordo, tornando il messagiero in Inghilterra per quel effetto, et tenendo l'altro per pegno fin che torna, per che nessun bon catolico sarà atto per questo manegio, essendo stato uno accusato et impiccato quatro anni fa per un simile negotio;[1] et questo è tutto quello ch' m'occorre dire in questa materia.

Endorsed.

Un aviso alli ministri del Re di Spagna della difficoltà de potere far bon accordo con la Regina d'Inghilterra.

Also in another hand.

La risposta alla domanda de Monsig^re^ Pegna intorno al far accordo con Cecilio: fatto a di 27 Genua^re^, 1597.

CCLXXVIII.

Inquisitio post mortem Georgii Allen, fratris Cardinalis Allen. Preston, 12 January, 1579-80.

From the original in the Public Record Office, London (Ducatus Lancastriæ Inquisitiones post mortem. Vol. 14, n. 80).

Lanc. Inquisicio identitatis capta apud Preston in Amoundernes in comitatu Lancastriæ prædicto, die Martis, videll., duodecimo die Januarii, anno regni Elizabethæ, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginæ, fidei defensoris, etc. vicesimo secundo, coram Johanne Culchethe et Alexandro Rigbie, armigeris, et Gilberto Moreton, generoso, feodario dictæ dominæ Reginæ in com. præd., commissionerüs dictæ dominæ Reginæ, virtute commissionis ejusdem dominæ Reginæ in natura Brevis de *diem clausit extremum* post mortem Georgii Allen generosi eisdem commissionerüs directæ et huic Inquisicioni annex. per sacramentum Thomæ Whittingham generosi, Roberti Mygeall generosi, Willelmi Latewis generosi, Georgii Beisley generosi, Willelmi Bannester generosi, Antonii Walls generosi, Ricardi Walton generosi, Willelmi Walton de Walton in Ledale generosi, Radulphi Serjante generosi, Johannis Walsheman generosi, Ricardi Farrington generosi, Georgii Walton generosi, Alexandri Lyvesey generosi et Willelmi Charneley generosi, QUI DICUNT super sacramentum suum quod quidam

[1] Richard Hesketh, executed at St. Albans, 29 November, 1593.

Johannes Allen generosus defunctus, pater prædicti Georgii Allen in dicta commissione nominati, in vita sua fuit seisitus in dominio suo ut de feodo de et in sex mesuagiis, octo cotagiis, quadraginta acris terræ arrabilis, decem acris prati, quadraginta acris pasturæ, sexaginta acris moræ et turbariæ cum suis pertinentiis in Pulton in Amoundernes, Thorneton, Hamleton, Northbreck, Ellell, Magna Bysphum et Forton in comitatu prædicto: et sic inde seisitus existens per cartam suam datam vicesimo sexto die Julii anno regni dictæ dominæ Reginæ nunc Elizabethæ quinto dedit, concessit et per prædictam cartam suam confirmavit prædicto Georgio Allen et Elizabeth uxori suæ omnia præd. mesuag., terras, tenementa et hæreditamenta sua quæcumque cum suis pertin. in Thorneton, Hamleton, Pulton, Ellell, Forton, Bysphum et Northbreck præd. adtunc in tenuris Jacobi Horton, Johannis Hoole junioris, Willelmi Hoggarde, Willelmi Hogeson, Johannis Howle, Elenæ Tynkler viduæ, Willelmi Rowcrosse, Thomæ Pateson, Johannis Welbye, Thomæ Caton, Rogeri Gardener, Aliciæ Mason viduæ, Willelmi Rossehall, Roberti Grene, Johannis Slaye et Alexandri Dulson capellani, aut assignatorum suorum, habendum et tenend. omnia prædicta mesuagia, terras, tenementa et hæreditamenta in prædicta carta express. et specificat. præfatis Georgio Allen et Elizabeth uxori ejus et assignatis suis ad terminum vitæ prædictorum Georgii et Elizabeth et alterius eorum diucius viventis remanere; inde post decessum præd. Georgii et Elizabeth hæredibus masculis de corpore præd. Georgii legitime procreatis; et pro defectu talis exitus remanere inde rect. heredibus præfati Johannis Allen imperpetuum, prout per cartam prædictam manu propria et sigillo ipsius Johannis Allen signatam et sigillatam, ac possessione et seisina inde coram testibus fide dignis capt. et deliberat, et juratoribus præd. super capcionem hujus Inquisicionis in evidenc. ostens. plenius liquet et apparet. Virtute cujus quidem cartæ præd. Georgius Allen et Elizabeth uxor ejus in præd. mesuag., terr. et ceteris præmissis cum suis pertin. in præd. carta expressis et specificatis intraverunt et fuerunt inde seisiti in dominio suo ut de libero tenemento pro termino vitæ eorundem Georgii et Elizabeth et eorum alterius diucius viventis, juxta univer. formam et effectum cartæ præd. AC ETIAM pred. jurator. dicunt super sacramentum suum quod præd. Johannes Allen ante obitum suum fuit similiter seisitus in dominio suo ut de feodo de et in uno mesuagio et viginti acris terræ cum pertin. in Warton in Amoundernes in com. præd; ac de et in duobus mesuagiis et viginti acr. terr. cum pertin. in Merton in com. præd.; necnon de et in sex mesuagiis, quatuor cotagiis et viginti sex acris terræ arrabilis, prati et pasturæ et quadraginta acris moræ et turbariæ cum suis pertin. in Plumpton, Thisleton, Hayholme, Thorneton, Northbreck et Cleveley in com. præd. Et sic inde seisitus existens in vita sua fecit et condidit testamentum sive ultimam voluntatem suam in scriptis, et per eandem voluntatem dedit, legavit et concessit cuidam Gabrieli Allen filio suo juniori omnia illa prædicta duo mesuag. sive tenementa sua cum pertin. in Merton præd. adtunc in tenuris sive occupacionibus Nicholai Sanderson et Johannis Fraunce, annualis redditus viginti octo solidorum, habendum præfato Gabrieli Allen

et assignatis suis durante vita naturali ipsius Gabrielis, prout per prædict. testam. dat. sexto die Aprilis, Anno Domini 1569, juratoribus præd. super capcionem hujus Inquisicionis in evidenc. ostens. plenius liquet. Virtute cujus præd. Gabriell in præd. mesuagiis cum pertin. intravit, et fuit et adhuc est inde possessionatus pro termino vitæ suæ juxta formam testamenti præd. Qui quidem Gabriell adhuc superstes et in plena vita existit, videll., apud Talderstathe in com. præd. Et præd. Johannes Allen sic de resid. omnium mesuag., terr. tenementorum et ceterorum præmissorum supradict. cum suis pertin. in Plumpton, Thisleton, Hayholme, Thorneton, Northbreck, Cleveley et Merton prædict. seisitus existens de tali statu obiit inde seisitus. Post cujus mortem omnia et singula præmissorum cum suis pertin. in possessionem et revercionem descendebant et de jure descendere debent præfato Georgio Allen in dicta commissione nominato ut filio et heredi præd. Johannis Allen. Qui quidem Georgius in prædictis mesuag., terr. et ceteris præmissis cum pertin, ut prædict. [est,][1] intravit et fuit inde seisitus, videll., de præd. mesuagiis, terris et ceteris præmissis cum pertin. in Thorneton, Hamleton, Pulton, Ellell, Forton, Bysphum, Northbreck præd., ut in carta prædict. exprimitur et declaratur: ac de et in revercione prædictorum mesuagiorum cum pertin. in Merton post mortem præd. Gabriell Allen: et de prædictis mesuagiis et ceteris præmissis cum pertin. in Warton, Plumpton, Thisleton, Hayholme, Thorneton, Northbreck, Cleveley cum pertin. seisitus existens de tali statu obiit inde seisitus. Post cujus quidem prædicti Georgii Allen mortem prædicta Elizabeth, uxor prædicti Georgii, in præd. mesuag., terris et ceteris præmissis cum suis pertin. in prædicta carta expressis et specificatis intravit, et fuit et adhuc est inde seisita in dominio suo ut de libero tenemento pro termino vitæ suæ, et exitus et profic. inde provenient. percepit et habuit et adhuc percipit et habet virtute donacionis prædictæ. Quæ quidem Elizabeth adhuc superstes et in plena vita existit, videll., apud Talderstath præd. in com. præd. ET ULTERIUS juratores præd. dicunt super sacramentum suum quod prædict. mesuag. et viginti acr. terr. cum suis pertin. in Warton in Amoundernes in com. præd. tenentur de Thoma Singleton de Broghton in com. præd. generoso per servic. militar.[2] Qui quidem Thomas Singleton tenet prædict. manerium de Warton in Amoundernes in com. præd. (de quo quidem manerio prædict. mesuag. et viginti acr. terr. prædict. cum pertin. in Warton prædict. sunt parcell) de dicta domina Regina nunc ut de ducatu suo Lanc. per servic. militar. Qui quidem Thomas Singleton est infra ætatem et in custodia dictæ dominæ Reginæ nunc racione minoris ætatis ejusdem Thomæ. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. tenementa et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Plumpton præd. tenentur de Cuthberto Clyfton armigero in socagio. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Hayholme præd. tenentur de Ricardo Shirburne milite in libero socagio. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr., tenementa et cetera præmissa cum suis

[1] *est* is interlined in different ink.

[2] There is a blank space left here, from which some six or seven words have been carefully erased.

pertin. in Pulton præd. tenentur de Willelmo Fletewood armigero in socagio. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Thorneton præd. tenentur de Henrico Comite Derb. in socagio. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertinen. in Hamleton præd. tenentur de præd. Ricardo Shirburne milite in socagio. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertinen. in Northbreck præd. tenentur de Edmondo Fletewood generoso in libero socagio. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Magna Bysphum præd. tenentur de præd. Willelmo Fletewood armigero in socagio. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Forton præd. tenentur de Francisco Holte armigero in socagio[1] et per redditum duorum deneriorum per annum pro omnibus serviciis. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et tenementa cum suis pertin. in Ellell præd. tenentur de Ricardo Molyneux armigero in socagio et per redditum quatuor solid. et quinque deneriorum per annum pro omnibus serviciis. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Cleveley præd. tenentur de Gilberto Gerrarde milite et Johanne Rigmayden armigero ut de manerio suo de Netherwyrsdale in libero socagio. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Merton præd. tenentur de Willelmo Fletewood armigero in socagio et per redditum viginti deneriorum per annum pro omnibus serviciis. ET ULTERIUS juratores præd. dicunt super sacramentum suum quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Warton in Amoundernes præd. valent per annum in omnibus exitibus ultra reprisas tresdecem solid. et quatuor denerios. Et quod prædict. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Plumpton, Thysleton et Hayholme præd. valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra repris. triginta solid. Et quod præd. mesuag, terr. et tenementa cum suis pertin. in Pulton, Thorneton, Hamleton, Ellell, Forton, Magna Bysphum, Northbreck præd. præfat. Georgio Allen et Elizabeth uxori ejus per præd. cart. concess. valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra reprisas quatuor libras. Et quod prædict. mesuag., terr. tenementa et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Plumpton, Thysleton, Hayholme, Thorneton, Northbreck, Cleveley et Merton præd. valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra reprisas quatuor mercas.[2] AC ETIAM præd. jurator. dicunt super sacramentum suum quod præd. Georgius Allen in dicta commissione nominatus nulla alia sive plura maneria, mesuag., terras aut tenementa habuit seu tenuit de dicta domina Regina nec de aliquo alio sive aliquibus aliis in dominio, revercione nec in servicio die quo obiit in dicto com. Lanc. aliter quam supradict. est. Et quod prædictus Georgius Allen obiit[3] nono die Augusti ultimo præterito. Et quod Johannes Allen est filius et hæres propinquior prædicti Georgii

[1] The sentence relating to the property in Forton from *et quod* to *in socagio* is interlined in differently coloured ink from that which has been used in the rest of the document.

[2] A mark was equal to 13s. 4d.

[3] See p. 219, *supra*, where in an ancient account of the leaseholds and personalty left by George Allen at his death it is erroneously stated that he died on August 21.

Allen. Et quod prædictus Johannes est ætatis die capcionis hujus Inquisicionis quatuordecim annorum quatuor mensium et sex dierum. IN CUJUS REI testimonium huic præsenti Inquisicioni tam prædicti comissionerii quam juratores prædicti sigilla sua apposuerunt. DAT. die, anno et loco primo supradictis.

ALEXANDER RIGBIE. per GILBERTUM MORETON.

CCLXXIX.

Inquisitio post mortem Johannis Allen, nepotis ex fratre Cardinalis Allen. Wigan, 3 April, 1612.

From the original in the Public Record Office, London (Ducatus Lancastriæ Inquisitiones post mortem. Vol. 20, n. 23).

Inquisicio[1] identitatis capta apud Wigan in com. Lanc., tertio die Aprilis, anno regni domini nostri Jacobi Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis, fidei defensoris, decimo et Scotiæ quadragesimo quinto, coram Edwardo Rigbie armigero, escactore comit. præd., Henrico Suthworth generoso, feodar. dicti domini Regis in com. præd., Jacobo Anderton de Lostock armigero, Jacobo Anderton de Clayton juniore generoso, et Thurstano Tildesley generoso, commissionariis dicti domini Regis virtute commissionis dicti domini Regis in natura Brevis de *mandamus ad inquirendum* post mortem Johannis Allen generosi defuncti eisdem commissionariis directæ et huic inquisicioni annexat., per sacramentum Richardi Hauhton de Parkehall armigeri, Hugonis Adlington de Adlington armigeri, Willelmi Chorley de Chorley armigeri, Roberti Mollineux de Wood generosi, Milonis Gerrard de Ince generosi, Wilhelmi Foarde de Swinley generosi, Roberti Markland de Wigan generosi, Thomæ Worthington de Crosley generosi, Johannis Baylieffe de Adlington generosi, Hugonis Challiner de Wigan generosi, Edwardi Markland de Wigan generosi, Willelmi Pilkington de Wigan generosi, Matthei Markland de Wigan generosi, Johannis[2] de Wigan generosi, Oliver Baron de Wigan generosi, Thomæ Tarleton de Wigan generosi,

[1] From this inquest it appears that John Allen at his death was seized of 15 messuages, 12 cottages, 66 acres of arable land, 10 acres of meadow, 40 acres of pasture, 40 acres of arable, meadow and pasture land, and 100 acres of moor and turf. This is the precise amount of the property by donation, inheritance and reversion, of which John's father, George, was seized when he died, as stated in the inquest made after his death. Moreover the two inquests agree in their account of the nature of the tenures and of the persons under whom George and John severally held. They further agree in omitting all notice of how and of whom the property at Thisleton was held, though they both allude to the existence of such property in their enumeration of the several portions of the estate. On the other hand they disagree in that the inquest at John's death speaks in general terms of his being seized of messuages, &c. in Carleton, Linton and Trimore, while the inquest at his father's death makes no mention of such places: and yet, as has been already remarked, the sum total of the possessions of George and John is the same. [2] The writing is worn away at this point.

Roberti Orrell de Wigan generosi, jurator.; QUI DICUNT super sacramentum suum quod præd. Johannes Allen in dicta commissione nominatus die quo obiit seisitus fuit in dominio suo ut de feodo de et in sex mesuag., octo cotag., quadraginta acr. terr. arrab., decem acr. prati, quadraginta acr. pasturæ et sexaginta acr. moræ et turbariæ cum pertinentiis in Poulton in Amoundernes, Thorneton, Hambleton, Northbreck Ellell, Magna Bisphum et Forton in com. præd.: ac de et in uno messuag. et viginti acr. terr. cum pertin. in Warton in Amoundernes in com. præd.: ac de et in duobus mesuag. et viginti acr. terr. cum pertin. in Merton in com. præd.: necnon de et in sex mesuag., quatuor cotag. et viginti sex acr. terr. arrabilis, prati et pasturæ et quadraginta acr. moræ et turbariæ cum suis pertin. in Plumpton, Thisleton, Heyholme, Thorneton, Carleton, Linton, Norbreck et Clevelley et Trimore in com. præd. Et quod prædictus Johannes Allen in dicta commissione nominatus, sic de prædict. mesuag., terr. et ceteris præmissis prædict. cum suis pertin. seisitus existens, de tali statu suo obiit inde seisitus. ET ULTERIUS jurator. præd. super sacramentum suum dicunt quod post mortem prædicti Johannis Allen reddit. et profic. prædict. præmissorum annuat. respons. et solut. fuer. per separat. tenen. et occupator. præmissorum dominæ Elizabethæ nuper Reginæ Angliæ durante vita ejusdem nuper Reginæ, et post decessum dictæ nuper Reginæ tum domino Regi prædicto usque ad diem capcionis hujus Inquisicionis, sed quo jure sive quo titulo sic solut. fuerunt vel modo sunt jurat. præd. penitus ignorant. Et juratores prædicti super sacramentum suum ulterius dicunt quod prædict. mesuag. et viginti acr. terr. cum suis pertin. in Warton in Amoundernes præd. tenentur, et tempore mortis præd. Johannis Allen tenebantur, de Thoma Singleton de Brough in com. Lanc. præd. ut de manerio suo de Warton in Amoundernes per servic. milit., et valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra reprisas sex solid. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr., tenementa et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Plumpton præd. temp. mort. præd. Johannis Allen tenebantur de quodam Cuthberto Clifton armigero, modo defuncto, et modo tenentur de Cuthberto Clifton armigero, consanguin. et hered. præd. Cuthberti Clifton defuncti, in socagio, et valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra repris. quinque solid. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Heyholme præd. temp. mort. præd. Johannis Allen tenebantur de Richardo Sherburne milite, modo defuncto, et modo tenentur de Richardo Sherburne armigero, filio et herede præd. Richardi Sherburne milite in libero socag., et valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra repris. decem solid. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr., tenementa et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Poulton præd. tenentur, et temp. mort. præd. Johannis Allen tenebantur, de quodam Willelmo Fleetewood modo milite in socag., et valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra repris. quinque solid. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Thorneton præd. temp. mort. præd. Johannis Allen tenebantur de prænobil. Henrico nuper Comite Darbie modo defuncto, et modo tenentur de prænobil. Willelmo Comite Darbie, hered., vel assignat. suis, in socag., et valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra repris. sex solid.

Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Hamleton præd. temp. mort. præd. Johannis Allen tenebantur de præd. Richardo Sherburne milite, et modo tenentur de præd. Richardo Sherburne armigero in socag., et valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra repris. novem solid. Et quod mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Northbreck præd. tenentur, et temp. mort. præd. Johannis Allen tenebantur, de Edmundo Fleetewood armigero in libero socag., et valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra repris. quinque solid. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Magna Bisphum præd. tenentur, et temp. mort. præd. Johannis Allen tenebantur, de præd. Willelmo Fleetewood modo milite in socag., et valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra repris. tres solid. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Forton præd. temp. mort. præd. Johannis Allen tenebantur de Francisco Holt armigero, modo defuncto, et modo tenentur de hered. vel assignat. ejusdem Francisci Haut in socag. per redditum duorum denariorum per annum pro omnibus serviciis, et valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra repris. octo solid. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Ellell præd. tenentur, et temp. mort. præd. Johannis Allen tenebantur, de Richardo Mollineux milite et baronet. in socag. et per reddit. quatuor solid. et quinque denar. per annum pro omnibus serviciis, et valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra repris. sex solid. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Cleveley præd. temp. mort. præd. Johannis Allen tenebantur de Gilberto Gerrarde milite et Johanne Rygmayden armigero modo defunct. ut de maner. suo Netherwise..., et modo tenentur de prænobil. Thoma domino Gerrarde ut de maner. suo de Netherwyersdale præd. in com. præd. in libero socag., et valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra repris. tres solid. Et quod præd. mesuag., terr. et cetera præmissa cum suis pertin. in Merton præd. tenentur, et temp. mort. præd. Johannis Allen tenebantur, de præd. Willelmo Fleetewood modo milite in socag., et per reddit. viginti denar. per annum pro omnibus serviciis, et valent per annum in omnibus exit. ultra repris. quatuor solid. ET ULTERIUS jurator. præd. super sacramentum suum ulterius dicunt quod præd. Johannes Allen obiit[1] apud Preston in Amoundernes vicesimo tertio die Junii, anno regni dominæ nostræ Elizabethæ nuper Reginæ Angliæ tricesimo quinto, absque aliquo exit. de corpor. suo legitime procreat., Maria Worthington, modo uxor. Thomæ Worthington de Blainscowe in com. Lanc. præd. armigeri, adtunc et adhuc existent. soror. et hered. præd. Johannis Allen. Et quod præd. Maria est ætat. die capcionis hujus inquisicionis triginta septem annorum et amplius. Et quod præd. Johannes Allen nulla alia sive plura mesuag., terr. nec tenementa habuit seu tenuit de dicto domino Rege nec de aliquo alio sive aliquibus aliis in dominio, reversione nec in servic. die quo obiit intra com. Lanc. præd., prout jurator. præd. in evidenc. constare poterint. IN CUJUS REI testimonium uni parti hujus inquisicionis tam præfati commissionar. quam jurator. præd. sigilla sua apposuerunt:

[1] With regard to the true place and date of John Allen's death see p. 372, note 6, *supra*.

alter. vero parti hujus inquisicionis penes præd. jurat. remanenti præfat. escactor sigillum suum apposuit dict. die, anno et loco primo supradictis.

ED. RIGBIE, escactor. HENRIE SOUTHWORTHE, feodarie.
JA. ANDERTON. JA. ANDERTON. THURSTAN TYLDISLEY.

CCLXXX.

Cardinal Allen's epitaph in the ancient church of the English college at Rome.[1]

Printed in Ciaconius 'Vitæ Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium.' Tom. IV., p. 174.

Deo Trino Uni.
Gulielmo Alano, Lancastriensi,
S. R. E. Presb.
Card. Angliæ, qui extorris a patria, perfunctus laboribus diuturnis in orthodoxa religione tuenda, sudoribus multis in seminariis ad salutem patriæ instituendis, fovendis, periculis plurimis ob eccl. Rom. opere, scriptis, omni corporis et animi contentione defensam, hic in ejus gremio scientiæ, pietatis, modestiæ, integritatis fama et exemplo clarus ac piis omnibus charus occubuit, XVII. Kal. Novemb., An. ætat. LXIII., exilii XXXIII., sal. huma. MDXCIV.
Inter lachrimas exulum pro religione
Civium, perpetuum illorum effugium,
Gabriel Alanus frater, Thomas Heschetus sororis filius,
fratri, avunculo chariss., optimo optimeque merito
mœrentes posuerunt.

[1] Here also were buried Dr Owen Lewis, bishop of Cassano (+ 14 Oct., 1595) Gabriel Allen (+ 23 March, 1597) and F. Robert Persons (+ 15 April, 1610). The gravestone of Dr Lewis bore the following inscription:—"D.O.M. Audoeno Ludovico, Cambro-Britanno, U. J. D. ac professori Oxonii in Anglia, ac Regio Duaci in Flandria, archidiacono Hannoniæ et canonico in metropolitana Cameracensi atque officiali generali, utriusque signaturæ referendario, Caroli Cardinalis Borromei archiepiscopi Mediolanensis Vicario generali, Gregorii XIII. et Sixti V. in Congregatione de consultationibus episcoporum et regularium a secretis, episcopo Cassanensi, Gregorii XIV. ad Helvetios Nuncio, Clementis VIII. Apostolicæ visitationis in alma Urbe adjutori. Anglos in Italia, Gallia ac Belgio omni ope semper juvit, atque ejus in primis opera hujus collegii Duacensis et Rhemensis fundamenta jacta sunt. Vixit ann. LXI., menses IX., dies XXIX., exul a patria XXXVI. Obiit XIV. Octob. MDXCV. Ludovicus de Torres, archiepisc. Montis Regalis, amico posuit." Ughelli "Italia Sacra," Tom. IX., p. 354. These inscriptions have been corrected by M.S. copies in the archives of the see of Westminster.

CCLXXXI.

Dr William Allen to the Reverend William Barrett. Reims, August 1 and 3, 1580.

From a draft Latin translation in the General Archives of the Society of Jesus. Anglia, MSS. Soc. Jesu (1550-1589), *p.* 319.[1]

Cum magno animi mei dolore et continua mentis solicitudine et molestia, charissime Barrette mi, audio inter vos schismata esse, et ex parte credo; eo quod bonus ille pater Rector vester,[2] quamvis ne mihi nimium timorem incutiat, sicut ego interpretor, et quia ægre sibi aliquem in particulari notare in animum inducat,[3] in permultis suis posterioribus literis erga se et patres alumnorum quorundam ingratas mentes et suspitiosas deploret, idque verbis tantum dolorem significantibus operamque sibi meam et præsentiam optantibus; ut mihi videor posse colligere seditionem aliquam scholarium aut factiones, quærimonias aut concursum aliquem contra patres et eorum regimen extitisse. Quod quamvis ita non sit, Rectorque quærimoniæ suæ causas literis non exponat, amoris tamen mei erga vos omnes et collegium illud et gentem totam solicitus fervor me ad illius quod [4] accidere posset timorem adigit. Ideo eo præsupposito in hunc sensum scribo, atque hanc animi mei sententiam deliberatam et tibi et quibusvis judicavi communicandam, mortem mihi optabiliorem futuram quam aliquorum contra alios tumultuosam aliquam divisionem aut multorum ant omnium contra superiores inter vos excitatam esse intelligere. Esset quidem certo inferis scandalo, amicis nostris offensioni, inimicis gaudium et exultatio, perpetua Pontificis et Protectoris et patronorum nostrorum alienatio, collegiorum ruina et calamitas patriæ et honoris Anglicani [per] universum orbem indelebilis infamia; eo quod illa gens, ubicunque exilii sui sedem his temporibus calamitatis posuerit, dissentionis et discordiæ maculam nomini suo inusserit non sine ingenti rerum Anglicanarum dispendio et detrimento. Quamvis enim [ab] exilii nostri tædio hoc malum procedat [5] et ex multiplici præsentis nostri status adversitate et miseria, sitque nobis cum aliis gentibus simili modo victis et afflictis commune, videtur tamen alienis, qui alias ingeniosi et prudentes sunt, homines vestros, non exulum statum, hanc dissentionis notam sequi, aut saltem communem omnibus quod quibusdam inquietis et factiosis proprium est quibus stultorum turba adhæret. Seditionis notam apud præcipuos patronos nostros tunc, sicut bene nosti, a collegio illo et valde difficulter abstersimus

[1] This letter, with the two extracts which follow it, has been very kindly communicated to me by the Very Reverend Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus in England, though not in time to allow of its being printed in its chronological place. It is a first rough draft full of alterations and corrections. The handwriting is so bad in parts that some few words have been only doubtfully deciphered. They do not however affect the sense, which is plain throughout. The occasion of the translation is explained in the postscript. [2] F. Alphonsus Agazzari, rector of the English college at Rome.

[3] Some words appear to have been omitted here, such as *nihil clari scripserit.*

[4] Word undeciphered. [5] See *supra*, pp. 136, 220.

cum alumni solum pro prudenti patrum regimine ferventer et constanter decertarent; nunc autem quid de vobis dici cogitarive posset aut quo vos modo tractari conveniret si, in omnium animis existente adhuc recens præcedentis illius tumultus memoria, novam quandam et singularem machinetis rerum vestrarum mutationem, idque non contra alienos consilia ineuntes, sed intestina quadam dissentione agitati, nec inquam aliquod intollerabile nolentibus obtrusum excutientes, sed regimen illud respuentes, quod cum summa animorum consensione et multorum laborum pretio comparatum volentes susceptistis. Hoc ipsum a quibusdam contrariæ factionis hominibus prædictum est, quod, cum Wallis finita contentione, intestinæ inter vos dissentiones consequuturæ essent, et hoc est in quo inimici vestri exultabunt, cum vos ita, quacumque de causa, congressos viderint, præsertim si appareat ulla contra patres inobedientiæ scintilla; etsi neminem putem, nisi hæreticos solos excipio, tam atroci vos odio insectari qui collegii ruinam videns sibi multum complaceret. Quiviscunque fuerit fructus consiliorum vestrorum hoc certo vobis persuadeatis, nec æquitatem causæ nec felicem exitum a vobis expectatum factionum et dissentionum periculo æquiparari posse, nec indelibili maculæ quam inde contrahetis. Sed, Christe sancte, quæ potest esse tanta causa quæ homines partim bene moratos partim prudentes tam sæpe a me et aliis præmonitos ad tumultus novos excitet, collegiis omnibus et societatibus tam pestiferos et exitiosos? Hoc ipsum nescire me vehementer angit et majore timore solicitum et suspensum tenet quam res ipsa forte si exacte sciretur postularet. Patres, a quibus vos et in vobis gentem totam interno quodam amoris ardore diligi et vos scitis et ego clare video, quid admittere possunt cui tam gravi remedio sit occurrendum? Quid non sancte et prudenter conari ant moliri volunt, si tamen consiliorum vestrorum prætereatis causam quod alumnorum aliquos ad Societatem consulere et ad illam eos disponere et allicere videantur? Ego quidem certe P. Generalis animum ita interne cognitum ex literis habeo, prudentiam, amorem, integritatem et sinceram in agendis rebus mentis simplicitatem ita teneo exploratum, et idipsum de patre Oliverio[1] et Rectore vestro et totius ordinis primariis patribus polliceri possum, quibuscum propter magna in ecclesia Dei munera et incredibilem erga vos et nos omnes et universam gentem nostram amorem adeo internam contraxi familiaritatem, propter quod Deo ingentes ago gratias, ut Deo teste me scire asseverem, sicut cordis mei intima mihi cognita sunt, quod, quandocunque aliqui ex inferioribus zelo sine scientia indiscreto ducti erraverint et erga ullum filiorum nostrorum imprudenter se gesserint, ipsi tamen ab omnibus illis illectionibus et attractionibus ex collegio ad Societatem adeo longe absunt ut ægre sibi persuadeant ullum ex vestris admittere tum conscientiæ st[imulis?] permoti tum quia gravem Pontificis et Protectoris offensionem incurrere nolint. Puto te non esse oblitum, et ego certo scio, quot et quantæ offensæ et turbationes illorum duorum occasione excitatæ sunt, qui cum ego Romæ essem Societatem omnino ingredi voluerunt. Deus mihi

[1] F. Oliverius Manareus, S.J.

hac in re testis est quam diligenter laboraverim ut eos averterem ab illo proposito, quod etsi vituperandum non esset sed multo laudandum tamen in illis initiis nascentis adhuc collegii hominibus inferis et superioribus etiam vestris offensum et turbamentum tunc fuit. Memoria sat scio tenes meum de illorum ingressu et exemplo illo loquendi modum; fuisse scilicet, eorum discessum et a Pontificis voluntate alienum et Cardinalis animum dolore magno affecisse, et ipsis patribus non fuisse gratum. Quo etiam tempore et Pontifex et patres et ego in hunc sensum consensimus, quod non ultra fieret, nisi aliqua gravi de causa, valde raro, idque non sine Pontificis et Protectoris expresso consensu. Quam quidem determinationem nec Patrem Generalem nec Rectorem vestrum certo scio ullo modo violaturos, multoque minus illecturos aliquem, aut in illum finem ex eorum collegio persuasuros.[1] Ego sane mihi persuadeo me non esse deceptum in patrum sinceritate, fidelitate, prudentia, amore, et gravi hac in re consideratione; immo clarum mihi est, sicut est mihi cor meum, quod in hoc minime fallor. Et quamvis forte quicquam admittant vel permittant in illa juventute inexperta quod videatur [non?] sit optandum secundum ordinariam prudentiæ vestræ directionem et voluntatis desiderium tamen, O fratres mei in Christo chari et exiliorum socii filiique amantissimi, vera et recta remedii via non est per turbulentas ad superiores vestros quærimonias. Quandoquidem pro eo quod hoc consilio collegium integrum conservare cogitetis (quod optime a vobis hac in re spectari potest) totum illius statum in maximum periculum adducetis, et vos ipos æterna in Deum delicti macula reos statuetis. Cogitate, obsecro, quantis laboribus et difficultatibus in hanc altitudinem collegii fabrica perducta sit: non plane et firmiter stabilitam considerate, et quod minime adhuc stabilita, fundata, leviter quidem percussa facile corruet. Imprimite animis immensum amorem et labores magnos illorum patrum et totius quidem ordinis, qui eousque in hoc collegio servando laboraverunt ut famæ suæ periculum apud multos primarios viros inde sustinuerint. Ambulate caute. Actorum omnium finem respicite et malorum consiliorum exitum, scilicet, dissipatorem. Pietati et devotioni ferventer incumbite. In studiis diligentes estote. Humilitatem et obedientiam præcipue colite, et regulatam vivendi rationem quam inter superbos tamen[2] et zelus atque contentio probant vos carnales esse[2] . Et rescribas mihi, charissime Barrette, tantæ unius contra alium aut omnium contra superiores alienationis causam. Si enim in causa erraverim, quod silentio vestro imputandum est, vos ipsos causate quod verba mea sint a proposito aliena, maxime cum non clare intelligam unde orta fuerit hæc tota offensio. Cognatum meum; obsecro, Gulielmum Hauksworth[3] consilio semper juves. Scripsi ad te nuperrime Rhemis. 1 Augusti, 1580.

Semper tuus, W. ALLEN.

[1] See supra, p. 379, note.

[2] Blank space in the MS.

[3] William Hawkesworth was the second son of William Hawkesworth of Hawkesworth (alive in 1585) by Rosamond his wife, daughter of Thomas Lister of Westby (Glover's *Visitations of Yorkshire*)

Post absolutas superiores literas, quas ex Rectoris consilio cuicumque utiles esse possunt communicare possis, me male habuit quod latine non scripsissem ut et ipsi patres intelligerent quam internam in illis reposuerim fiduciam et quantum ab illis seditiosis abhorream tumultibus qui vel contra ipsos fiunt vel collegii pacem et tranquillitatem impediunt; eoque magis ne forte optimi illi patres illam animorum affectionem qua vos semper prosecuti sunt hac occasione avertant, illud judicantes omnibus commune quod solum est quibusdam non bene moratis proprium. Et nunc non est mihi istas literas transcribendi otium, unde velim ut Anglis aliquibus qui ex Societate sunt eas legendas tradas et, si ita visum fuerit, latine reddendas. Modis ergo omnibus præcavendum esse arbitror ne illi sancti viri a vobis avertantur qui sibi vos tam multis nominibus obligarunt. Vale, 3 Aug., 1580.

Tuus totus,

W. ALLEN.

CCLXXXII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. October, 1581.

From a transcript in the general archives of the Society of Jesus. Anglia, MSS. Soc. Jesu (1550-1589), *p.* 311.

Ex literis D. Alani ad P. Rectorem scriptis in mense Octobri, 1581.

Providentia Divina longe superat rationes et cogitationes nostras. Doluimus omnes de captura et carcere P. Campiani, quo tamen nil accidisse admirabilius, nil ad religionis propagationem felicius omnes existimant. Undique enim ex academiis accersuntur doctiores hæretici qui illum et socios suos disputationibus et quæstionibus adoriantur: sed semper ipsorummet hostium judicio et confessione fit superior. Benedictus Deus.

CCLXXXIII.

Dr William Allen to F. Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J. March, 1584.

From a transcript in the general archives of the Society of Jesus. Anglia, MSS. Soc. Jesu (1550-1589), *p.* 294.

Ex literis D. Alani, mensis Martii, 1584.

Admodum reverende in Christo pater; Cura obsecro quam potes diligenter ut non modo nostri qui in illo collegio sunt, sed devoti omnes maxime sancti sodalitii vestri, carissimi nobis in Domino fratres, pro charitate sua orent et lachrymas incessabiles

and sister to Jane Lister, wife of John Allen, Dr Allen's father. Dr Allen and William Hawkesworth were therefore first cousins. I am indebted for this information to the Reverend T. E. Gibson of Southport.

fundant pro miserrima patria nostra, ubi tantopere invaluit his diebus et nunc viget persecutio ut quæ hactenus adversum nos gesserunt ecclesiæ hostes ludum jocumque fuisse dicas. Septendecim presbyteri uno tempore ad crudelissimam mortem condemnati sunt, in quibus primus fuit pater Gasparus[1] vester, de cujus responsis apud judices et aliis multis mitto peculiares literas. P. Tyrelli. Vertat aliquis eas in latinum sermonem ut labori meo parcatur et dolori etiam, qui non patitur me reliquam calamitatem describere. Mihi conjunctissimi quique bonorum proscriptionem passi sunt. Omnia ibi constantissime et patientissime a catholicis feruntur.

CCLXXXIV.

F. Robert Persons, S.J., to Pope Clement VIII. Seville, 15 April, 1593.

From a transcript by F. Christopher Grene, S.J., in the archives of Stonyhurst College. P. 327.

Ad Clementem VIII., 15 Ap., 1593. Da Seviglia . . epistola Personii.

Beatissimo Padre; Benche l'obligatione . . . Ma di poi che il P. Gios. Creswelo. che fu rettore di cotesto collegio Inglese in Roma, arrivò quì nelli mesi passati e m'ha detto tante cose della benignità singolare di V. S^tà^ verso di noi e del zelo suo santissimo per la conversione della nostra patria, et il Cardinale Alano et il nostro Padre Generale ci han scritto altre tante, non ho potuto differir più di ringratiar humilissimamente la S^tà^ V. . . . et in particolare per il Breve che con l'ordinario passato V. S^tà^ fu servito di scrivere a questo Cardinale arcivescovo di Seviglia in favore del nuovo seminario, che in questa città Nostro Signore ci ha dato, del quale e di alcune altre cose nostre darò breve raggualio a V. S^ta^ in questa, come a padre et signore amantissimo, con tutta confidenza.

Penso che sia stata providenza molto particolare di Nostro Signore che in questi 4 anni passati, nelli quali li heretici ci han voluto dare la maggiore stretta che già mai, et il seminario Rhemense ha corso pericolo di esser disfatto, ci habbia Iddio aperto una porta così grande in Spagna che per questa via teniamo già tre altri seminarii, uno in Valladolid . . . l'altro quì in Seviglia . . . et il 3° in Sant' Omer di Fiandra, che la M^tà^ di questo buon Re ha ordinato che si faccia adesso, per ricevere immediatamente li figliuoli più piccoli delli cattolici Inglesi. . . .

Questi altri due seminarii posti in Spagna vanno bene innanzi per la gratia e favore molto particolare di Nostro Signore. Vi stanno in essi più di 100 persone, et ogni dì va crescendo il numero, con molto fervore e meravigliosa risolutione degli alonni di offerire le vite loro in questa impresa, alla quale vanno di qua ogn' anno con maggior animo et alegrezza di quel che si potrebbe credere, se non vedessimo con gli occhi proprii.

[1] F. Heywood, S.J.

Iddio ne sia sommamente ringratiato e glorificato, poichè è un beneficio che pare che ad altra natione in questi nostri tempi non sia conceduto, e così che lo potiamo pigliare per segno di sua grandissima misericordia verso Inghilterra e che non l'habbia d'abbandonare totalmente. . . .

La maggior parte del sostento di questi due seminarii in Spagna dipende dalla carità et elemosine de particolari, benche a quello di Valladolid sua M^tà contribuisce 1700 scudi ogn' anno. . . . A questo di Seviglia sua M^tà non da elemosine; pero il favore e patrocinio di sua M^tà è quello che da animo a tutti li altri di favorirci, e così in effetto tutto si deve attribuir a sua M^tà, e conforme a questo preghiamo humilissimamente la S^tà V. di riconoscere e ringratiar la M^tà sua di tanta e tanto singolare pietà.

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2. *The ordinary spelling of names is given in the Index, as far as it is known; any unusual form in the text being added in brackets, unless the variation is unimportant.*

3. *Christian names absent in the text, but known from other sources, and in some cases additional particulars useful in identifying persons referred to, have been supplied.*

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